

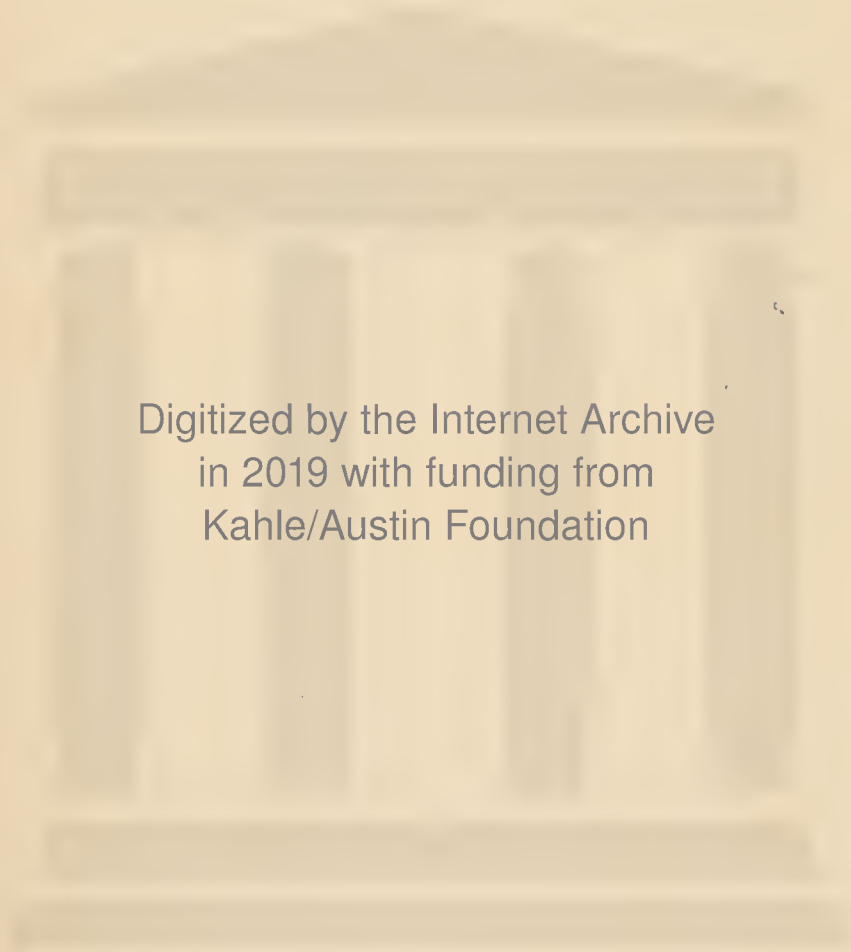
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MILTON, ÆTATIS 10

*The young Milton, in a portrait by the painter, in
which he is represented as a boy, is shown in the
year 1634, when he was ten years of age.*

THE LIFE
OF
JOHN MILTON:

NARRATED IN CONNEXION WITH
THE POLITICAL, ECCLESIASTICAL, AND LITERARY
HISTORY OF HIS TIME.

BY
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VOL. I.
1608—1639.

NEW AND REVISED EDITION.

London:
MACMILLAN AND CO.
1881.

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION OF VOL. I.

THE most authentic and important information respecting Milton is to be derived from his own writings. While all of them, in every part, reveal the man and represent his life, and while there are few of them from which facts of the external kind may not be gathered, there are portions of them which are expressly and even minutely autobiographical. As respects the period embraced in the present volume, these portions may be enumerated as follows:— I. Among his prose writings in English and in Latin at a later period, there are several in which he gives summaries, or at least connected reminiscences, of the facts of his preceding life. The most notable passages of this kind occur perhaps in his *Reason of Church Government* (1641), his *Apology for Smectymnus* (1642), and his *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano* (1654). These and similar passages have been duly attended to, and, where necessary, are reproduced textually. II. All Milton's minor poetry, whether in English or in Latin, with the exception of a few English sonnets and one or two trifles in Latin, &c.—in other words, almost all that he wrote in verse during his whole life, besides *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*—belongs to the period of this volume. The pieces number, in all, from five-and-forty to fifty, longer or shorter; and, having been produced, most of them, on special occasions, and sometimes with reference to passing incidents in the poet's life, they have an unusual interest for the biographer. About half of them, being in English, are generally known,—some of them, indeed, such as the *Ode on the Nativity*, *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, *Comus* and *Lycidas*, being among the best known poems in the English language. With these, accordingly, my duty has chiefly been to mention them in their proper chronological order, to examine them afresh with a view to extract their biographical import, and to set each of them successively, as exactly as might be, in its topographical and historical connexions. As regards

the equally numerous Latin poems of the series (and the few Italian poems may be included) more has been required of me. Though fully as characteristic as the English poems, and though perhaps richer in biographical allusions, they have been much less read; and it has been a part of my purpose to bring them forward again to that place of co-ordinate or nearly co-ordinate importance with their English associates from which the petty accident of their being in Latin has too long excluded them. To this end, I have either given an account of each of them by way of description and abstract, or, where requisite, have ventured on a literal prose translation. III. To the period of this volume there also belong nine of Milton's Latin "Familiar Epistles" and one English letter of his. These are inserted in their proper places, the Latin Epistles being translated, I believe, for the first time. The same applies to certain letters to Milton, and to certain encomiums addressed to him in Latin and Italian. IV. Less known than any portion of Milton's Latin writings, nay, I may say, utterly unknown, are certain Latin compositions, also of our present period, forming a little series by themselves, distinguished by peculiar characteristics, and full of biographical light. I allude to his so-called *Prolusiones Oratoriæ*, or Academic Essays and Exercises, written while he was a student at Cambridge. These are seven in number; they occupy a considerable space; they are on different subjects, and in different moods,—exactly the kind of things which, if dug up unexpectedly in manuscript, would be accounted a prize by the biographer. And yet, though they have been in print since 1674, I really have found no evidence that as many as ten persons have read them through before me. They would probably have never been read by me either, had they not come in my way as material; but, having read them, I have deemed it my duty to edit them as distinctly as possible, by describing each and translating all the more interesting parts.

Except where there is indication to the contrary, the edition of Milton to which I make my references is that in eight volumes, containing both the poetry and the prose, published by Pickering in 1851. A new edition, based on this, is in preparation under the editorship of the Rev. J. E. B. Mayor, M.A., and Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; which, I have no doubt, will be as handsome and more correct.

The first published memoir of Milton of which it is necessary to take account was that included in Anthony Wood's

great work, the *Athenae et Fasti Oxonienses* (first edition, 1691-2). The circumstance that Milton had been incorporated as M.A. at Oxford brought him within Wood's scheme; and the memoir occurs in the *Fasti* under the year of the incorporation, 1635 (*Fasti* I. 480—486, in Bliss's edition). In addition to Wood's noble constitutional accuracy, we have, in authentication of what is set down in this memoir, the fact that Wood was Milton's contemporary, being in his forty-second year when Milton died, and in circumstances, therefore, to ascertain much about him. Moreover, though Wood may have derived his information from various persons, we know that his chief informant was the antiquarian and gossip John Aubrey (1626—1697), who had been personally acquainted with Milton, and who took unusual pains to obtain particulars respecting him from his widow, his brother Christopher Milton, and others. Ever since 1667, when Wood, being near the end of his first great work, the "History and Antiquities of Oxford," was looking forward to the *Athenae and Fasti* as its sequel, Aubrey, then a fellow of the Royal Society, and much out in the world of London, had been one of his correspondents, catering for information for him. Accordingly, in a letter from Aubrey to Wood, of date January 12, 1674-5, which I have seen among the Aubrey MSS. in the Ashmolean, the then recent burial of Milton is mentioned, among other news, thus:—"Mr. J. Milton is buried at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, which [*i.e.* the grave] I will also see." In subsequent letters, Aubrey promises to send Wood an account of the grave, and to procure him other particulars about Milton; and in one he records this interesting fact:—"Mr. Marvell has promised me to write minutes for you of Mr. Jo. Milton, who lies buried in St. Giles Cripplegate Church." This letter is of date May 18, 1675; but in a subsequent letter Aubrey has to record Marvell's own burial—"Andrew Marvell sepult. in St. Giles's Church in the Fields, 18 Aug., 1678"—the interesting promise still apparently unfulfilled. Aubrey himself, now a poor man, but industrious in gossip as ever, undertakes what Marvell had promised; and, accordingly, among the mass of papers, entitled *Minutes of Lives*, which he sent to Wood in 1680, and which Wood used in his *Athenae and Fasti*, a space was assigned to Milton larger than to almost any other of the numerous celebrities whom Aubrey had included in his researches. Aubrey was a credulous person, "roving and magotie-headed," as Wood had occasion to describe him,

and sometimes stuffing his letters with "follies and misinformations"; but he was "a very honest man," says Toland, and "most accurate" in what came within his own notice; and, if there is one of all his graphic memoirs and sketches which is more painstaking and minutely curious than the rest, it is his Memoir of Milton. After it had been partly used by Wood, however, it lay, with the other bundles of "Minutes," among the MSS. in the Ashmolean, sometimes heard of and cited, but seldom seen, till the year 1813, when all the "Minutes" together, sifted hastily and not completely or exactly from the very confused papers which contained them, were published in the volumes known as the "Bodleian Letters." The greater and by far the richest part of these volumes consisting of *Aubrey's Lives*, the volumes themselves sometimes go by that name; and, since they were published, they have been a fresh source of information respecting Milton, nearer to the fountain-head than Wood's Memoir. An edition of Aubrey's sketch of Milton by itself, more correctly taken from the original MS., was appended by Godwin to his "Lives of Edward and John Phillips," published in 1815; to which also was appended a reprint of the third original Memoir of Milton in order of time,—that by Milton's nephew and pupil, Edward Phillips. This memoir was originally prefixed by Phillips to his English edition of Milton's "Letters of State," published in a small volume in 1694. The date of the publication, and the relationship of the author to Milton, give *Phillips's Memoir* a peculiar value; and it contains facts not related by Aubrey or Wood.

These three memoirs, by Aubrey, Wood, and Phillips,—all of them in brief compass, and therefore cited by me, when there is occasion, simply by the names of their authors,—are the earliest published sources of information respecting Milton, apart from his own writings. Toland's *Life of Milton*, originally prefixed to an edition of Milton's prose works published at Amsterdam in 1698 in two volumes folio, and printed separately, with additions, in 1699 and in 1761, might have added more to our knowledge, had not the author's peculiar ideas of biography prevented him from using the opportunities which he had. He did, however, add something.

Among the subsequent biographies of Milton, and contributions to his biography, it is enough to note those which either added to the stock of facts, or tended, in a conspicuous manner, to increase or vary the impression. The "Explan-

atory Notes on *Paradise Lost*” by the two Richardsons, including affectionate details respecting the poet’s habits, appeared in 1734. Birch’s *Memoir* was prefixed to his edition of Milton’s *Prose Works* in 1738, and again to his second edition of the same in 1753. Peck’s silly medley of odds and ends, entitled “*New Memoirs of the Life and Poetical Works of Mr. John Milton*,” appeared in 1740. Johnson’s memorable *Life of the Poet* was written in 1779. In 1785 Thomas Warton published his first edition of Milton’s *Minor Poems*, illustrated with notes biographical and critical; and a second edition of the same appeared in 1791. Incorporating Warton’s Notes and those of other critics and commentators, Todd produced, in 1801, his standard variorum edition of Milton’s *Poetical Works*, in six volumes, enlarged into seven in the subsequent edition of 1809, and again contracted into six in the edition of 1826. Prefixed to the first of these editions was Todd’s *Account of the Poet’s Life*,—modified by new information in the subsequent editions. Almost contemporaneously with Todd’s second edition of the *Poetical Works* appeared a new edition of the *Prose Works* by Charles Symmons, D.D. (1806), also with a *Memoir*. Todd’s *Life*, in the edition of 1826, may be said to have been the last formal *Biography of the Poet* till the publication of Pickering’s edition of the complete works in 1851, with the preliminary *Life* by the Rev. John Mitford. In the same year appeared Mr. C. R. Edmonds’s *Biography*, especially designed to bring out Milton’s ecclesiastical principles. There has since been added to the list Mr. Keightley’s succinct and clear account of the *Life and Writings of the Poet* (1856), accompanying his disquisitions on Milton’s opinions and the several portions of the poetry. Among the fruits of recent Miltonic inquiries ought also to be mentioned Mr. Hunter’s valuable pamphlet entitled *Milton: A Sheaf of Gleanings* (1850), the valuable *Milton Papers* edited for the Chetham Society by Mr. John Fitchett Marsh (1851), and various contributions to *Notes and Queries*.

When Southey, many years ago, spoke of a *Life of Milton* as “yet a desideratum in our literature,” he had in view, among other things, the fact that almost every *Life* till then published had been written as an introductory memoir to some edition or other of the Poet’s works, and on a scale corresponding to that purpose. Useful as such summaries of facts are, they do not answer to the notion that might be formed of a *Biography of Milton* considered as an inde-

pendent work. It is surely not consistent with proper ideas of Biography, for example, that such a man as Milton should be whirled on to the thirty-second year of his life in the course of a few pages, the more especially when, in that period of his life, he had already done much that we now associate with his name, and had shown himself potentially all that he was ever to be.

In preparing the present volume, I have, of course, availed myself of such information as I could find gathered by my predecessors; but, on the whole, from the rapidity with which they pass over this period of the Life, the amount of such information, in addition to that yielded by the original authorities, has not been great. I except the Notes of Warton and Todd in the Variorum Edition, which contain so many particles of biographical material that the substantial Biography of the Poet in that edition may be said, for this period at least, to exist in a scattered state, through the Notes, rather than in an organised state in Todd's preliminary Life. I except, also, the results of some of the recent biographical researches alluded to. Mr. Marsh's Papers refer rather to the later parts of the Life, but have not been without their use even in the present part; and Mr. Hunter's Gleanings refer chiefly to this part, and clear up several points in it. Some of Mr. Mitford's references and illustrations have also been of service; and I have studied the Pedigree of the Poet furnished to Mr. Mitford by Sir Charles Young, Garter King.

My own researches, whether for actual facts in the life, or for collateral illustrations, have been very various. By the kindness of the Rev. J. Dix, M.A., rector of Allhallows, Bread Street, I was permitted to inspect the registers of that parish. My inquiries into the pedigree led me to the Bishop's Registry in Oxford; where also I found some advantage in looking at the original MS. of Aubrey's Life in the Ashmolean, and at some of Wood's MSS., produced to me in the readiest manner. By the courtesy of the Rev. Dr. Cartmell, Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, I saw the admission-book of that College; and I have been materially assisted by extracts from that register, and by answers to my queries respecting them, furnished me by the Rev. Joseph Wolstenholme, M.A., Fellow of the College. To the Registrar of the University, the Rev. J. Romilly, M.A., I also owe my thanks for permission to inspect the University books and to make extracts, as well as for his explanations. Towards the illustration of the same Cambridge period of the poet's life, I have derived

much from MSS. in the British Museum, and from one MS. in particular. An examination of the Registers of the Stationers' Company, open to me by the kindness of the authorities, furnished me with many dates, and, altogether, with clearer ideas of Milton's relations to the literature of the reign of Charles I. To my great surprise I found that, though Milton was known to have lived with his father at Horton in Buckinghamshire for nearly six years of his life after leaving Cambridge,—and those years unusually rich in literary results,—no one had thought of examining the Registers of Horton parish for traces of the family. On application to the Rev. R. G. Foot, B.A., rector of Horton, I had every facility afforded me; and I have derived from the Registers several new facts, besides much general and local illustration. The Milton MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, have been examined by me with some care,—not for the purpose of noting the various readings furnished by these first drafts of some of the poems (a duty already carefully performed by Todd); but for the purpose, if possible, of determining, by the handwriting, dates and other biographical particulars. Some conclusions thus arrived at will have their natural place in the succeeding volume; but the examination has assisted me somewhat in the present. I have made pretty extensive researches in the State Paper Office, at points where Milton or his connexions might perchance leave their marks in contemporary public documents; and in several cases elucidations of the Biography have thus arisen. It is unnecessary to add to this enumeration of manuscript sources any account of my miscellaneous obligations at every point to printed books. These obligations, as well as some of a private nature, are acknowledged in the notes. I ought to add, however, that, for access to almost all the rare books consulted, I am a debtor to the British Museum.

Although I have sought to indicate the fact in the title of the work, and also in the general announcement, it is right that I should here distinctly repeat that I intend it to be not merely a Biography of Milton, but also, in some sort, a continuous History of his Time. Such having been my plan from the first, there are large portions of the present volume which, though related to the Biography, and in my idea not unnecessarily so, considering what a man of his time Milton was, may yet, if the reader chooses, stand apart as so much attempt at separate contemporary History. The suggestions of Milton's life have, indeed, determined the tracks of these historical

researches and expositions,—sometimes through the Literature of the period, sometimes through its Civil and Ecclesiastical Politics; but the extent to which I have pursued them, and the space which I have assigned to them, have been determined by my desire to present, by their combination, something like a connected historical view of British thought and British society in general prior to the great Revolution. In this portion of British History,—much less studied, I think, than the Revolution itself, though actually containing its elements,—I have based my narrative on the best materials, printed or documentary, that I could find. The Registers of the Stationers' Company have been among the MS. authorities of greatest service to me in the department of the Literature; and, in all departments alike, the documents in the State Paper Office, both domestic and foreign, have furnished me, here with verifications, there with more exact impressions, and sometimes with facts and extracts.

The Portrait of Milton as a boy is from a photograph taken, by permission, from the original in the possession of Edgar Disney, Esq., of the Hyde, Ingatestone, Essex; of which, and of the other portrait, engraved after Vertue, accounts are given at p. 50 [66], and pp. 277, 278 [308—310] of the volume. The fac-similes from the Milton MSS. at Cambridge are by the permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON:
December, 1858.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

IN the present edition the arrangement of the matter into Books and Chapters has been made symmetrical with that adopted in the succeeding volumes. There has also been some verbal revision throughout.

Of greater importance are the changes that have been rendered necessary by information obtained since the appearance of the first edition, a good deal of it the result of inquiries which that edition suggested or promoted. Where such new information consists of mere particles of additional

fact, it has been incorporated easily enough by slight corrections or extensions of the previous text. In several places, however, more has been required. The first chapter of Book I, treating of the ancestry and kindred of the Poet, has been recast, enlarged, and in great part rewritten, the subject having been much investigated of late, and certainty on some points having been substituted for former conjecture. In the third chapter of the same Book there will be found additional information respecting Milton's first tutor, Thomas Young, and also respecting the family of his friend Charles Diodati. In Book II, treating of the period of Milton's University life at Cambridge, I have thought it worth while to give, under the year 1628, a fuller and more exact account of the perilous escapade of Milton's friend and correspondent, Alexander Gill the younger, just after the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham, and in connexion with that event; and in the third chapter of the same Book, reviewing Milton's academic studies and performances, a recently recovered Rhetorical Essay of his takes a small but appropriate place beside the seven *Prolusiones Oratoriæ* acknowledged and published by himself. The first chapter of Book III, explaining Milton's hesitations about a profession before dedicating himself wholly to a literary life, has been modified with a view to increased distinctness on that subject; and in the fourth chapter of the same Book, treating of the important six years between 1632 and 1638, which were spent by Milton at Horton, there will be found, besides some changes in the chronology of the smaller poems of this period, a completely new story of incidents and circumstances in the Horton household through the last two years of the period. It is the story, told in detail between p. 627 and p. 661, of a lawsuit against the Poet's father, the trouble of which was at its height just at the time of the severer family affliction of the illness and death of the Poet's mother. In Book IV, devoted to Milton's Continental Journey of 1638-39, there is due mention of certain recently-discovered documentary traces of his preparations for the journey and of his movements in Florence and in Rome.—As these references will suggest, the additions occasioned by new information have been chiefly in the biographical portions of the volume. The revision, however, has extended also to the historical portions. In the second chapter of Book III the list of the English Privy Council from 1628 to 1632, with other statistics of the kind, has been made, I hope, more exact; and in the fifth chapter of the same Book, treating of the

Reign of Thorough in the three kingdoms from 1632 to 1638, I have thought it due to historical proportion, in view of the succeeding volumes, to bestow some further pains on the narrative of the Scottish Religious Troubles, and especially on the account of the nature and circumstances of the Scottish National Covenant.—Whether in the biography or in the historical chapters, acknowledgment has been scrupulously studied, in the text or in footnotes, of my authorities and obligations for such portions of the new matter as do not belong properly to myself. At various points I have had to acknowledge my special obligations to Colonel J. L. Chester, but most conspicuously of all in the first chapter, where, by the kindness of repeated private communications from him, I have had the full, and I may say the first, use of his important recent researches into the vexed question of the maternal pedigree of the Poet. In the Horton chapter the story of the lawsuit against the Poet's father would have been less complete than it is but for similar trouble generously taken in my behalf by Mr. T. C. Noble.

As has been stated in the original preface, it was part of my purpose to bring forward Milton's early Latin poems into that place of importance in his biography from which the accident of their being in Latin had too long excluded them. Having observed that this object had hardly been attained by the prose translations and abstracts of the Latin poems given in the first edition of the present volume, and that a metrical version of the *Epitaphium Damonis* on which I ventured in Vol. II seemed to answer the purpose much better, I have taken the hint, and have substituted in this edition, in certain selected cases, metrical versions for the former prose translations and abstracts. The pieces so treated are the *Elegia Prima* of 1626, the extraordinary Gunpowder Plot poem or *In Quintum Novembris* of 1626, the academic verses *Naturam non pati senium* of 1628, the verses *De Ideâ Platoniciâ*, the fine poem *Ad Patrem* of 1632 or 1633, and the poem *Ad Mansum* of 1638. For similar reasons there are metrical renderings of Francini's Italian Ode to Milton and Milton's Italian Sonnets and Canzone.

EDINBURGH : *January, 1881.*

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- II. THE SPREAD EAGLE, BREAD STREET, OLD LONDON.
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THE LIFE OF JOHN MILTON,

WITH THE

HISTORY OF HIS TIME.

CHAPTER I.

ANCESTRY AND KINDRED.

JOHN MILTON was born, in his father's house, in Bread Street, in the City of London, on Friday, the 9th of December, 1608, at half-past six in the morning.¹ The year of his birth was the sixth of the reign of the Scottish king, James I., in England.

Milton's father, who was also named John, was by profession a "scrivener." He is found settled, in the exercise of that profession, in Bread Street, early in 1603. In a

¹ Aubrey and Wood. In Aubrey's MS. the circumstance is entered in a manner which vouches for its authenticity. Aubrey had first left the date blank thus:—"He was born A^o Dⁿⁱ — the — day of — about — o'clock in the —"; adding a little farther on in the MS. these words: "Q. Mr. Ch^r Milton to see the date of his bro. birth" Then, farther on still, at the top of a new sheet of smaller size than the rest, there are written in a clear hand, *which is certainly not Aubrey's*, these words: "John Milton was born the 9th of December, 1608, *die Veneris*, half an hour after six in the morning." It is to be concluded

that Aubrey had, in the interval, seen Christopher Milton, and procured from him the date he wanted. Possibly, indeed, Christopher wrote down the words himself. They look as if they had been taken from the Family Bible. Wood in his *Fasti* makes the time of Milton's birth "between six and seven o'clock in the morning"; but in a MS. of his which I have seen, containing brief notes for biographies of eminent persons (Ashm. 8519), he adheres to the more exact statement "half an hour after six." The note about Milton in this MS. contains nothing but the dates and places of his birth and death.

manuscript volume in the British Museum, containing miscellaneous notes relating to the affairs of one John Sanderson, a Turkey merchant of that day, there is a copy of a bond, dated the 4th of March, 1602-3, whereby two persons, styled "Thomas Heigheham of Bethnal-green in the county of Middlesex, esquire, and Richard Sparrow, citizen and goldsmith of London," engage to pay to Sanderson a sum of money on the 5th of May following, the payment to be made "at the nowe shop of John Milton, scrivener, in Bread Street, London." The name "Jo. Milton, scriv^{nr}" is appended as that of the witness in whose presence the bond was sealed and delivered. In the same volume there is a copy of a bill of sale, dated April 2, 1603, whereby, for the sum of £50, received from Sanderson, Richard Sparrow makes over to him a certain ornament of gold "set with a great ruby," retaining the right to redeem it by paying to Sanderson £52 10s. on the 3d of October following, *i. e.* the principal with five per cent. of interest for the six months' loan. In this case the payment is to be made at Sparrow's own shop in Cheapside; but the witness who attests the transaction is "Peter Jones, servant to John Milton, scrivener." The two transactions refer us to an interesting time. On the day on which the scrivener attested the first Elizabeth was within twenty days of her death; and on the day on which his servant Peter Jones attested the second the body of Elizabeth was lying in state, and James, already proclaimed in her stead, was preparing to leave Edinburgh to take possession of his new kingdom. Other documents, still extant, exhibit the increasing business of the scrivener in the same premises through the reign of James. One, dated January 21, 1606-7, is an assignment of a lease by Richard Scudamore of London to Thomas Calton of Dulwich for £40, to be paid by instalments "att the now shop of John Mylton, scrivener, in Bread Street." It is attested by the scrivener's own signature. Of later date, and not witnessed by himself, but by his apprentice William Bolde, is a bond from three gentlemen of Sussex to Ann Stone, of London, sempster, for £210, to be paid "at the nowe

dwelling-howse of John Milton, scrivener, in Breadstreete." The "shop" and the "dwelling-howse" were evidently one tenement.¹

In those days houses in the streets of cities were not numbered as now; and persons in business, to whom it was of consequence to have a distinct address, effected the purpose by exhibiting over their doors some sign or emblem. This fashion, now left chiefly to publicans, was once common to all trades and professions. Booksellers and printers, as well as grocers and mercers, carried on their business at the Cross-keys, the Dial, the Three Pigeons, the Ship and Black Swan, and the like, in such and such streets; and every street in the populous part of London presented a succession of such signs, fixed or swung over the doors. The scrivener Milton had a sign as well as his neighbours. It was an eagle with outstretched wings; and hence his house was known as The Spread Eagle in Bread Street.²

Possibly the device of the spread eagle was adopted by the scrivener himself with reference to the armorial bearings of his family. Wood expressly tells us that "the arms that John Milton [the poet] did use and seal his letters with were, Argent, a spread eagle with two heads gules, legg'd and beak'd sable"; and there are still to be seen one or two documents in which an impression of the seal, exactly as it is here described, accompanies the poet's signature,—one of them being the original agreement with the bookseller Simmons in April 1667 for the publication of *Paradise Lost*. There is also extant a small silver seal, which once belonged to the poet, exhibiting the same double-headed spread eagle of the shield, but with the addition of the surmounting crest,—a lion's claw, above a helmet, &c., grasping an eagle's head and neck.³ The

¹ Lansdowne MS. 241, f. 58, first cited by Mr. Hunter, in his *Milton Gleanings*; same MS., f. 363; and an interesting communication from Mr. Geo. F. Warner in the *Athenæum* of March 20, 1880. Mr. Warner not only added the later documents to those previously known from the Lansdowne MS., but also corrected a misreading of that manuscript by Mr. Hunter

and myself. We had read "at the newe shop" instead of "at the nowe shop."

² Aubrey and Wood.

³ This interesting relic is, I believe, in the possession of Edgar Disney, Esq., of the Hyde, Ingatstone, Essex, son of the late John Disney Esq., F.S.A., by whom it was shown at a meeting of the Archæological Institute, in March

impressions of the two seals may be here compared:—



These were the arms that came to the poet from his father as the recognised arms of the Milton family. The association of the heraldic double-headed spread eagle and of the accompanying crest with the name Milton is traced back, indeed, through our heraldic authorities, as far as to Sir William Segar, who was Garter King-at-Arms from 1603 to 1633, after having passed through the previous offices of Portcullis, Somerset Herald, and Norroy King, in the reign of Elizabeth. In a manuscript volume in the British Museum, containing the grants and confirmations of arms made by Segar, there is this entry:—"MYLTON: Argent, a double-headed eagle, displayed gules, beaked and membered azure. To . . . Mylton, alias Mytton, of Com. Oxon., of ye abovesaid arms and crest: viz. out of a wreath, a lion's gamb couped and erect azure, grasping an eagle's head erased gules."¹ The entry is not dated; the name of the person to whom the grant or confirmation was made is left blank; nor is it stated whether it was a grant or only a confirmation. As we read the entry, however, it purports that some one from Oxfordshire, claiming the arms of Milton in that county, applied to the College of Arms to have his title

1849 (*Archæological Journal*, vol. vi. pp. 199—200). It was one of the articles in a collection of antiquities, paintings, &c., which came to the late Mr. Disney with the estate of the Hyde on the death of his father, the Rev. Dr. Disney, in 1816. Dr. Disney inherited the collection in 1804 from his friend Mr. Thomas Brand Hollis, of the Hyde; who inherited it in 1774 from Mr. Thomas Hollis, whose name he took. Mr. Thomas Hollis, well known as a lover of art and an enthusiast in all that appertained to Milton, bought the seal in 1761, for three guineas, from

Mr. John Payne, bookseller, who informed him that it had come into his possession on the death of Thomas Foster, of Holloway, who had married Elizabeth Clarke, the poet's granddaughter by his youngest daughter Deborah and her husband Abraham Clarke of Spitalfields. Deborah had married Clarke before 1675, and she died Aug. 24, 1727.

¹ *Aspidora Segariana*: Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 12,225, f. 162. The reference to this MS. I owe to Mr. Hunter's *Milton Gleanings*, p. 8.

recognised. The all but perfect identity both of the arms and the crest with those above described as used by the poet makes it not unlikely that the applicant was the poet's father.—It may be worth while to note that Segar himself had begun life as a scrivener, and also that the arms of the Scriveners as a corporation contained the spread eagle. // “Azure, an eagle with wings expanded, holding in his mouth a penner and inkhorn and standing on a book, all or,” is the heraldic description.¹ The elder Milton, therefore, might have helped himself to the spread eagle as a sign for his shop, even had it not figured in his own arms. The eagle in that case would not have been double-headed, and would have been all the easier to paint or carve. ✓

The heraldic identification of the name Milton with the seemingly distinct name of Mitton is somewhat curious. “Mylton, alias Mytton, of Com. Oxon.” is the designation in Segar's entry; there are at this day families of Mittons in Shropshire and in Staffordshire using the double-headed spread eagle in their arms, with heraldic variations; and there were Mittons in London in 1633 using the same arms. Suffice it to say that Milton, as we now write it, was a distinct English surname early in the fourteenth century. A William de Milton was one of a number of persons to whom, in 1338, letters of protection were granted before their going abroad in the retinue of Queen Philippa, the wife of Edward III.;² and other Miltons, of somewhat later date, are heard of in different parts of England, quite independent of the contemporary Mittons. Perhaps Milton, Mitton, Middleton, and even Millington, were originally cognate topographical surnames, signifying that the bearers of them had come from the ‘mill-town,’ ‘mid-town,’ or ‘middle-town,’ of their districts. It favours this view, as regards the name Milton, that, as there are about twenty *places* of this name in different parts of England,—two Miltons in Kent, two in Hants, one in Cambridgeshire, one in Northamptonshire, one in Cheshire, one in Somersetshire, one in

¹ Seymour's *Survey of London* (1735), Book IV. p. 386.

² Rymer's *Fœdera*, II. 2, p. 25.

Berkshire, two in Oxfordshire, &c.,—so *families* bearing the name, and yet not tracing any connexion with each other, appear to have been living simultaneously in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in different English counties. There were Miltons in London; there were Miltons in Cheshire; there were Miltons in Somersetshire; and there were Miltons in Oxfordshire, extending themselves into the adjacent counties of Berks and Bucks. It was from these last, the Oxfordshire Miltons, that the poet derived his descent.

All that the poet himself thought it worth while to say on the subject of his genealogy was that he came of an honest or honourable stock (*"genere honesto"*).¹ This, of course, has not satisfied his biographers; and there has been a great deal of investigation of his pedigree, both on the father's side and on the mother's.

THE PATERNAL PEDIGREE.

Our primary information on this subject is from Aubrey, Wood, and Phillips. There are reasons why the accounts transmitted by these three authorities should be still quoted in their original form:—

Aubrey's Account in 1681.—"Mr. John Milton was of an Oxfordshire familie: his grandfather [a Rom. Cath.] of Holton in Oxfordshire, near Shotover. His father was brought up in ye Univ^r of Oxon at Christ Church; and his gr-father disinherited him because he kept not to the Catholique Religion [q. he found a Bible in English in his chamber]; so thereupon he came to London and became a scrivener [brought up by a friend of his, was not an apprentice] and got a plentiful estate by it."—— In addition to this, which occurs at the beginning of Aubrey's MS., there is appended, on the back of the last sheet, a sketch of the pedigree of the poet drawn up by Aubrey so as to make the substance of his information on that head plain to the eye. The sketch is in a very confused state, with erasures and ambiguities; but it seems to add the following particulars:—(1) That Aubrey had heard that the Christian name of the poet's grandfather, as well as of his father, had been JOHN; (2) That he believed that the Oxfordshire town or village where this grandfather lived, if not Holton, was at all events "next town to Forest Hill"; (3) That he had heard that the Miltons thereabouts, this grandfather included, were "rangers of the Forest" in that neighbourhood, *i. e.* of the Forest of Shotover.—More important is the suggestion in the sketch as to the person who was the poet's grandmother. This part of the sketch, from the manner in which it is inserted, and from the marks of erasure through a portion of it, is

¹ *Defensio Secunda*: Works, VI. 286.

extremely puzzling; but the most feasible interpretation seems to be that Aubrey had heard that the Milton of Holton had married a widow named JEFFREY, who had originally been a HAUGHTON. The sketch, in fact, contains a rough pen-and-ink drawing of what would in that case have been the arms representing the *previous* marriage of this wife of the Holton Milton,—viz. the arms of JEFFREY (azure, a fret or; on a chief of the second, a lion passant sable) impaling those of HAUGHTON (sable, three bars argent); and, if the drawing means anything at all with reference to the marriage of the Milton of Holton, it can only mean that, while the Haughton portion of it held good for that marriage, inasmuch as the wife's maiden name had been Haughton, the Jeffrey portion of it was done with.—It is not impossible that Aubrey derived some of the foregoing heraldic particulars from a painting of the Milton family-arms which is known to have been in the possession of the poet's widow at the time when Aubrey used to visit her in London for the purpose of collecting information about the poet. She took it with her to Nantwich when she retired thither about 1681, and kept it, with two portraits of Milton, till her death there in 1727. "*Mr. Milton's Pictures and Coat of Arms*" is one of the entries, and by far the most valuable, in an official inventory of her effects at her decease, still extant. The entry itself tells us nothing more than that there was such a coat of arms, the property of the widow, after it had been an ornament in one of the rooms of Milton's own house in his life-time; but we chance to have an independent account of it from eyesight. The antiquary Francis Peck, in his *Memoirs of Milton*, published in 1740, describes it as "a board a quarter of a yard square, some time since in the possession of his widow," and exhibiting the arms of "Milton in Com. Oxon." in pale with those of "Haughton of Haughton Tower in Com. Lanc.," the names of the two families written so underneath the two divisions. Peck's authority for the statement, he tells us, was "a letter of Roger Comberbach of Chester, Esq., to William Cowper, Esq., Clerk of the Parliament, dated 15th December 1736." Now, this Roger Comberbach was Roger Comberbach the younger, son of an elder of that name, who was born in 1666, and became Recorder of Chester, and author of some legal works. Both father and son interested themselves in the antiquities of Cheshire; and both knew Nantwich well, where the elder had been born.¹ Nothing was more likely than a visit of either to Milton's widow there for inquiries about Milton; and a description from either of the coat of arms as it was to be seen in such a visit ought to be perfectly trustworthy. One important blunder in the matter, however, was made by Peck, if not by Comberbach. Peck interpreted the arms as being those of Milton's *father and mother*, and argued accordingly, against all the other authorities, that the poet's *mother* was "a Haughton, of Haughton Tower, Lancashire," whereas the arms must have been those of Milton's *grandfather and grandmother*, the father and mother of the scrivener of Bread Street. It was, doubtless, the scrivener that had gratified himself by having the board painted for a household ornament; and from him it had come to the poet and so to the poet's widow. Though, in the description of it, we hear nothing of the "Jeffrey," and though the reference to the Haughtons of Haughton Tower must be treated as a heraldic flourish, there is something like confirmation, it will be seen, of Aubrey's supposed tradition

¹ Ormerod's Cheshire, and Comberbach pedigree in Harl. MS. 2153 f. 141.

that the maiden name of Milton's grandmother, the wife of his Roman Catholic grandfather, was Haughton.

Wood's Account in 1692.—"His father, Joh. Milton, who was a scrivener living at the Spread-Eagle in the said street, was a native of Halton in Oxfordshire. . . . His grandfather Milton, whose Christian name was John, as he [Wood's chief informant, *i.e.* Aubrey] thinks, was an under-ranger or keeper of the Forest of Shotover near to the said town of Halton, but descended from those of his name who had lived beyond all record at Milton near Halton and Thame in Oxfordshire. Which grandfather, being a zealous Papist, did put away, or, as some say, disinherit his son because he was a Protestant; which made him retire, to London, to seek, in a manner, his fortune."

Phillips's Account in 1694.—"His father, John Milton, an honest, worthy, and substantial citizen of London, by profession a scrivener; to which profession he voluntarily betook himself, by the advice and assistance of an intimate friend of his, eminent in that calling, upon his being cast out by his father, a bigoted Roman Catholic, for embracing, when young, the Protestant faith and abjuring the Popish tenets: for he is said to have been descended of an ancient family of the Miltons of Milton near Abingdon in Oxfordshire; where they had been a long time seated, as appears by the monuments still to be seen in Milton church,—till one of the family, having taken the wrong side in the contests between the Houses of York and Lancaster, was sequestered of all his estate but what he held by his wife."

It is from the data supplied by these three accounts that all subsequent inquirers have worked; and the general result has been that, while some of the statements remain doubtful and wait farther exploration, and while others have received correction, the information in main matters has been confirmed and extended.

As to the alleged Miltons of Milton in Oxfordshire, the remote progenitors of the poet, research has been fruitless. There are, as we have said, two places in Oxfordshire named Milton. There is the village of Great Milton in the Hundred of Thame, some eight miles south-east from Oxford, and giving its name to the two contiguous parishes of Great Milton and Little Milton, both in that hundred; and there is a small hamlet called Milton about twenty-three miles farther north in the same county, near Banbury, and attached as a curacy to the vicarage of Adderbury. The former is clearly the "Milton near Halton and Thame in Oxfordshire" referred to by Wood. The reference of Phillips is also to the same village of Great Milton; for,

though he says "Milton near Abingdon," and there *is* a Milton near Abingdon, that Milton, like Abingdon itself, is in the county of Berks. That Phillips, however, intended the Oxfordshire Milton is clear by his adding the words "in Oxfordshire,"—which words, as they stand in his text, are a blunder, arising from his having written from hearsay. His reference to the monuments of the Miltons in Milton Church must also have been from hearsay. Dr. Newton searched in vain, before 1749, for any traces of such monuments in the church of Milton near Abingdon in Berkshire;¹ nor has repeated search in all the extant records of the other and far more likely Great Milton in Oxfordshire recovered any traces of the Miltons supposed to have radiated thence.² As the registers of Great Milton, however, go back only to 1550, and as Phillips assigns the period of the Wars of the Roses (1455—1485) as that of a traditional change for the worse in the fortunes of the family, it may be that in still earlier times Miltons held lands in that locality. Even this Mr. Hunter was disposed to question, on the ground that there is no trace of such a family in more ancient documents, where, had they existed, they would almost necessarily have been mentioned.

Letting go the legendary Miltons of Milton, we do find persons named Milton living, immediately before the Wars of the Roses, in Oxfordshire and the adjoining counties, who *may* have originally radiated from Great Milton, and who, with such property as they had, did have to go through the chances of the York and Lancaster wars. In the twelfth year of the reign of Henry VI. (1433) a census was taken by appointed commissioners of all persons in the different counties of England that were considered of the rank of

¹ Newton's *Milton*, p. 1 of the Life.

² "In the registers of Milton," says Todd in 1809, "as I have been obligingly informed by letter from the Rev. Mr. Jones, there are no entries of the name of Milton." Later still, Wood's Editor, Bliss (*Fasti* I. 480), tells us that he had himself inspected the Register, but "not found the name Milton, as a surname, in any part of it;" and I am informed by Colonel Chester that, from

his subsequent examination of the Registers, he can "positively corroborate" this statement. There are several MSS., in the Ashmolean and British Museum, giving notes of old monuments in the churches of Oxfordshire, that of Great Milton included; but I have found no reference in them to the Milton monuments mentioned by Phillips. One is of date 1574.

gentry. "The outward object was to enable the king's party to administer an oath to the gentry for the better keeping of the peace and observing the laws, though the principal reason was to detect and suppress such as favoured the title of York, then beginning to show itself."¹ The returns then made are still extant, for all save ten counties.² In some counties the commissioners included in their lists persons of much meaner condition than in others, and so made their lists disproportionately large. The return for Oxfordshire is perhaps the largest and most indiscriminate of any. "The commissioners in this county," says Fuller, "appear over-diligent in discharging their trust; for, whereas those in other shires flitted only the cream of their gentry, it is suspicious that here they make use of much thin milk." Whether belonging to the cream or to the thin milk, one of the four hundred persons or thereabouts returned for Oxfordshire is a Roger Milton, who was almost certainly the same person as a Roger Milton reported by Mr. Hunter as having been, four years later (1437), collector of the fifteenths and tenths for the county of Oxford.³ With the exception of a John Milton of Egham in Surrey, this Oxfordshire Milton is *the only person of the surname Milton returned in the census for 1433 of the whole gentry of England*. But Cheshire and Somersetshire, where Miltons were to be expected, are among the counties for which there are no returns; and Mr. Hunter finds a John de Milton in 1428 (possibly the same as the John Milton of Egham) holding the manor of Burnham in Bucks by the service of half a knight's fee.⁴ There were at least two Miltons in all England, therefore, living immediately before the Wars of the Roses in such circumstances that they could be included among the minor gentry; and both of these were in the circle of country which may be called the traditional Milton neighbourhood: viz., Oxfordshire, and the adjacent counties of Berks and Bucks, between Oxfordshire and London.

¹ Sims's *Manual for the Genealogist*, 1856, pp. 325-6.

² They are given in Fuller's *Worthies*,

each return under its proper county.

³ *Milton Gleanings*, p. 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*

After the Wars of the Roses Miltons in this neighbourhood become more numerous. In 1518 there died, in Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire, a Gryffyth Milton, "gentleman";¹ a William Milton was an inhabitant of the city of Oxford in 1523; one finds a William Milton and also a Richard Milton in Berks in 1559; and these, as well as the more distant Miltons of Cheshire and Somersetshire, had their representatives in London, where, in the reign of Philip and Mary, a William Milton was collector of the customs,² and where, during the reign of Elizabeth, the name Milton was not very uncommon.

For the *immediate* Milton ancestry of the poet we are referred by both Aubrey and Wood to that part of Oxfordshire which lies east and north-east from Oxford itself, and within an easy walk from it, over what is now Shotover Hill and the tract of wooded land which once formed the royal forest of Shotover (*Chateau vert*). Here, all in the Hundred of Bullington, all on the borders of what was once Shotover Forest, and all within a radius of about six miles from Oxford, are the parishes of Forest Hill, Holton or Halton, Stanton St. John's, Beckley, and Elsfield, each with a village of the same name. Holton, a small parish of about 250 souls, is about five miles due east from Oxford; about a mile and a half from Holton, and a little nearer Oxford, is Forest Hill; less than a mile from Forest Hill, in a northerly direction, is Stanton St. John's, giving its name to a parish of about 500 souls; and Beckley and Elsfield, more to the north-west, are each about two miles from Stanton St. John's. Immediately to the south of Bullington Hundred, which includes this range of parishes, is the Hundred of Thame, containing that town or village of Great Milton whence, as we have seen, the Oxfordshire Miltons were believed to have derived their name and origin. From Great Milton to Holton the distance is hardly four miles; and a family migrating northwards from Great Milton, and yet remaining in Oxfordshire, would scatter itself easily

¹ Information from Colonel Chester, on the authority of one of Wood's MSS. in the Bodleian.

² *Milton Gleanings*, pp. 9-10.

enough through the parishes of Holton, Forest Hill, Stanton St. John's, Elsfield, and Beckley. More particularly, if any of the members of such a family acquired an official connexion with Shotover Forest, as rangers, underkeepers, or the like, this is the direction in which they would be drawn, and this is the range of Oxfordshire ground within which they would be detained. Accordingly, Aubrey, having heard that the poet's immediate paternal ancestors had been "rangers of the Forest," had heard also that the poet's grandfather "lived next town to Forest Hill," and had concluded or guessed this town to be Holton; and Wood, an Oxford man himself, and knowing the whole neighbourhood well, had adopted the statement and made the poet's father distinctly "a native of Halton." Research hitherto has failed to verify so precise a statement. The preserved registers of Holton parish do not begin till 1633, but there is no notice in them of any Milton as having lived there since then;¹ nor in any other known record, apart from Aubrey and Wood, is there any reference to a Milton as ever having lived there.—This failure with Holton is of the less consequence because research has been more fortunate with the adjacent parish of Stanton St. John's; which may after all have been the parish Aubrey had in view when he wrote "Holton," inasmuch as Stanton St. John's is actually the "next town" to Forest Hill, nearer to it on the north than Holton is on the south-east. The following are copies of two wills found by me long ago in the Bishop's Registry at Oxford:—

Will of Henry Milton of Stanton St. John's:—"In the name of God, Amen: The 25th day of November Anno Dⁿⁱ 1558, I, Henri Mylton of Stanton St. John's, sick of body but perfect of mind, do make my last will and testament in manner and form following.—First I bequeathe my soul to God, to Our Lady Saint Mary, and to all the Holy Company of Heaven, and my body to be buried in the churchyard of Stanton: I give to Isabell my daughter a bullock and half a quarter of barley, and Richard my son shall keep the said bullock until he be three years old: Item, I give to Rowland Mylton and Alys Mylton, each of them, half a quarter of barley: I give to Agnes my wife a gelding, a grey mare, and two kye, and all my house-

¹ Letter to me from the Rev. Thomas Tyndale, late Rector of Holton, and residing there in 1859 with his son, the present Rector.

hold stuff; whom I make my executrix."—The will was proved on the 5th of the following March, when administration was granted to the widow, the goods being inventoried at £6 19s.

Will of Agnes Milton, widow of the above:—"In the name of God, Amen : The 9th day of March A.D. 1560, I, Agnes Mylton of Stanton St. John's in the county Oxon, widow, sick of body, but whole and perfect of remembrance, laud and praise be given to Almighty God, do ordain and make this my last will, and present testament containing therein my last will, in manner and form following.—First I bequeathe my soul to Almighty God and to all the Celestial Company of Heaven, and my body to be buried in the churchyard of Stanton at the belfry end. Item, I bequeathe to my daughter Elsabeth my two kyen, one of them in the keeping of Charles Issard of the same Stanton, and the other in the keeping of my son William Howse of Beckley. I bequeathe also to the same Elsabeth 11 pair of sheets, 3 meat cloths, and a towel. I give to my said daughter 8 platters, 2 saucers, a bason, 3 pans, a kettle, a skillet, 2 pots, and two winnowing sheets. Item, I will also to the same Elsabeth 5 of my smocks, two of my best candlesticks, and the wheel. Furthermore, I give and bequeathe to my son Richard a pot, a pan, a skillet, 2 candlesticks, and a winnowing sheet. Item, I give to my son Richard half a quarter of the 14 bushels of barley which he oweth me; and 2 bushels of the same barley I give to my son William Howse; and all the rest of hit I will shall be stowed for me as my son Richard and my daughter Elsabeth think best. Also I give my son Richard all such debts as he oweth me not being named. All the rest of my goods, both moveable and unmoveable, my debts paid and will fulfilled, I give and bequeathe to my son Richard and my daughter Elsabeth; whom I make my full executors of this my last will and testament. Witness whereof Percyvall Gaye, John Stacey, and Agnes Clarke, with other moe."—The will was proved on the 14th of June, 1561, when administration was granted to the said Richard and Elsabeth, the goods being inventoried at £7 4s. 4d.

These two persons, Henry Milton of Stanton St. John's and Agnes his wife, both dead before the year 1562, were, it seems now ascertained, the great-grandfather and great-grandmother of the poet. They figure themselves from their wills as persons of the humble small-farming class, who had been born probably in the reign of Henry VII., and had lived on in Stanton St. John's through the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary, just touching that of Elizabeth, and remaining faithful to the last to the old Roman Catholic Religion. It is difficult to make out what family they left. The Richard Milton of both wills, and the chief heir in the last, was evidently their eldest son; and there was certainly one daughter, the Isabell mentioned in the first will, and who was, in all probability, by an alternation of spelling not uncommon in those days, the

same as the Elsabeth of the second.¹ The Rowland Milton and Alys Milton of the first will *may* also have been children, but may have been relatives only; and the William Howse of Beckley of the second will may possibly have been a son of the testatrix by a former marriage, or remains to be accounted for otherwise.

It is the Richard Milton of both wills that we have to follow. He was the poet's grandfather, and has fortunately left some distinct and rather interesting traces of himself in Oxfordshire records:—From his father's will in 1558, enjoining him to keep the bullock left for his sister Isabell till the said bullock should be three years old, it is to be inferred that he was then already in a small farming way of business about Stanton St. John's on his own account; and his mother's will shows him to have been of some little substance in 1561, and likely to carry on the Milton line respectably. Nothing more is heard of him till 1577, when, as was ascertained by the researches of Mr. Hunter, a Richard Milton was one of the inhabitants of Stanton St. John's that were assessed to the subsidy of that year, the 19th of Elizabeth. "He is not charged on lands," says Mr. Hunter, "but on goods only, as if he had no lands, and the goods were assessed on an annual value of three pounds." As both lands and goods, however, were assessed for the subsidies of that reign at sums vastly below their real value, the condition of a man charged at three pounds a year on goods was much higher than might at first appear. At all events, as is proved by the Subsidy Rolls, this Richard Milton of Stanton St. John's was *the only person of the name of Milton assessed on that occasion in all Oxfordshire*. In 1582 he is found serving, or elected to serve, as churchwarden in his parish. If he was then an avowed Roman Catholic, the position must have been more anomalous and difficult than it would have been some years earlier. Till the year 1570,

¹ In the first edition I ventured on the conjecture that the Elsabeth of the second will might have been the wife of Richard, styled "daughter" by the testatrix for "daughter-in-law"; but

reconsideration and advice have led me to withdraw that conjecture, and rather identify the Elsabeth of the second will with the Isabell of the first.

we are informed by Fuller in his *Church History*, "papists generally, without regret, repaired to the public places of divine service, and were present at our prayers, sermons, and sacraments. What they thought in their hearts He knew who knoweth hearts; but in outward conformity they kept communion with the Church of England." After that year, however, as Fuller goes on to explain, this mixed attendance of secret Roman Catholics and sound Protestants in the English parish churches had become less and less the rule, the Pope having intimated that the real "sheep" of his communion in England must separate themselves from the "goats," and the more zealous Roman Catholics consequently absenting themselves thenceforward from the parish churches in such numbers as to cause an alarm that Popery was on the increase. Thus there had come into popular use for the first time the famous word *Recusants*; "which, though formerly in being," says Fuller, "to signify such as refused to obey the edicts of lawful authority, was now confined, in common discourse, to express those of the Church of Rome." There seems to be some reason for believing that Richard Milton was openly a Recusant in 1582, when they elected him churchwarden of Stanton-St.-John's, and that the election, coming upon him by compulsion in his turn among the parishioners, may have caused him trouble. At all events, he was to distinguish himself most remarkably as a Recusant before his death. In 1601, when he must have been between sixty and seventy years of age, he is found figuring in what are called the Recusant Rolls, now preserved among the records of the Exchequer, these Rolls containing, year by year, an account of the fines levied on persons for non-attendance at their parish churches, or of the compositions made by rich persons on that account. "Each county is treated apart," says Mr. Hunter; and it is to Mr. Hunter's examination of the Roll for Oxfordshire for the above-mentioned year, the 43d of Elizabeth, that we owe the discovery in it of the name of "Richard Milton of Stanton St. John's, yeoman." On the 13th of July 1601, it there appears, he was fined £60 for three months of

non-attendance at his parish church, reckoned from the 6th of December 1600, such fine being in strict accordance with the statute against Recusancy of the 23d of Elizabeth, which fixed the penalty of non-attendance on the established worship at £20 a month. Though this was "ruinous work for a family of but slender fortunes," as Mr. Hunter says, the culprit "was not subdued by it"; for the record bears that a second fine of £60 was imposed upon him in the same year for other three months of non-attendance, reckoned from the 13th of July to the 4th of October, he not having meanwhile made his submission nor promised to be conformable pursuant to the statute. His contumacy must have made him a very conspicuous man in his neighbourhood; for, just as he had been the only person of the name of Milton in all Oxfordshire assessed for the subsidy of 1577, so he is *the only person of the name in all Oxfordshire that appears in the series of the Recusant Rolls*. Other persons in Oxfordshire were fined as obstinate Roman Catholics, and among them one other inhabitant of Stanton St. John's, named Thomas Stacey; but, so far as record has yet shown, no other Milton. The two fines by the statute of the 23d of Elizabeth, and the possibility of the application to him of the still severer penalties of a later Act of the 35th of Elizabeth, may have crushed him. Nothing has yet been heard of him after 1601; nor have I been able to find his will in the Oxfordshire registers or anywhere else.¹

While Aubrey and Wood were wrong in their conjecture that the Christian name of Milton's grandfather was John, and apparently wrong also in locating him in Holton parish, instead of the adjacent parish of Stanton St. John's, they

¹ Wills, *ut supra*; Mr. Joseph Hunter's *Milton Gleanings* (1850), pp. 1-4; Fuller's *Church History*, ed. of 1842, vol. ii. pp. 497-8; and a communication from Mr. W. H. Allnutt to *Notes and Queries* of Feb. 7, 1880, with farther information from him given in the postscript of an article by Mr. Hyde Clarke in the *Athenæum* of June 12, 1880. It is from Mr. Allnutt that I take the information that Richard Milton was churchwarden of Stanton St. John's in 1582. Mr. Hyde Clarke's

postscript adds:—"Mr. Allnutt informs me that Mr. Sides has found opposite the name of Richard Milton, the grandfather, in the Archdeacon's visitation [of Stanton St. Johns] 'cot,' which stands for *contumax*."—The parish-registers of Stanton St. John's, I have been obligingly informed by the present Rector, the Rev. W. E. C. Austin-Gourlay, do not go back beyond 1654, and contain no trace of a Milton living in the parish between that date and 1700.

were quite right, it will have been seen, in their statement that he had been a very zealous Roman Catholic. Two other points of their information respecting him remain rather dubious: — (1) *Was he ever an officer of Shotover Forest?* Aubrey's words, in his heraldic sketch, "and they were raungers of the Forest," would lead us to imagine that some office in connexion with the Forest had been hereditary for some time in the family, and had descended from the small farmer Henry Milton of Stanton St. John's to his more substantial son Richard; and it is Wood that fastens the office more particularly on Richard, calling him definitely "an under - ranger or keeper of the Forest of Shotover." Wood's authority for such a fact, relating to such a locality, ought to count for something, even if he adopted it first from Aubrey; but confirmation is wanting. "Much as I "have seen," wrote Mr. Hunter in 1850, "of documentary "evidence relating to Shotover at that period, such as "Presentments and Accounts, which are the kind of documents in which we might expect to find the name, I have "seen no mention of any Milton having held any office in "the Forest, but only having transactions with those who "did hold such offices." In this connexion Mr. Hunter presents us with the names of two Oxfordshire Miltons whom he had ascertained to be living as contemporaries and near neighbours of Richard Milton of Stanton St. John's and probably his kinsmen. One was a Rowland Milton, "husbandman," of Beckley, whom we can now recognise, though Mr. Hunter had not the means, as presumably the Rowland Milton of Henry Milton's will of 1558, and therefore Richard's near relative, if not his brother. He was alive till 1599, and is reported by Mr. Hunter as having in 1586 bought some ash-trees from the Regarders of Stowe Wood, close to Beckley, and as having been subjected to a small fine in 1591 for having cut down a cart-load of wood, without leave, "in the Queen's Wood called Lodge Coppice" in the same vicinity. Again, in the contiguous parish of Elsfeld, also close to Shotover Forest, Mr. Hunter found, about the same time, a Robert Milton, "to whom and his

companions the officers of the Forest paid forty shillings for hedging Beckley Coppice and for gates and iron work." He may have been a son of the Rowland Milton of Beckley, as also may have been a John Milton whom very recent research has discovered as then living in Beckley and as having been churchwarden of that parish in 1577 and again in 1581. Not one of these Beckley or Elsfield Miltons, it will be seen, helps us to the conclusion that their kinsman Richard Milton of Stanton St. John's was an under-ranger of Shotover Forest, or that such an office had run in the family of the Miltons of those Oxfordshire parts. In the adjacent county of Berks, however, not very far from those Oxfordshire parts, there *was* a Milton in charge of the royal forests in that county at the very time when Aubrey and Wood suppose the poet's Roman Catholic grandfather to have been under-ranging in Shotover. He was a Thomas Milton, found by Mr. Hunter as having been in 1571 "sworn Regarder and Preservator of all the Queen's Majesty's Woods within Battell's Bailiwick, parcel of the Park of Windsor," and of whom it is further known that in 1576 he had a grant of a tenement called La Rolfe, with two gardens, in New Windsor. Related to this Thomas Milton may have been a Nicholas Milton, "gentleman," who was living at Appleton, in the same county of Berks, from 1589 to 1613, and was a person of some condition, possessing lands in Appleton and in other places. These Berkshire Miltons were evidently of a superior rank in life to their Oxfordshire contemporaries and namesakes.¹ (2) *Who was Richard Milton's wife?* If our reading of Aubrey's heraldic sketch and of the independent tradition through Peck is correct, her maiden name was Haughton. Our reading of Aubrey's sketch purports further that she was a widow when Richard Milton married her and that her first husband's name had been Jeffrey. Further, as Richard Milton does not appear as a married man in his widowed mother's will of 1560-61,

¹ Hunter's *Milton Gleanings*, pp. 1—10, with Mr. Allnutt's previously cited communication to *Notes and Queries* of Feb. 7, 1880. It is this last that certifies

the existence of the John Milton who was twice churchwarden of Beckley: the other Miltons mentioned were unearthed by Hunter.

we may infer that his marriage was after that date. Now, for a wife of the name of Haughton or Jeffrey a parishioner of Stanton St. John's would not, in 1561 or 1562, have had far to go. In the same Oxford Registry of wills in which I found those of Richard Milton's father and mother I found the will, proved March 1595, of a "John Jeffrey of Holton, in Com. Oxon., husbandman," appointing his wife Elizabeth Jeffrey his sole executrix, and bequeathing the bulk of his goods after her decease to his son Christopher Jeffrey, burdened with small money-legacies to a Henry Jeffrey, a Barnaby Byrd, and a Margaret Jeffrey, styled "kinswoman." It may have been from among the previous generation of these Jeffreys of Holton that Richard Milton of the neighbouring Stanton St. John's found his wife about 1561. Nor in the required Haughton of the ease was there any particular difficulty. Haughton or Houghton was, indeed, a name of great pretension, almost all who bore it and had any passion for their pedigree tracing themselves, if by any ingenuity they could, to the ancient stem of the Hoghtons of Hoghton Tower in Lancashire, the representative of which from 1502 to 1558 was Sir Richard Hoghton, and from 1558 to 1580 his son Thomas, who rebuilt Hoghton Tower.¹ Besides Haughtons in Lancashire, Haughtons in Cheshire, Haughtons in Sussex, and Haughtons in London, all of some consequence, there were, however, Haughtons in Oxfordshire, too humble to be heard of in the books of the heralds. In 1587 there died at Netherworton, near Deddington, in the north of Oxfordshire, about fifteen miles from Stanton St. John's, a Thomas Haughton, who was a man of some substance, and left, besides goods and leases of lands to his children, Thomas and Ellen, small bequests for bread for the poor and for repairing a bridge.² There was another family of Haughtons, living in 1571 at Goddington in the same county, not many miles from Stanton St. John's. In that year there died there an Edmund Haughton, a smith, who, besides small bequests to the

¹ Collins's *Baronetage* (1741), I. pp. 15—22.

² Will formerly in Bishop's Registry, Oxford, and now at Somerset House.

mother-church in Oxford, and to the poor of Goddington, left £5 each to his daughters Jane and Isabel and his son Henry, 20s. in money and "a pair of bellows" and other implements to his son Edward, and all the rest of his gear to his son Nicholas.¹ Other Haughtons and Jeffreys may be found in the Oxfordshire of those days within a very moderate distance from Stanton St. John's; but it needs no farther search to prove that there was nothing supernatural in the marriage of a Milton of Stanton St. John's, in or after 1561, with a bride of the name of Haughton, even should it be an essential addition that she had been a Jeffrey by a previous marriage.

The general result of the researches so far is that, whatever may be the reserved possibility of remote ancestors who were holders of lands in Oxfordshire before the Wars of the Roses, the Miltons from whom the poet came immediately were persons of that name nestling, more or less substantially, as husbandmen and handicraftsmen, in a set of small villages a few miles to the east of Oxford, and intermarried there with the daughters of their neighbours, husbandmen and handicraftsmen also. More specially, it is the poet's grandfather, Richard Milton of Stanton St. John's, that steps out from among his kin in all that part of Oxfordshire as distinctly the most substantial man of them all, a yeoman or small freeholder at last, the best off in worldly respects, and also, if we may judge from the facts of his life, the sternest and most independent in doing what he thought right. His marriage with a Haughton who had been a Jeffrey may have been one of his distinctions, and he may have counted kin with the contemporary Miltons of Berkshire, his superiors in rank.²

¹ Will formerly in Bishop's Registry, Oxford, and now at Somerset House.

² Besides the Miltons that have been mentioned in the text, I have found a John Milton, "fisherman," of Culham, about six miles south of Oxford, who died, apparently young and unmarried, in 1602, and also a Robert Milton, "tailor," of Weston, about six miles north of Stanton St. John's, who died in 1610. As late as April 1630, as

appears from a certificate of "all cottages and encroachments on the King's woods" round Windsor in Berks, addressed by authorities there to the Earl of Holland, as Constable of Windsor Castle, and preserved among the State Papers, there was a little nest of Miltons among those whom it was proposed to remove from the cottages in that vicinity, on the ground that the cottages were "the ruin and destruction

How many children had been born to the resolute Roman Catholic yeoman of Stanton St. John's and his wife (assumed for the present to have been a Haughton originally) remains unascertained. We know for certain only of one,—John Milton, the poet's father. He was probably their eldest son, if not their only one. ✓

The age of the poet's father can be determined with some precision. He did not die till March 1646-7, when, if Aubrey is correct in saying that he "read without spectacles at eighty-four," he must have been in his eighty-fifth year at least; and we shall produce in due time an affidavit in a court of law verifying Aubrey's statement to the very letter. The poet's father cannot, on this evidence, have been born later than 1563, or the fifth year of Elizabeth, and must therefore have been all but exactly a coeval of Shakespeare. His course of life, however, seems to have been much more slow than that of his great contemporary. His school-education at Stanton St. John's, or perhaps partly in Oxford, may be taken for granted; and, though no proof has turned up in confirmation of Aubrey's statement that he was for some time at Christ Church College in the University of Oxford, there is no absolute reason for discrediting that statement. The natural time for his admission into an Oxford College, if he did enter one, would be between 1577, when he was in his fifteenth year, and 1582, when he was in his twentieth; and, even had there been anything in the state of the University at that time to prevent the entry of a youth of Roman Catholic parentage,—which does not seem to have been very strictly the case,—the difficulty may have been less with a youth whose father's Roman Catholicism was then of such a sort that he could be churchwarden in the neighbouring parish of Stanton St. John's.¹ All the

both of the woods and game, and the shelter of deer-stealers and all disorderly persons." There was a William Milton, junior, renting a cottage and a rood of land in Windlesham Walk at a yearly payment of 6s. and two pullets; there was an Elizabeth Milton, tenanting a cottage erected on his Majesty's waste in Sunninghill, and paying no-

thing or some nominal rent; and there were a Robert Milton and a Nicholas Milton in the same neighbourhood, in similarly good-for-nothing circumstances.

¹ The only Miltons in the Oxford Matriculation Register from 1564 to 1600, I am informed by Colonel Chester, are a John Mylton from Somersetshire,

same, it was at the University, according to Aubrey, that the youth abjured the paternal religion; and Phillips, while saying nothing about Christ Church, is also positive on the point that the Oxfordshire yeoman's son,—Phillips's own grandfather, be it remembered, whom he knew well and must have heard often talk of his early life,—changed his religion "when young." Here it is, however, that Phillips, Wood, and Aubrey rather fail us in the matter of dating. All three are agreed in representing the rupture between father and son as complete after the son had avowed his change of religion. "Disinherited him, . . . so thereupon he came to London and became a scrivener," is Aubrey's account of what happened; "cast out by his father, a bigoted Roman Catholic, for embracing, when young, the Protestant faith, and abjuring the Popish tenets," are Phillips's words; and Wood's story about the old yeoman's conduct is that he "did put away, or, as some say, disinherit, his son because he was a Protestant,—which made him retire to London, to seek, in a manner, his fortune." A fair inference from these concurrent accounts might be that the poet's father left his native Oxfordshire and came to London in or about 1585, when he was in his twenty-third year. In that case, he and Shakespeare made their first acquaintance with London about the same time and when about the same age. But, in that case, we encounter a difficulty not explained by the tradition. While the Warwickshire youth immediately found a living in London by connecting himself with the theatres, we do not know what the disinherited youth from Oxfordshire can have been doing for full ten years after the assumed date of his arrival in the metropolis. Wood's words fit this difficulty more exactly than Phillips's or Aubrey's. While Phillips and Aubrey turn the youth into a scrivener all at once, or nearly so,

matriculated from Hart Hall in 1574, and a James Milton from Hampshire, matriculated from Magdalen Hall in Feb., 1591-2. Mr. Mark Pattison (*Milton*, p. 3) suggests that the poet's father was "at school at Oxford, probably as a chorister"; and Dr. Bloxam, in his *Magdalen College Register* (III. 134),

says that the poet's father "is supposed to have received his education at Magdalen School about the year 1588,"—giving as his authority the *Illustrated Times* of March 12, 1859. Magdalen School is a probable enough place; but the date 1588 means too late by a good many years.

after his coming to London, Wood's expression is that he came to London "to seek, in a manner, his fortune." This, which implies that he may have tried various ways for a livelihood before settling into a scrivener, corresponds with the fact. It is not till 1595, when he was thirty-two years of age, that we find him even tending to the profession of a scrivener, and it is not till February 1599-1600, when he was thirty-six or thirty-seven years of age, that we find him a qualified member of that profession.

"On the 27th of February 1599 [*i. e.* 1599-1600] John "Milton, son of Richard, of Stanton, Co. Oxon., and late "apprentice to James Colbron, Citizen and Writer of the "Court Letter of London [the formal old name for a member "of the Company of Scriveners], was admitted to the free- "dom of the Company." This piece of information, the result of a happy search by Mr. Hyde Clarke in the Books of the Scriveners' Company in the year 1859, and then made public by him, is the first authentic record in the London life of Milton's father, and that by which the prior tradition from Aubrey, Wood, and Phillips must be checked and interpreted.

On the whole, it confirms the statement, both by Aubrey and Phillips, that the poet's father became a London scrivener in a somewhat irregular manner. The usual terms implied a full previous apprenticeship of seven years in the office of some one already a scrivener. Most of those who entered the profession entered it in this way, the lowest, legal age of admission being twenty-one. But there might, it appears, be relaxations of the rule in special circumstances or for an extra money-payment. The poet's father, betaking himself to the profession at an age so much beyond what was customary, seems to have benefited by this facility. "Brought up by a friend of his: was not an apprentice," says Aubrey; and that there was a strong reminiscence of the circumstance in the Milton family is proved also by Phillips's words, "To which profession he voluntarily betook
 ✓ himself, by the advice and assistance of an intimate friend of his, eminent in that calling." This friend, there can be little

doubt, was the James Colbron of the foregoing excerpt from the Books of the Scriveners' Company. He is found as a scrivener of good standing in the Company to as late as 1619, with apprentices passing from his office, and with sons following him in the profession. It was from the office of this James Colbron, at all events, that the poet's father was admitted to take up his freedom of the Company in February 1599-1600. "Late apprentice to James Colbron" is his recorded qualification. At first sight, the words might seem to contradict Aubrey's phrase "was not an apprentice." But, as the Books of the Company show that Colbron himself had been admitted of the Company only on the 1st of April 1595, after having been apprenticed to a Baldwin Castleton, it is possible that Aubrey may have been in a manner right. Colbron had been in business less than five years when Milton was admitted to the Scriveners' Company on the ground of having been Colbron's apprentice. Either, therefore, Milton had served a portion of the usual seven years' apprenticeship with some previous master and had been transferred to Colbron to serve out the rest, or the Scriveners' Company had accepted the imperfect apprenticeship with Colbron as itself sufficient in the circumstances. While there is no evidence for the first supposition, the second tallies exactly with the story that has come down to us from Aubrey and Phillips. The story, in the light of the excerpt from the Books of the Scriveners' Company, may be construed thus:—Some time in 1595 or 1596, Milton, then past thirty years of age, and without any regular profession, though wishing he had one, talks over the matter with his friend, James Colbron, who has just been admitted a scrivener; this Colbron suggests to him that there is no reason why *he* should not be a scrivener too; a friendly arrangement is made between them, by which Milton, probably the older man of the two, enters Colbron's office as nominally his first apprentice; and at length, in February 1599-1600, Milton having meanwhile acquired a competent knowledge of the business, the authorities of the Scriveners' Company accept his partial apprenticeship, with what fine or

compensation-money may have been necessary in such a case, and adopt him, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, as a full member of their body. //

By the definite information we now possess as to the late date of his admission to the Company of Scriveners, we are again thrown back on the question what he can have been doing during the ten, or rather the fifteen, preceding years of his life that remain unaccounted for. In the face of the concurrent accounts of Aubrey, Wood, and Phillips, we can hardly resort to the hypothesis that the quarrel with his father had not occurred till about 1595, when he was two and thirty years of age, and that, having been living on somehow till that mature age in his native Oxfordshire, he then came to London and fell at once into the arrangement with Colbron. We must abide by the idea that he had been in London since about 1585, left to his own shifts. // What had been those shifts? How had he managed to pass the ten years between 1585 and the formation of that connexion with Colbron in or about 1595 which was to make him a scrivener? How had he supported himself through the years of his nominal apprenticeship with Colbron? On all this, which may have been a matter of interesting recollection with himself and of talk with his family afterwards, we have nothing more to say at present than that there were plenty of ways in old London by which a young man of good education and ability could manage to live without being much heard of at the time or leaving traces of himself for future inquirers. 21

Those days of anonymous obscurity, however, were now over. From the year 1600, when Shakespeare had written half his plays and was at the head of the dramatic world of London, Mr. John Milton from Oxfordshire was to rank as a known London citizen, a member of the Society of Scriveners, with his house and shop at the Spread-Eagle in Bread Street.¹

¹ Mr. Hyde Clarke's discovery of the admission-entry of Milton's father to the Scriveners' Company, with some biographical speculations founded thereon, was first made public in communica-

tions by him to the *Athenæum* of March 19, 1859, and *Notes and Queries* of the same date; and there were farther particulars in a subsequent communication of his to *Notes and Queries* of June

Scriveners, as the name implies, were originally penmen of all kinds of writings, literary MSS. as well as charters and law-documents. Chaucer has an epigram in which he scolds his "scrivener" Adam for negligent workmanship in transcribing his poems. In process of time, however, and especially after the invention of printing, the business of the scrivener had become very much that of a modern attorney, or of an attorney in conjunction with a law-stationer. Scriveners "drew up wills, leases, and such other assurances as it required but little skill in law to prepare."¹ In Middleton's *Michaelmas Term* (1607) Dustbox, a scrivener, comes in with a bond drawn, to see it executed between Mr. Easy and Quomodo, a rascally woollen-draper;² and in the *Taming of the Shrew* a boy is sent for the scrivener to draw up a marriage-settlement:—

"We'll pass the business privately and well.
Send for your daughter by your servant here :
My boy shall fetch the scrivener presently."

We have also had specimens of a scrivener's business in old London in the transactions in which the scrivener Milton was engaged in 1603 between the merchant Sanderson and the goldsmith Sparrow, and in later traces of his office-work. But the following form of oath, required of every freeman of the Scriveners' Company, will give the best idea of the nature of the profession in the reigns of Elizabeth and James:—

18, 1859. The biographical speculations were rather unfortunate, proceeding as they did on the assumption that the scrivener was admitted in the usual way and at the usual age, and proposing therefore to set aside or recast the whole tradition from Aubrey, Wood, and Phillips, as to the age and early life of the poet's father and his relations with his father, the Roman Catholic yeoman. These ingenious conjectures, irreconcilable with the evidence even then, have been absolutely quashed since by the verification of Aubrey's statement as to the age of the scrivener. Not the less has one to acknowledge the peculiar value of Mr. Hyde Clarke's discovery. It settled conclusively for the first time the very question in Milton's paternal

genealogy that remained to be settled,—the name of Milton's grandfather. Mr. Hunter, whose researches had brought to light Richard Milton of Stanton St. John's, the sturdy Roman Catholic Recusant, had made it extremely probable in 1850 that this interesting man was the poet's grandfather; and in the first edition of the present volume, accepting this extreme probability and working upon it, I had been able to push the pedigree a generation farther back by producing the wills of this Richard's father and mother. But absolute proof that this Richard was the grandfather was still wanting till Mr. Hyde Clarke found it.

¹ Hawkins's *History of Music*, III. 367.

² Dyce's *Middleton*, I. 457

"I, N. D., do swear upon the Holy Evangelists to be true and faithful unto our sovereign lord the King, his heirs and successors, kings and queens of England, and to be true and just in mine office and service, and to do my diligence that all the deeds which I shall make to be sealed shall be well and truly done, after my learning, skill, and science, and shall be duly and advisedly read over and examined before the sealing of the same ; and especially I shall not write, nor suffer to be written by any of mine, to my power or knowledge, any deed or writing to be sealed wherein any deceit or falsehood shall be conceived, or in my conscience subscribe to lie, nor any deed bearing any date of long time past before the sealing thereof, nor bearing any date of any time to come. Neither shall I testify, nor suffer any of mine to testify, to my power or knowledge, any blank charter, or deed sealed before the full writing thereof ; and neither for haste nor covetousness shall I take upon me to make any deed, touching inheritance of lands or estate for life or years, whereof I have not cunning, without good advice and information of counsel. And all the good rules and ordinances of the Society of Scriveners of the City of London I shall well and truly keep and observe to my power, so far as God shall give me grace : So help me God and the holy contents of this book."¹

This oath was sanctioned by Lord Chancellor Bacon and the two Chief Justices in January 1618-19, when the regulations of the Scriveners' Company were revised by them. But the oath, or a similar one, had long been in use ; and the Scriveners, though not formally incorporated till 1616, had for a century or more been recognised as one of the established City Companies, governed, like the rest, by a master, wardens, and other office-bearers, and entitled to appear at the city - feasts and ceremonies.² They were a pretty numerous body. Though liable to be "sent for," as in the *Taming of the Shrew*, much of their business was carried on in their own "shops." The furniture of these was much the same as that of modern lawyers' offices, consisting of a pew or chief desk for the master, inferior desks for the apprentices, pigeon-holes and drawers for papers and parchments, and seats for customers when they called. A scrivener who had money, or whose clients had money, could find good opportunities for its profitable investment ; and, in fact, money-lending and traffic in securities formed a large part of a scrivener's business.

Being "a man of the utmost integrity" (*viro integerrimo*),

¹ "Sundry Papers relating to the Company of Scriveners": Harl. MS. 2295.

² Stow's *London*, edit. 1603, p. 541.

as his son takes pride in saying,¹ and conspicuous also, as his grandson Phillips informs us, for "industry and prudent conduct of his affairs," the scrivener Milton prospered rapidly. In the end, says Aubrey, he had a "plentiful estate," and was possessor not only of The Spread Eagle in Bread Street, but also of "another house in that street, called The Rose, and other houses in other places." All this, however, is anticipation; and, for the present, the most interesting fact in the scrivener's life, in addition to those that have been mentioned, is that in 1600, when he first set up in business in Bread Street, he was a married man. The marriage, almost certainly, took place that very year, just at or immediately after the admission to the freedom of the Scriveners' Company and the entry on the Spread Eagle premises. Who was the scrivener's newly-wedded wife, the future mother of the poet? That is our next inquiry.

THE MATERNAL PEDIGREE.

The Christian name of Milton's mother was Sarah; but respecting her maiden surname there has hitherto been much uncertainty. Here again it will be best to cite first the original authorities:—

1. In the parish registers of Allhallows, Bread Street, there is this entry: "The 22d day of February, A° 1610, was buried in this parish Mrs. Ellen Jefferys, the mother of Mr. John Mylton's wife, "of this parish." The entry suggests that, at the time of the old lady's death, which occurred when her grandson the poet was a child of two years old, she was residing as a widow with her daughter and her son-in-law in their house of the Spread Eagle.

2. Aubrey, in the text of his MS. notes for Milton's Life, distinctly writes, "His mother was a Bradshaw," inserting the words, with an appended sketch of arms (argent, two bendlets sable), as a bit of information procured by recent inquiry; and, in the pedigree at the end, he repeats the same thing more distinctly by introducing the name in full, "Sarah Bradshaw," accompanied by another sketch of the same arms of Bradshaw. Wood adopts this account, and says "His mother Sarah was of the ancient family of the Bradshaws."

3. Phillips in 1694 has a different account. He speaks of Milton's mother (his own grandmother) as "Sarah, of the family of the "Castons, derived originally from Wales, a woman of incomparable "virtue and goodness."²

¹ *Defensio Secunda*: Works, VI. 286.

² To these three statements that of the antiquary Peck in 1740 might be added as a fourth. Questioning the

statements of Wood and Phillips, he then published his own belief that the poet's mother was "a Haughton of Haughton Tower, Lancashire." We

Which of these three accounts is to be accepted as determining the maiden name of Milton's mother, or how are they to be reconciled?—On the principle that a man ought to know the maiden name of his own grandmother, Phillips's account, had the other two been absent, would have at once settled the name to have been Sarah Caston. One observes, however, that his words are vague. He does not say positively that his grandmother's maiden name was Sarah Caston, but only that she was "Sarah, of the family of the Castons, derived originally from Wales." Phillips was not quite seven years of age when his grandmother died, so that he can have hardly had any recollection of her personally, and certainly no such distinct recollection as he had of her husband, the scrivener. But, even if he had forgotten her maiden name, he can hardly have set down at random the substitute for it which he did set down. He must have known, by family tradition, that there were Castons among her progenitors; and he may have had reasons in 1694 for bringing her Caston descent to the front, even if she was not a Caston herself.—Anbrey's account, which Wood followed, is perfectly precise. He twice sets down the name of Bradshaw as that of the poet's mother, and twice appends to the name a sketch of the arms of Bradshaw. Had the other two accounts been out of the way, there would, therefore, have been no doubt whatever that the maiden name of the poet's mother was Sarah Bradshaw.—All the same it is certain that the mother of this Sarah, who married the scrivener in 1600, was known in 1610-11 as Mrs. Ellen Jefferys. The register of her burial in Allhallows, Bread Street, leaves no doubt about that.

Till the other day the favourite vote, in the conflict of difficulties, was for Bradshaw as the real maiden name of Milton's mother,—the intrusion of Jefferys into the pedigree to be accounted for by some such supposition as that her mother had been married first to a Bradshaw and afterwards to a Jefferys, and the Caston intrusion to be explicable in

have already seen (*ante*, p. 9) on what authority he propounded this idea, and that he must have done so by confound-

ing Milton's mother with his grandmother.

some unascertained way. This arose partly from natural confidence in the very precise and repeated statement of Aubrey, adopted as it had been by the accurate Wood, and partly from recollection of the poet's intimate relations at one time of his life with President Bradshaw, the Regicide and Commonwealth's-man, — which recollection, mingling with the Aubrey tradition, had already, in fact, passed into a legend of some cousinship of the poet with the great regicide judge. Accordingly, the pains expended by various inquirers, myself included, on the investigation of the Bradshaw connexion of the poet's pedigree have been something incredible. The small result may be thus expressed:—All the English Bradshaws of the sixteenth century, it used to be the common belief of genealogists, had come of one stock. Their common progenitor had been Sir John Bradshaw, of Bradshaw in Lancashire, a "Saxon" landowner, who was repossessed after the Conquest. The arms of these original Bradshaws of Bradshaw were "argent, two bends sable," exactly as in Aubrey's sketch of the arms of Milton's mother, unless the bends there are bendlets. But from this main stock there had been many ramifications. Chief of these were the Bradshaws or Bradshaighs of Haigh in Lancashire, respecting whom the legend was that they had issued from the marriage of a younger Bradshaw in the Crusading times with the heiress of Haigh. The arms of these Bradshaws of Haigh were those of the original Bradshaws of Bradshaw with a difference, being "argent, two bendlets between three martlets sable"; but this difference, as well as the name Bradshaigh for Bradshaw, had been assumed first about 1568. Besides these derivative Bradshaws or Bradshaighs of Haigh, there were other derivatives, in the Bradshaws of Wendley in Derbyshire, the Bradshaws of Marple in Cheshire, and still other families of Bradshaws in Cheshire, Leicestershire, &c. President Bradshaw, born in 1602, was of those Cheshire Bradshaws who, in 1606, became Bradshaws of Marple. There is a difference in the traditional arms of these Cheshire Bradshaws from those assigned by Aubrey to the poet's mother; nor

can the necessary link be found for her anywhere in the pedigree of the Marple family. The difficulties would be greater with most of the other known lines of Bradshaws. On the whole, if the poet's maternal grandfather was a Bradshaw, he must be imagined as one of a number of yet unknown Bradshaws scattered over England in the sixteenth century, and purporting to be directly descended from the original stock. There may have been Bradshaws in London between 1560 and 1580, living plainly enough and yet claiming the old Bradshaw arms.

Into this most unsatisfactory Bradshaw-Caston-Jefferys imbroglio there has descended a Hercules of Genealogy. It was in 1868 that Colonel J. L. Chester, the Editor and Annotator of the Registers of Westminster Abbey, whose researches into the history of English families are probably more miscellaneous and thorough than those of any other living man, came accidentally upon a record definitely connecting Milton's mother with a Jeffrey stock; and, of late, devoting a good deal of his time and skill to the investigation expressly on its own account, he has succeeded in clearing up the whole subject to a degree beyond former hope. The results of his researches are as follows:—

A family of the name of *Jeffrey*, *Jeffery*, *Jeffraye*, *Geffrey*, or *Gefferey* (the spelling varying, and of no consequence) is found in the county of Essex from an early period. They were of the rank of respectable yeomen, but not higher. The earliest will of the name found is that of a Thomas Gefferey of East Hanningfield, yeoman, proved Nov. 7, 1519; the next is that of a Richard Geffrey of West Hanningfield, yeoman, dated Dec. 30, 1533. A number of Jeffreys, all of East Hanningfield or West Hanningfield, or of Little Burstled in the same county, and all designated as kinsmen or evidently such, are mentioned in one or other of the wills, or in both; among whom are a John Jeffrey of Little Burstled, a Christopher Jeffrey, his brother, and another John Jeffrey, styled "kinsman" by the testator in the first will and left his lands in East Hanningfield. It is on this John Jeffrey of East Hanningfield, apparently the same as a John Jeffrey

appointed executor in the second will, that we have to fasten.—His will, or at all events the will of a John Jeffery of East Hanningfield, yeoman, is dated Feb. 22, 1550-1, and was proved the 21st of March following. Nearly thirty persons are named in it for legacies; but the bulk of his property, which was very considerable, was left to his widow Johan Jeffery and their six children. One of the children was a daughter, already married to a David Simpson, and with issue. Of the five sons only two were of age at their father's death, viz. Richard and Thomas, while three, viz. John, another Thomas, and *Paul*, were minors. Richard Jeffery, the eldest son, was left co-executor with his mother and residuary legatee; Thomas the elder was left a tenement in Chelmsford and other property in Springfield, Co. Essex; the remainder of a portion of the real property was to descend, after the widow's death, to John, the eldest of the minors, who was moreover to have £50 when he came of age and a specified share of the household stuff; the second minor, Thomas the younger, was also to have £50 when he came of age, with the same specified share of the household stuff; and the youngest, *Paul*, besides his share of the household stuff, and £50 when he came of age, was to have a certain "specialtie" of £13 6s. 8d., with 5 marks more, and certain reversions if his brother Thomas the younger should die before the age of twenty-one.—The widow, Johan Jeffery of East Hanningfield, survived till 1572, and bequeathed, by her will, dated March 9, 1571-2, small money legacies to two sons of her foresaid eldest son Richard, and to four sons and two daughters of the foresaid Thomas the elder, but left the residue of her estate to her third son, John. In this same year 1572 all the five Jeffrey brothers, sons of John and Johan Jeffrey, were still alive, except the younger Thomas, who had settled in West Hanningfield, and was dead before the end of the year, leaving issue. Richard Jeffrey, the eldest brother, with property both in East Hanningfield and in Little Burstled, was settled in the latter place; the surviving Thomas Jeffrey was elsewhere in Essex and had a family; John Jeffrey had succeeded

his mother in East Hanningfield, and seems to have been unmarried; and *Paul*, the youngest of the family, had gone, or was soon to go, to London, to become citizen and Merchant-Taylor there, with a domicile in St. Swithin's parish. It is with this PAUL JEFFREY, citizen and merchant-taylor of London, that we are chiefly concerned.—In April 1572, if not before, *he was a married man, his wife's name being Ellen*; and before the 11th of February 1572-3 they had *one child, named Sara*. This is proved by the will of his elder brother, John Jeffrey of East Hanningfield, which bears the date last mentioned. The will, of which Paul Jeffrey is one of the witnesses, bequeathes a number of small legacies to different persons, but remembers chiefly, as might be expected in the will of an unmarried man, his brothers and sister and their children. The eldest brother, Richard, is left executor and residuary legatee, and two sons of that Richard 100s. each when they reach the age of twenty-one; his next brother, Thomas, is to have £50, five of that Thomas's children 40s. each when of age, and one of them £6 13s. 4d.; three of the daughters of the other and deceased brother Thomas are to have 66s. 8d. each at marriage; there is a recollection of his only sister Simpson, also apparently deceased, by a bequest of £20 to John, son of his brother-in-law, "Davy Sympson," and of 100s. to two other children of the said "Davy Sympson" when they shall come of age; the *wives* of his three brothers, Richard, Thomas, and Paul, are left 20s. each; to Paul himself, styled "my brother Pawle Jefferey," there is a legacy of £66 13s. 4d.; and to *Sara, his daughter*, there is a legacy of 100s., with proviso that, if she should die before the age of twenty-one, the same shall go "to the next child who shall be lawfully begotten by my said brother Pawle." In February 1572-3, therefore, Paul Jeffrey and his wife had one daughter, *Sara*, and no more. Within a few years, however, a second daughter was born to them. This we learn from another will of one of the Essex Jeffreys, not a brother of Paul, but not very far off in kin.—Among the Essex Jeffreys there was a John Jeffrey of Childerditch, styled also of Stratford, Co. Suffolk. He had died before his namesake,

the last-named John Jeffrey, Paul's brother, leaving a will dated April 11, 1572. Of this will also Paul had been one of the witnesses. While it provides more immediately for the testator's own wife and children, it bestows various tokens of remembrance on members of Paul's family, including 20s. to *Paule Jeffries wife*. That, though proving independently that Paul was married before April 11, 1572, would not give us the information of which we are in quest. But in this will of John Jeffrey of Childerditch a prominent person is a "cousin" of the testator, called Henry Jeffrey of Little Burstled. To this "cousin," most probably a nephew (for the word "cousin" then was used indefinitely), there was left, in fact, the main succession to the estate in case of failure of the immediate heirs. Now, the will of this Henry Jeffrey of Little Burstled has been found, and is of more consequence to us. It is dated Feb. 23, 1578-9, and was proved May 13, 1579. It is very long, and is full of bequests to his relatives, Jeffreys and others. To Paul's eldest brother, Richard Jeffrey, styled "cousin," he leaves a gold ring with a death's head, worth 20s., and his book of Calvin's Sermons upon Job; he leaves small tokens also to this Richard's wife and to two of the same Richard's sons; there is a similar remembrance of Paul's other brother, "my cousin Thomas Jeffrie of Chelmsford," and of that Thomas's wife and sons and daughters; and the remembrance of Paul himself takes this form,—"*Item, I geve unto my cosin Paule Jeffrie of London three poundes, and to his wief twentie shillinges, and to Sara his daughter fourtie shillinges, and to his youngest daughter twentie shillinges, meaninge them twoo that be nowe lyvinge at this presente.*" Here there is certified, almost with the particularity of foresight that the words would be of value, the existence of two daughters of Paul Jeffrey and his wife in February 1578-9, the Sara who had been alive as an infant in February 1572-3, and another who had been born since.—Our next incident is the death of Paul Jeffrey, the father of the two children. It happened before the 14th of March 1582-3; on which day, says Colonel Chester, "a commission issued, from the Commissary Court

"of London, to *Ellen Geffraye*, to administer the estate of "her husband, *Paul Geffraye*, late of *St. Swithin's*, London, "deceased intestate." As he had been a young minor in 1551, he can hardly have been much over forty at the time of his death.—From this point we overleap twenty years. The various Jeffreys of Essex, in East Hanningfield, West Hanningfield, Little Burstled, and other parishes, have been going on through those twenty years, with fresh family sproutings; and many other things have happened in the same interval in Essex and elsewhere, including the arrival in London of the disinherited John Milton from his native Stanton St. John's in Oxfordshire, his tentative efforts in London for a livelihood, his apprenticeship at last with Colbron the scrivener, his admission to the Scriveners' Company, his setting up as a scrivener in the Spread Eagle in Bread Street, and his marriage. He had been in the Spread Eagle for more than two years, when an incident occurred which is reported thus by Colonel Chester from the preserved marriage-allegations of that time in the Bishop of London's Registry:—"On the 28th of August 1602 "William Truelove, of Hatfield-Peverill in the County of "Essex, gentleman, aged about forty years, alleged that he "intended to marry *Margaret Jeffraye*, of Newton Hall, in "Great Dunmow, in the County of Essex, a maiden, aged "about twenty years, *the daughter of Paul Jeffray*, of the "parish of *St. Swithin's*, London, merchant-taylor, deceased, "with the consent of her mother *Ellen Jeffraye*, widow, whose "consent was attested by *John Milton*, of the parish of *All-hallows*, Bread Street, London, who married the sister of the "said *Margaret*." The marriage duly took place, and Margaret Jeffrey became Mrs. Truelove.

Nothing could well be more complete than this demonstration, the feat of Colonel Chester, a genealogist from America, on a problem that had been waiting, unsolved by native ingenuity, for two hundred years.¹ It fits itself into

¹ The first link discovered by Colonel Chester was the marriage allegation between Mr. Truelove and Margaret Jeffray in 1602. To that discovery,

announced in the *Athenæum* of Nov. 7, 1868, the rest is recent addition by Colonel Chester's express investigation. I have the pleasure of knowing that,

our narrative thus:—A certain Paul Jeffrey, of St. Swithin's, London, merchant-taylor, of an Essex family, died in 1582-3, leaving a widow, Ellen Jeffrey, and two daughters, Sarah and Margaret, the elder about ten years of age, and the younger several years less. In charge of the two young girls, the widow lives on, in London or in Essex, or alternating between the two, apparently with sufficient means, and certainly with relatives of good means in Essex. At length, as the girls are growing up, chance, or perhaps some link of previous family connexion or acquaintance, brings to the widow's parlour an occasional visitor in the sedate John Milton from Oxfordshire, who is in training to be a scrivener. It is the elder daughter, Sarah Jeffrey, that attracts him; and, early in 1600, just when he has been admitted of the Scriveners' Company, and has set up house in Bread Street, he marries her,—his age at the

though the investigation interested him on its own account, it was undertaken in special generosity to myself and with a view to the purposes of the present volume. He communicated to me the substance of the results in a letter which I made public, with his leave, in the *Athenæum* of May 29, 1880; but he has since put at my disposal a more detailed statement and explanation in MS., containing accounts and abstracts of the various wills, with a formal pedigree of the Essex Jeffreys as derived from those wills. It is from this manuscript that I have taken the matter of the preceding paragraph. It gives the following references:—Will of Thomas Gefferey of 1518, registered 23 *Ayliffe*, Prerog. Court of Cant.; Will of Richard Geffrey of 1533, among the records of the Commissary Court of the Bishop of London for Essex and Herts, now at Somerset House; Will of John Jeffery of East Hanningfield, of date Feb. 1550-51, registered 9 *Bucke* in Prerog. Court of Cant.; Will of his widow Joue or Johau Jeffery, of date March 9, 1571-2, on file in the Commissary Court for Essex and Herts, as above; Will of John Jefferey of East Hanningfield, of date Feb. 11, 1572-3, on file *ibidem*; Will of John Jeffrey, of Childerditch, of date April 11, 1572, registered 19 *Daper* in Prerog. Court of Cant.; Will of Henry Jeffrey of Little Bursted, of date Feb. 23, 1578-9, registered 17 *Bakon* in Prerog. Court of

Cant.—What, after Colonel Chester's demonstration, are we to do with Aubrey's *Bradshaw* tradition? The supposition that Milton's mother had been previously married to a Bradshaw would be wholly unwarranted in itself, and would not at all meet the conditions of the problem as it has been left by Aubrey. Are we, then, to set aside Aubrey's Bradshaw tradition, with his sketch of the Bradshaw arms, &c., as a mere hallucination on his part, and suppose perhaps some connexion of this hallucination in his mind with his previous Jeffrey-Haughton complication in the paternal pedigree? There is, indeed, nothing impossible in the occurrence of the name Jeffrey in both pedigrees in the way suggested. Milton's mother may have been a Jeffrey and his paternal grandmother may have also been a Jeffrey for a portion of her life by a previous marriage. In the special circumstances, however, the duplication does look suspicious; and I should be glad to see the supposed prior Jeffrey swept out of the paternal pedigree altogether, where in any case he is unpleasantly superfluous.—The *Caston* tradition from Phillips is not so hopelessly puzzling. The maiden name of Milton's maternal grandmother, Mrs. Ellen Jeffrey, may have been Caston; or the name may be collateral in some other way. We may have a glimpse of light yet on that matter.

time being about thirty-seven and hers about twenty-eight. A little more than two years after it is he, acting as the son-in-law and representative of the widowed Mrs. Ellen Jeffrey, that attests her consent to the marriage of her other and younger daughter, Margaret Jeffrey, with the well-to-do Essex widower, Mr. William Truelove; and after that marriage, if not before, the constant home of the widow, or her constant London home, is the house of her son-in-law Milton and her daughter Sarah in Bread Street.

The elder daughter of the widowed Mrs. Ellen Jeffrey proved a most suitable wife for the prosperous scrivener. The poet speaks of her as "a most excellent mother, and particularly known for her charities through the neighbourhood (*matre probatissimâ et eleemosynis per viciniam potissimum notâ*)."¹ Though she was about nine years younger than her husband, he had the advantage of her in one respect. His sight, as Aubrey has told us, was so good that he could read without spectacles in extreme old age; but she "had very weak eyes, and used spectacles presently after she was thirty years old," *i. e.*, if Aubrey is correct, within a year or two after her marriage.

To the worthy pair, thus wedded in or about 1600, there were born, in the course of the next fifteen years, six children in all, as follows:—

1. A "chrisom child"—*i. e.* a child who died before it could be baptized²—respecting whom there is this entry in the Register of Allhallows, Bread Street: "The 12th of May A^o 1601 was buried "a Crysom Child of Mr. John Mylton's of this parish, scrivener."

2. Anne, the register of whose baptism has not been found, but who may be supposed to have been born between 1602 and 1607.

3. John, born Dec. 9, 1608, and baptized Dec. 20, as appears from the Allhallows Register: "The 20th daye of December 1608 was "baptized John, the sonne of John Mylton, scrivener."

¹ *Defensio Secunda*: Works, VI. 286.

² "The 'chrisom' was a white vesture "which in former times the priest used "to put upon the child at baptism. The "first Common Prayer Book of King "Edward orders that the woman shall "offer the chrisom when she comes to "be church'd; but, if the child hap-
pened to die before her churching, she

"was excused from offering it, and it "was customary to use it as the shroud "in which the child was buried." Properly, therefore, a "chrisom child" was one that died, after baptism, before the churching of the mother; but the term had come in practice to mean a child that died before baptism. (See Hook's Church Dictionary.)

4. Sarah, baptized at Allhallows July 15, 1612, and buried there Aug. 16 in the same year.

5. Tabitha, baptized in the same place Jan. 30, 1613-14, and buried elsewhere at the age of two years and six months.

6. Christopher, baptized at Allhallows Dec. 3, 1615.¹

By the death of three of these children in infancy the family was reduced to three,—a daughter Anne, the eldest, and two sons, John and Christopher. The poet, therefore, grew up with one sister and one brother, the sister several years older than himself, and the brother exactly seven years younger. The maternal grandmother, Mrs. Ellen Jeffrey, was probably residing in the house at the time of the poet's birth, and may have received him in her arms. The paternal grandfather, the Roman Catholic Richard Milton of Stanton St. John's, was probably dead before the birth of the poet. The stern old gentleman's Recusancy and its disagreeable pecuniary consequences to him must have been a topic of talk, if not of anxiety, for the scrivener and his wife through the whole of the second year of their married life; but we do not know whether the trouble had softened the old gentleman, or brought him to their door for refuge or reconciliation.

¹ The date of Tabitha's death is from the Pedigree of Milton by Sir Charles Young, Garter King, prefixed to Pickering's edition of Milton's works.—Phillips makes an error in his account of

the number of the scrivener's children' He says "three he had and no more," whereas there were six, of whom three died in infancy. It is *possible* there were others who also died early.

CHAPTER II.

THE SPREAD EAGLE, BREAD STREET, OLD LONDON.

IN vain now will the enthusiast in Milton step out of the throng of Cheapside and walk down Bread Street to find remaining traces of the house where Milton was born. The Great Fire of 1666 destroyed this, with so many other of the antiquities of old London. Bread Street, indeed, stood almost exactly in the centre of the space over which the Fire extended. Nevertheless, as the city was rebuilt after the Fire with as strict attention to the old sites as the surveyor's art of that day could ensure, the present Bread Street occupies relatively the same position in the map of London as the old one did. Exactly where the present Bread Street strikes off from the present Cheapside did old Bread Street strike off from old Cheapside, and, but for the havoc made by recent improvements, with the same arrangement of streets right and left, north and south. If, therefore, nothing of the material fabric of the house where Milton was born, nor of the objects which once lay around it, now remains, at least the ghosts of the old tenements hang in the air, and may be discerned by the eye of vision.

Till lately more remained. Describing Bread Street as it was in 1720, or more than fifty years after the Fire, Strype¹ enumerates several courts in it, and among these one called Black Spread Eagle Court. It was the first court on the left, as you went from Cheapside. He describes it as "small, but with a free-stone pavement, and having a very good house at the upper end." The information is repeated in the last edition of his work in 1754; and in the map of Bread Street Ward in that edition "Black Spread

¹ Strype's Stow: 1720.

Eagle Court" is very distinctly marked. There can be no doubt that this Black Spread Eagle Court commemorated the house which had been occupied by Milton's father. We know, from Aubrey, that the house had acquired celebrity as the poet's birthplace while he was yet alive, and that foreigners used to go and see it to the very year of the Fire; and it is not likely that, when Bread Street was rebuilt, the honour of the name was transferred to a wrong spot.

The court itself remained within very recent memory, and I have visited it often. It was, as I have said, the first on the left hand as one went from Cheapside, and was at the depth of three houses back from that thoroughfare. It no longer, however, bore the name "Black Spread Eagle Court," nor any other, the warehousing firms that occupied it not finding any name necessary to ensure the safe delivery of their goods and letters. The old name probably fell out of use soon after 1766, when the house-signs were taken down over London, and houses began to be designated by numbers. There is no court at all there now, but only the business premises of Messrs. Copestake and Co., with the site of the old court absorbed in them where they front the street. Walk down Bread Street, therefore, on the left hand, from Cheapside; stop at those premises, and realize the fact that they have devoured and incorporated an anonymous little court which many persons remember and which had been Strype's "Black Spread Eagle Court" of 1720 and 1754; then again demolish in imagination that little "Black Spread Eagle Court," and rear in its room an edifice chiefly of wood and plaster; finally, fancy that house with its gable end to the street, ranging with others of similar form and materials on one side, and facing others of similar form and materials opposite: and, when you have done all this, you have the old Spread Eagle in which Milton was born as vividly before you as it is ever likely to be.¹

¹ The premises of Messrs. Copestake and Co. range from No. 57 to No. 63 of the present Bread Street, and it is perhaps No. 61 that marks most exactly the site of the old Milton house and shop. This particular property in Bread

Street is held under lease from the Merchant Taylors' Company, and is supposed to have been gifted to the company by the will of a John Tressawell, dated 1st March 1518-19. See the details at p. 284 of *Memorials of the*

The house, as we have said, was as much in the heart of the London of that day as the present houses on the same site are in the heart of the London of this. The only difference is that, whereas the population of London is now counted by millions, it consisted then perhaps of not more than 200,000 souls.¹ The future poet, therefore, was not only a Londoner, like his predecessors Chaucer and Spenser, but a Londoner of the innermost circle, a child of the very heart of Cockaigne. Bow Church stood at the back of the Spread Eagle, and so close that, had the famous bells fallen, they might have crushed the infant in his cradle. This circumstance and its implications are to be distinctly conceived. A great part of the education of every child consists of those impressions, visual and other, which the senses of the little being are taking in busily, though unconsciously, amid the scenes of their first exercise; and, though all sorts of men are born in all sorts of places, poets in towns and prosaic men amid fields and woody solitudes, yet much of the original capital with which all men trade intellectually through life consists of that mass of miscellaneous fact and imagery which they have acquired imperceptibly by the observations of their early years. If, then, though it is beyond our meagre science to determine how much of the form of Shakespeare's genius depended on his having been born and bred amid the circumstances of a Warwickshire town, we still follow the boy in his wanderings by the banks of the Avon, hardly less is it necessary to remember that England's next great poet was born in the middle of old London, and that the sights and sounds amid which his childhood was nurtured were those of crowded street-life.

Bread Street, like its modern successor, stretched southward from Cheapside, in the direction of the river, athwart old Watling Street and a dense maze of other streets that has been abolished by the present spacious Cannon Street

Guild of Merchant Taylors by the Master of the Company for the year 1873-4 (Charles Matthew Clode).

¹In 1603 the population of London

was estimated at little over 150,000; which I suspect was under the truth. See Cunningham's *Handbook of London*, p. xxiv.

and other recent clearings in that neighbourhood. The street was "so called," says Stow, "of bread anciently sold there," and was, in Milton's childhood, one of the most respectable streets in the city, "wholly inhabited by rich merchants," who had their shops below and their dwelling-houses above, and with two parish-churches in it, and "divers fair inns for good receipt of carriers and other travellers."¹ Going down from his father's house on the same side and passing the next houses, the boy would come first to the Star Inn with its court. Passing it and another row of merchants' shops and houses beyond it, he would cross Watling Street, inhabited by "wealthy drapers, retailers of woollen cloth, both broad and narrow, of all sorts, more than any one street in the city."² On the opposite corner of Watling Street stood the parish-church of All-hallows, where he sat every Sunday with his father and mother, and where he had been christened. Continuing the walk on the same side, and passing Salters' Hall, an old foundation of "six alms-houses builded for poor decayed brethren of the Salters' Company," he would come upon the second parish-church in the street, that of Saint Mildred the Virgin. A little farther on, after crossing Basing-lane, he would come upon the greatest curiosity in the whole street, the famous Gerrard's Hall. "On the south side of Basing-lane," says Stow, "is one great house of old time, builded "upon arched vaults, and with arched gates of stone, brought "from Caen in Normandy. The same is now a common "hostrey for receipt of travellers, commonly and corruptly "called Gerrard's Hall, of a giant said to have dwelled there. "In the high-roofed hall of this house sometime stood a "large fir-pole, which reached to the roof thereof and was "said to be one of the staves that Gerrard the giant used in "the wars to run withal. There stood also a ladder of the "same length, which, as they say, served to ascend to the "top of the staff. Of later years this hall is altered in building, and divers rooms are made in it. Notwithstanding "the pole is removed to one corner of the hall, and the

¹ Stow's Survey, 1603, p. 348.

² Ibid. p. 348.

"ladder hanged broken upon a wall in the yard. The "hosteler of that house said to me the pole lacked half a 'foot of forty in length: I measured the compass thereof "and found it fifteen inches."¹ Stow's own researches enabled him to inform the hosteler that the Hall was properly not "Gerrard's Hall," but "Gisor's Hall," so called from a wealthy London family, its original owners, who had dwelt there in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. For this information he had no thanks; and the story of Gerrard the Giant remained one of the popular myths of Bread Street. Beyond Gerrard's Hall there was little to be seen on that side of Bread Street; and, unless the boy continued his walk towards Thames Street and the river, he might return home by the other side of the street, seeing such objects on that side as the Three Cups Inn and the Bread Street Compter or prison.

There were, however, other objects of interest, either in Bread Street or so close to it as to be accessible from it. One was the Mermaid Tavern, famous as the reputed resort of Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and the other literary celebrities of those days.²

"What things have we seen
Done at the Mermaid! heard words that have been
So nimble, and so full of subtle flame,
As if that every one from whence they came
Had meant to put his whole wit in a jest,
And had resolved to live a fool the rest
Of his dull life; then, when there hath been thrown
Wit able enough to justify the town
For three days past,—wit that might warrant be
For the whole city to talk foolishly
Till that were cancelled; and, when that was gone,
We left an air behind us which alone
Was able to make the two next companies
Right witty, though but downright fools."³

¹ Stow's Survey, 1603, p. 350.

² Gifford, in his Life of Ben Jonson, places the Mermaid in Friday Street, the next parallel to Bread Street. But Ben's own lines seem to show that the tavern was in Bread Street:—

"At Bread-street's Mermaid having
dined and merry,
Proposed to go to Holborn in a
wherry." (*Epigr.* 133.)

Oldys in his MS. notes on Langbaine, (annotated copy of Langbaine's Dramatic Poets in British Museum, p. 286) speaks as if there were two Mermaids, one in Bread Street and one in Friday Street, but fixes on that in Bread Street as *the* Mermaid.

³ Francis Beaumont to Ben Jonson, before 1616.

The date of the merry meetings thus described, with such a sense of after-relish, by one who so often figured in them, corresponds with the time with which we are now concerned. Sir Walter Raleigh, it is said, had begun a kind of club there before the close of Elizabeth's reign¹; during the latter years of that reign and the first of James's, while Shakespeare was still in town to make one of the company, the meetings were at their best; but even after that time they were kept up by the rest of the fraternity. Any time, therefore, between 1608 and 1614, while Milton was a child, we may fancy those meetings going on close to his father's house, at which, over a board covered with cups of Canary, and in a room well filled with tobacco-smoke, the seated gods exchanged their flashes. Nay, and if we will imagine the precise amount of personal contact that there was or could have been between Shakespeare and our poet, how else can we do so than by supposing that, in that very year 1614 when the dramatist paid his last known visit to London, he may have spent an evening with his old comrades at the Mermaid, and, going down Bread Street with Ben Jonson on his way, may have passed a fair child of six playing at his father's door, and, looking down at him kindly, have thought of a little grave in Stratford churchyard, and the face of his own dead Hamnet? Ah! what an evening in the Mermaid was that; and how Ben and Shakespeare betongued each other, while the others listened and wondered; and how, when the company dispersed, the sleeping street heard their departing footsteps, and the stars shone down on the old roofs!

But, if Bread Street itself was rich in objects and associations, the great thoroughfare of Cheapside or West Cheap, into which it opened, was still more attractive. The boy had only to go a few paces from his father's door to see the whole of this great street at one glance. He could see it eastward, till it branched off into the Poultry and Bucklers-bury, and westward, till, split by the Church of St. Michael in the Querne, it branched off into Paternoster Row and

¹ The first authority for this tradition, I believe, is Oldys (1686—1761), in his MS. notes as above.

Newgate Street. In Old Cheap, as in its modern successor, the traffic and bustle of the city was at its thickest. Here the mercers and goldsmiths had their shops; here were some of the most noted taverns of the city; here there was a constant throng of foot-passengers, going and coming, with horsemen and dray-carts among them, and now and then also a coach,—for of late years those vehicles had come into fashion, and the world, as Stow complains, was “running on wheels with many whose parents had been glad to go on foot.” Whenever there was a procession or other city-pageant, it was sure to pass through West Cheap. The aspect of the street itself, with its houses of various heights, nearly all turned gable-wise to the street, and all with projecting upper storeys of woodwork and latticed windows, was far more picturesque than that to which we are accustomed. Some of the houses were as handsome, to the standard of that time, as any in London. Eastward was a row of many “fair and large houses, for the most part possessed of mercers”; and westward, beginning from the very corner of Bread Street, was another row,—“the most beautiful frame of fair houses and shops,” says Stow, “that be within the walls of London or elsewhere in England.” This frame of houses, called Goldsmith’s Row, had been built in 1491 by Thomas Wood, goldsmith. “It containeth,” says Stow, “in number ten fair dwelling-houses and four-teen shops, all in one frame, uniformly builded four storeys high, beautified towards the street with the goldsmith’s arms and the likeness of woodmen in memory of his name, riding on monstrous beasts; all which is cast in lead, richly painted over and gilt.” But the most conspicuous difference between old Cheapside and modern Cheapside consisted in certain prominent objects seen along the middle of the old street. Far to the east, and just where Cheapside passes into the Poultry, stood the Great Conduit, a castellated stone-edifice with a lead cistern, built in 1285 and rebuilt in 1479, for supplying that part of the city with sweet water by means of pipes from Paddington. Then, just at the top of Bread Street, and therefore associated

perhaps more than any other object of the kind with Milton's early recollections, was the "Standard in Cheap,"—a monument of unknown antiquity, in the shape of a hexagonal shaft of stone, with sculptures on each side, and on the top the figure of a man blowing a horn. Here Wat Tyler had beheaded some of his prisoners in 1381, and here Jack Cade had beheaded Lord Say in 1450. Far finer architecturally, and only a little distance west, was the famous Cross in Cheap, a Gothic edifice surmounted by a gilt cross, one of the nine crosses erected by Edward I. in 1290 in memory of his Queen Eleanor. Last of all there was the Little Conduit, set up in 1431, at the end of St. Michael's in the Querne.

The streets and lanes going off from old Cheapside on both sides were pretty much the same in number and in name as those going off from its successor. On the one side were Ironmonger Lane, St. Lawrence Lane, Milk Street, Wood Street, Guthrun's or Gutter Lane, and Foster Lane; on the other side, right and left from Bread Street, were Bow Lane, Soper Lane, Friday Street, and Old Change. Bow Lane and Friday Street, as the next parallels to Bread Street, would be those with which the boy was soonest familiar.

Walking westward along Cheap, only a pace or two past the Little Conduit, one came to St. Paul's Gate, a narrow archway opening from Paternoster Row into St. Paul's Churchyard. Here, in all its vastness, stood Old St. Paul's, then shorn of the greater part of its enormous steeple, which had towered into the sky more than five hundred feet, but still of such dimensions that its present successor can give but a reduced idea of it. The middle aisle of the church,—“Duke Humphrey's Walk,” as it was called,—was open to all, and was used as a common thoroughfare. Here, every forenoon and afternoon, the courtiers, the wits, the lawyers, and the merchants of the city, met as in a kind of exchange; and here, on the pillars of the church, used to be posted advertisements of servants out of place and the like. Outside, in the churchyard, there were trees shadowing the

gravestones; and all round the churchyard were the shops of the booksellers. On the north side was the famous Paul's Cross, a covered pulpit of timber on stone steps, from which every Sunday forenoon open-air sermons were preached by bishops and other eminent divines. On the east side of the churchyard was St. Paul's School. ✓

Farther than this we need not extend the boy's imagined rambles. Walks farther, in his father's company, there might, of course, be. There might be walks westward, beyond St. Paul's Churchyard, down Ludgate Hill to Fleet Street and the then "luxurious" Strand, or, in the same direction, to Holborn or Oldbourne, then built as far as Lincoln's Inn Fields; there might be walks northward, as far as Cripplegate and the favourite suburbs of Moorfields and Finsbury; or there might be walks eastward, through more bustling thoroughfares, to Whitechapel or the Tower. If the excursion was southwards, then, unless they walked round by London Bridge, they would have to take a boat at Queenhithe, and so cross the river. Having crossed, they would be in the neighbourhood of the Globe, the Beargarden, and other playhouses, standing in open spaces amid trees on Bankside; and from this spot, looking back across the clear stream, with the various craft upon it, to the populous opposite bank which they had left, they could distinctly see, over the dense built space, the open country to the north. They could see Hackney a little to the right; in the centre, and just over St. Paul's, they could see Highgate; and more to the left, over the Temple and Fleet Street, they could see the heights of Hampstead with their windmills.

Something of all this, in some order of succession, the boy did see. After all, however, Milton may have been but moderately sensitive from the first to impressions of this kind. More important in his case than contact with the world of city-sights and city-humours lying round the home of his childhood was the training he received within that home itself. Let us pass, then, within the threshold of the Spread Eagle in Bread Street, and let the roar of Cheapside and the surrounding city be muffled in the distance.

It is a warm and happy home. Peace, comfort, and industry reign within it. During the day the scrivener is busy with his clients; but in the evening the family are gathered together, the father on one side, the mother on the other, the eldest girl Anne and her brother John seated near, and little Kit lying on the hearth. Possibly one or two of the scrivener's apprentices lived in the house with him, such an arrangement being then common. A grave Puritanic piety was then the order in the households of most of the respectable citizens of London; and in the scrivener Milton's house there seems to have been a more than usual affection for Puritanic habits and modes of thought. Religious reading and devout exercises would be part of the regular life of the family. Thus a disposition to the serious, a regard for religion as the chief concern in life, and a dutiful love of the parents who so taught him, would be cultivated in Milton from his earliest years.

But the scrivener, though a serious man, was also a man of liberal tastes. "He was an ingeniose man," says Aubrey; and Phillips, whose remembrance of him personally lends value to his testimony, says that, while prudent in business, "he did not so far quit his own generous and ingenious inclinations as to make himself wholly a slave to the world." His acquaintance with literature was that of a man who had been well educated at school, if he had not also been, as Aubrey thought, in college at Oxford. But his special faculty was music. It is possible that, on his first coming to London after having been cast off by his father, he had taught or practised music professionally. At all events, after he had settled as a scrivener, he retained an extraordinary passion for the art, and acquired a reputation in it much above that of an ordinary amateur.

In a collection of madrigals which was published in 1601, and which long afterwards retained its celebrity, the scrivener Milton is found associated, as a contributor, with twenty-one of the first English composers then living. The volume consists of twenty-five madrigals, entitled *The Triumphes of Oriana*, each composed for five or six

voices, but all originally intended to be sung at one entertainment, in compliment to Queen Elizabeth and perhaps in her presence. "Oriana" was one of the Arcadian court-names for the aged virgin, and the notion of getting up the madrigals had originated with the Earl of Nottingham. Thomas Morley, whose compositions are still in repute, edited the collection; and among the contributors were Ellis Gibbons, John Wilbye, Thomas Weelks, and John Bennet. Milton's madrigal is the eighteenth in the series; and its admission proves that he was at that time,—the very beginning of his married life in Bread Street, the very year of his father's conspicuous Recusancy in Oxfordshire, and seven years before his famous son was born,—well known in musical circles in London. Nor had he since then forsworn his favourite art. An organ and other instruments were part of the furniture in the house in Bread Street; and much of his spare time was given to musical study. Not to speak of compositions of his not now to be recovered,—among which, according to Aubrey and Phillips, the most notable was an "*In Nomine*, in forty parts," presented by him to a German or Polish prince, and acknowledged by the gift of a gold chain and medal,—we trace his hand here and there in the preserved music of the time. In the *Tearcs and Lamentations of a Sorrowfull Soule*, published in 1614 by Sir William Leighton, knight, one of his Majesty's Honourable Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, and consisting of dolorous sacred songs, both words and music, after a fashion then much in vogue, Milton appears along with Byrd, Bull, Dowland, Orlando Gibbons, Wilbye, Ford, and other "famous artists," as the editor styles them, "of that sublime profession." Three of the "Lamentations" are to Milton's music. Again, in Thomas Ravenscroft's compendium of Church-music published in 1621 under the title of *The Whole Book of Psalmes, with the Hymns Evangelicall and Songs Spiritual, composed into four parts by sundry authors to such severall tunes as have beene and are usually sung in England, Scotland, Wales, Germany, Italy, France, and the Netherlands*, Milton's name figures along with those of other

masters, living and dead, including Tallis, Dowland, Morley, Bennet, and Ravenscroft himself. The airs in this collection harmonised by Milton are the two known in books of psalmody as Norwich and York tunes; and, of the whole Hundred and Fifty Psalms printed in the collection after the old version of Sternhold and Hopkins, Ravenscroft has fitted six—viz. Psalms V, XXVII, LV, LXVI, CII, and CXXXVIII—to the tunes so harmonised. From that time forward we are to fancy that frequently, when these particular psalms were sung in churches in London or elsewhere, it was to music composed by the father of the poet Milton. Norwich and York are still familiar tunes. “The tenor part of York tune,” we are told by Sir John Hawkins, was so well known “that within memory half the nurses in England were used to sing it by way of lullaby,” and the chimes of many country-churches had “played it six or eight times in four-and-twenty hours from time immemorial.” And so, apart from all that the scrivener of Bread Street has given us through his son, there yet rests in the air of Britain, capable of being set loose wherever church-bells send their chimes over English earth, or voices are raised in sacred concert round an English or Scottish fireside, some portion of the soul of the admirable man and his love of sweet sounds.

That the father was so gifted was very material to the son. In Milton’s own scheme of an improved education for boys, as published in his Tract of 1644, he gave a high place to music. The intervals of their more severe labours, he said, might “both with profit and delight be taken up in “recreating and composing their travailed spirits with the “solemn and divine harmonies of music, heard or learnt, “either while the skilful organist plies his grave and fancied “descant in lofty fugues, or the whole symphony with art-ful and unimaginable touches adorn and grace the well-studied chords of some choice composer: sometimes the “lute or soft organ-stop waiting on elegant voices, either to “religious, martial, or civil ditties; which, if wise men and “prophets be not extremely out, have a great power over

“dispositions and manners, to smooth and make them “gentle.” Of this kind of education Milton had the full advantage. Often, as a child, he must have bent over his father while composing, or listened to him as he played. Not unfrequently of an evening, if one or two of his father’s musical acquaintances dropt in, there would be voices enough in the Spread Eagle for a little household concert. Then might the well-printed and well-kept set of the *Orianas* be brought out; and, each one present taking a suitable part, the child might hear, and always with fresh delight, his father’s own madrigal:—

“Fair Oriana, in the morn,
Before the day was born,
With velvet steps on ground,
Which made nor print nor sound,
Would see her nymphs abed,
What lives those ladies led :
The roses blushing said,
‘O, stay, thou shepherd-maid’ ;
And, on a sudden, all
They rose and heard her call.
Then sang those shepherds and nymphs of Diana,
‘Long live fair Oriana, long live fair Oriana.’”

They can remember little how a child is affected who do not see how from the words, as well as from the music, of this song, a sense of fantastic grace would sink into the mind of the boy, how Oriana and her nymphs and a little Arcadian grass-plot would be before him, and a chorus of shepherds would be seen singing at the close, and yet, somehow or other, it was all about Queen Elizabeth. And so if, instead of the book of Madrigals, it was the thin large volume of Sir William Leighton’s *Tears and Lamentations* that furnished the song of the evening. Then, if one of his father’s contributions were selected, the words might be

“O, had I wings like to a dove,
Then should I from these troubles fly ;
To wilderness I would remove,
To spend my life and there to die.”

As he listened, the lonely dove would be seen winging through the air, and the wilderness, its destination, would be fancied as a great desolate place, somewhere about Moor-

fields. Nor would the opening words of the 27th Psalm, doubtless often sung in the family to York tune, be without a deeper significance:—

“The Lord is both my health and light;
 Shall man make me dismayed?
 Sith God doth give me strength and might,
 Why should I be afraid?
 While that my foes with all their strength
 Begin with me to brawl,
 And think to eat me up at length,
 Themselves have caught the fall.”

Joining with his young voice in those exercises of the family, the boy became a singer almost as soon as he could speak. We see him going to the organ for his own amusement, picking out little melodies by the ear, and stretching his tiny fingers in search of pleasing chords. Aubrey states definitely that Milton's father taught him music and made him an accomplished organist.

In the most musical household, however, music fills up but part of the domestic evening. Sometimes it would not be musical friends, but acquaintances of more general tastes, that would step in to pass an hour or two in the Spread Eagle.

For example, the minister of the parish of Allhallows, Bread Street, at that time was the Rev. Richard Stocke. A Yorkshireman by birth, and educated at Cambridge, he had been settled in the ministry in London ever since 1594, and in the church in Bread Street since March 1610.¹ A “constant, judicious, and religious preacher,” a “zealous Puritan,” and the most intimate friend of that great light among the Puritans, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Gataker, minister of Rotherhithe, there was no man in London more respected than Mr. Stocke. “No minister in England,” says Fuller, “had his pulpit supplied by fewer strangers”; and there were young men, afterwards high in the Church, who made a point of never missing one of his sermons. As he was peculiarly strict in his notions of Sabbath observance, some of the

¹ Fuller's *Worthies*, under Yorkshire; Gataker's Funeral Sermon on Stocke, Wood's *Fasti* under the year 1595; also published 1627.

city companies, who had their halls in his neighbourhood, actually altered their feast-days from Mondays to Tuesdays, in deference to his advice, that there might be the less risk of infringing on the day of rest by the necessary preparations. Once, in the early period of his ministry, having been appointed to preach the open-air sermon at St. Paul's Cross, he had spoken rather freely of the inequality of rates in the city; and, as this was thought injudicious, he had been called a "greenhead" for his pains. He had not forgotten this; and long after, having to preach a public sermon before the Lord Mayor, he reverted to the old topic, saying that "a greyhead could now repeat what a greenhead had said before." But his delight was in his own parish, where the fruits of his labours, "in converting many and confirming more in religion," were abundantly seen. It was "more comfortable for him," he used to say, "to win one of his own parishioners than twenty others." In one part of a pastor's duty, that of interesting the young, he was believed to have a peculiar faculty. Little wonder, then, that the merchants and others who were his parishioners all but adored him, and that, when he died in 1626, a number of them subscribed for a monument to be erected to his memory in Allhallows Church. The inscription on this monument was partly in Latin and partly in English; and here, the better to characterise him and his congregation, are the English verses:—

"Thy lifelesse Trunke (O Reverend Stocke)
Like Aaron's rod sprouts out again,
And, after two full winters past,
Yields blossomes and ripe fruite amaine.

For why? This work of piety,
Performèd by some of thy flocke
To thy dead corpse and sacred urne,
Is but the fruit of this old Stocke."¹

One of the scrivener's co-parishioners, and his very near neighbour, was Humphrey Lownes, printer and publisher. He resided, or had his place of business, at the sign of the

¹ Description of old Allhallows Church in Strype's *Stow*, edit. 1720, vol. I. p. 200.

Star in that steep and narrow prolongation of Bread Street river-wards which bore then the name of Bread Street Hill, and justified that name till very recently, though its relics now are dissolved in space. He was one of a family then and since well-known in the printing and bibliopolic world of London, and was himself a man of ingenuity and worth.¹ Some of Milton's commentators have stated it as an ascertained fact that this Humphrey Lownes was an acquaintance of his father's. The acquaintanceship, however, is only matter of very plausible conjecture.²

If there was not a printer and publisher among the acquaintances of the elder Milton, there was certainly one author. This was John Lane, utterly unknown to English readers now, but to whom Milton's nephew Phillips, who afterwards knew him, assigns a niche in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, published in 1675. He there describes Lane as "a fine old Queen Elizabeth gentleman," living within his own remembrance, "whose several poems, had they not had the ill fate to remain unpublished, when much better meriting than many that are in print, might possibly have gained him a name not much inferior, if not equal, to Drayton and others of the next rank to Spenser."³ Phillips must have strained his conscience a little to write this. The old gentleman's poetry remains in manuscript to this day, and will probably do so as long as the world lasts. Besides a *Poetical Vision* and an *Alarm to Poets*, not now to be recovered, he wrote a continuation of *The Squieres Tale* in Chaucer, thus finishing that "story of Cambuscan bold" which, as Milton afterwards noted, had been left "half-told" by the great original. There are manuscript copies of this performance in the British Museum and the Ashmolean at Oxford. Another still more laborious attempt of Lane's, of which there is also a fair manuscript copy in the Museum, dated 1621, was a continuation of Lydgate's metrical romance of *Guy, Earl of Warwick*, in twenty-six

¹ Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*.

² Todd and others assumed as a fact what appeared first as a conjecture in Mr. Charles Duuster's "Essay on

Milton's Early Reading," published in 1800.

³ Phillips's *Theatrum Poetarum*, pp. 111—112.

cantos. Besides these, there remains, as evidence of his perseverance, a long manuscript poem in the British Museum, dated 1621, and entitled *Triton's Trumpet to the Twelve Months, husbanded and moralized*. In it there is a distinct allusion to the scrivener Milton, in his capacity as a musical composer. Here it is, specimen enough of all Lane's poetry!—

“At this full point the Lady Music's hand
Opened the casements where her pupils stand;
To whom lifting that sign which kept the time
Loud organs, sackbuts, viols chime,
Lutes, citherns, virginals, harpsichords,
And every instrument of melody
Which mote or ought exhibit harmony,
Accenting, airing, curbing, ordering
Those sweet sweet parts Meltonus did compose,
As wonder's self amazed was at the close,
Which in a counterpoint maintaining *hielo*
'Gan all sum up thus :—*Alleluiah Deo*.”¹

More interesting still, Lane's preserved manuscript of his *Guy of Warwick* furnishes us with a specimen of the musician's powers in returning the compliment. This manuscript had evidently been prepared for the press; and on the back of the title-page is a sonnet headed “*Johannes Melton, Londinensis civis, amico suo viatico in poesis laudem*,” i. e. “John Milton, citizen of London, to his wayfaring friend, in praise of his poetry.” The sonnet is so bad that Lane might have written it himself; but, bad or good, as it is a sonnet by Milton's father, the world has a right to see it. Here, therefore, it is :—

“If virtue this be not, what is? Tell quick!
For childhood, manhood, old age, thou dost write
Love, war, and lusts quelled by arm heroic,
Instanced in Guy of Warwick, knighthood's light :
Heralds' records and each sound antiquary
For Guy's true being, life, death, eke hast sought,
To satisfy those which *prævaricari*;
Manuscript, chronicle, if might be bought;
Coventry's, Winton's, Warwick's monuments,
Trophies, traditions delivered of Guy,
With care, cost, pain, as sweetly thou presents,
To exemplify the flower of chivalry :

¹ Royal MS. 17, B. xv. f. 179, b.

From cradle to the saddle and the bier,
For Christian imitation, all are here."¹

In excuse for the quality of this sonnet, we may hope it was the scrivener's first and last. It seems to have been written about or not long after 1617, as Lane's manuscript, to which it is prefixed, bears an *imprimatur* of that date from the licencer; and it was evidently intended to appear as a commendatory sonnet to the poem when it should be printed. We may fancy, therefore, the horror of Humphrey Lownes if the scrivener, in his anxiety to see his friend's laborious performance actually printed, ever went so far as to invite him and Lane to his house together, that they might arrange as publisher and author. For the child, all the same, there might be a fascination in the sight of the only real author within the circle of his father's acquaintance; and he may have had all his life a recollection of this "fine old Queen Elizabeth gentleman," the first poet he had known.

If Mr. Stocke, Humphrey Lownes, and John Lane ever met at the scrivener's, and were not engrossed with the subject of Lane's poetry, there were other and more general subjects about which they could talk. Ever since the famous Hampton-Court Conferences of 1603-4, at which both the great parties of the English Church had appeared before King James to plead their views and compete for his favour at the outset of his reign, the hopes entertained by the Puritan party had been more and more disappointed. The Scottish sovereign had become, as decidedly as his predecessor, the supporter of Prelacy in the Church and the maintainer of royal prerogative in the State. High Church principles were in the ascendant; and the Puritan or Presbyterian party existed as an aggrieved minority within the Church, secretly acquiring strength, and already throwing off, now and then, to relieve itself of its most peccant spirits, a little brood of dissenters or sectaries. The Brownists, the Anabaptists, and the Familists, had all begun to be distin-

¹ Harl. MS. 5243. Mr. Hunter was the first to print this sonnet, and also, so far as I am aware, to refer, in con-

nexion with Milton, to Lane's MSS. generally. I have looked at the MSS. in the British Museum for myself.

guished from the general body of the Puritans before 1616, in which year Henry Jacob set up the first regular congregation in England on the principles of orthodox or Calvinistic Independency. Many of those who, if they had been at home, would have swelled these sects, were exiles in Holland. Moreover, in addition to the general Puritan body within the Church, and the incipient sects of ecclesiastical separatists that were starting out of that body, there was also in England a sprinkling of doctrinal heretics. They were chiefly either of the Arminian sort, or of that new sect of Arians of which Conrad Vorstius, the successor of Arminius in the theological chair at Leyden, was regarded as the chief. They were equally under the ban of the High Churchmen, the Puritans, and the orthodox Sectaries; and there was nothing in which King James was more zealous than in defending the faith against the "wretches" in his own dominions, and calling upon his allies the Dutch to do God and him the favour of clearing their country of them. The opinions of Vorstius in particular roused all James's theological rage. He made his ambassador in Holland inform the States how shocked he was to find them allowing "such a monster" to be professor in one of their universities, and how infinitely he should be displeased if they gave him any farther promotion.¹ Even the Roman Catholics, though well looked after in England, were less objects of aversion to his Majesty than those rare heretics that had been developed out of ultra-Protestantism. The doctrine of allegiance to a potentate living far away in Central Italy was less troublesome politically than the doctrine, slowly forming itself among the Puritans, of the right of every man to think for himself in religious matters on the spot of his own habitation.

In addition to all this, it has to be remembered that James was getting on but ill with his Parliaments, trying hard to assert his notions of prerogative, but always finding resistance at a certain point; obtaining what money he could from the Commons, and raising more by the sale of peerages,

¹ Fuller's Church Hist., Book X., Section 4.

the creation of baronets at so much a head, and other such devices, and all the while lavishing much of the money thus obtained in those jocosities of his private court-life which, with all his reputation as a kind of shambling Solomon with a Scottish accent, had lost him, almost from the first, the real respect of a people who knew what respect for royalty was, and had ere now had sovereigns to whom they did not refuse it. Let the following stand as a sample of the kind of events that were occurring during the poet's childhood, and that were talked over in English households like that of the elder Milton :—

1611 (the Poet aged 3). The present Authorized Version of the Bible published, superseding the version called the Bishops' Bible.

1612, *Nov.* 6 (the Poet aged 4). Prince Henry died in his nineteenth year, to the great grief of the nation, leaving the succession to his brother Prince Charles, who was not so much liked. Not long after, James's daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, was married, amid universal rejoicings, to the Elector-Palatine Frederick, the most Protestant of the German Princes.

1613-14, *March* 13 (the Poet aged over 5). Bartholomew Legate, an Essex-man, aged about forty, "person comely, complexion black, "of a bold spirit, confident carriage, fluent tongue, excellently skilled "in the Scriptures," was burned to death at Smithfield for Arianism. He had been in prison two years, during which the clergy and the King himself had reasoned with him in vain. Once the King, meaning to surprise him into an admission involving the Divinity of Christ, asked him whether he did not every day pray to Christ. Legate's answer was "that indeed he had prayed to Christ in the days of his ignorance, but not for these last seven years"; which so shocked James that he "spurned at him with his foot." At the stake he still refused to recant, and so was burnt to ashes amid a vast conflux of people,—“the first,” says Fuller, “that for a long time suffered death in that manner, and oh that he might be the last to “deserve it!” The very next month another Arian, named White-man, was burnt at Burton-on-Trent.

1615 (the Poet aged 7). The trial of the favourite Carr, Earl of Somerset, his wife, and their agents, for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower. The issue, as regarded the favourite, was his disgrace from court. George Villiers took his place, and became the ruling minister of James, first as Viscount Villiers (1616), and next as Earl of Buckingham (1617), which title was afterwards raised to that of Marquis, and finally to that of Duke.

1616, *April* 23 (the Poet aged over 7). Shakespeare died at Stratford-on-Avon.

1617 (the Poet aged over 8). The King visits Scotland, where, after much difficulty with the Scottish Parliament and General Assembly, he succeeds in settling the modified Episcopacy he had been long trying to enforce.

1618, *Oct.* 29 (the Poet aged nearly 10). Sir Walter Raleigh beheaded,—“more to please the Spanish Court,” people said, “than for any other reason.”

1618, *Nov. 13.* The Synod of Dort in Holland met to settle matters in the Dutch Church, particularly the controversy between the Calvinists and the Arminians. In England there was much interest in its proceedings, and five English Divines sat in it as deputies. The Calvinists were greatly in the majority, and Arminianism was condemned.

1618-19, *March 2.* The death of Queen Anne leaves James a widower.

1620 (the Poet aged 12). Great murmuring on account of the King's subserviency to the Catholic Power of Spain, as shown in his lukewarmness in the cause of his son-in-law, the Elector Frederick. The Bohemians, after having been in revolt against their king, the German Emperor Matthias, on account of his attempt to subvert Protestantism among them, had seized the opportunity afforded by his death (March 1619) to renounce their allegiance to his successor in the Empire, Ferdinand II., and to provide themselves with a true Protestant sovereign. Their choice had fallen on the Elector Palatine. Frederick accepted the throne; and thus there began a war—to be known as the great Thirty Years' War—in which the Emperor, the Pope, and the King of Spain were leagued against the Bohemians, Frederick, and the Protestant Union. All Europe looked on. In Britain it seemed shocking that James should permit the Pope, the Emperor, and the Spaniard to carry all before them against his own son-in-law and daughter and the Protestant Religion to boot. The British Protestant Lion longed to leap into the quarrel; and James was compelled at last to send some money and men. But it was too late. In November 1620 the Protestants were shattered in one decisive battle; and Frederick and his Queen, losing both Bohemia and the Palatinate, became refugees in Holland. The unpopularity of James and his favourite Buckingham was greatly increased by this affair, the more because it was believed that their truckling arose from a design to secure the Spanish Infanta, with her dowry of two millions, for the young Prince Charles.

In addition to these greater matters of national politics, which must have interested the poet's father as a man and an Englishman during the period of his son's childhood, there were other matters which interested him as the head of a family and a scrivener. In the latter half of the year 1616, for example, there was some commotion among the Scriveners of London. Like the other city companies, they had always been liable to taxes and other charges, and had duly paid the same by assessment among themselves. Of late, however, an assessment towards a "general plantation" of Coleraine and Londonderry in Ireland—*i.e.* towards the settlement of English and Scottish Protestants in those parts—had provoked opposition. Some refused to pay, on the ground that the Company, not being regularly incorporated by charter, could not be legally taxed for such a

purpose. The Company, therefore, fell into arrears, which the master, wardens, and other chief men paid out of their private purses. In these circumstances, the remedy was to procure a charter of incorporation, vesting full legal powers in the office-bearers to assess, hold meetings, compel the payment of "quarterage," &c. A petition for such a charter, drawn up in the names of William Dodd, the master, and Francis Kemp and Robert Griffiths, the wardens, of the Company, was presented to the King; and the charter was granted. By this charter (1616) the Scriveners or Writers of the Court-Letter of the City of London,—being, as the preamble declares, an ancient and highly honourable society and fraternity, and then more numerous than ever, and engaged in affairs of great moment and trust,—were constituted into a regular corporation, and power was vested in William Dodd, master, Francis Kemp and Robert Griffiths, wardens, and twenty-four liverymen named, to perform all acts necessary and to transmit the same right to their successors. In pursuance of the powers thus granted, the Scriveners prepared a revised set of regulations for the government of their craft, which, in Jan. 1618-19, as we have seen, received the sanction of Lord-Chancellor Bacon and the Chief Justices.

It is worthy of notice that, though the poet's father was one of the most prosperous men in his profession, and though the records of the Scriveners' Company show that he had been elected one of the Assistants of the Company, under the Master and Wardens, on the 14th of April, 1615,¹ his name does not occur in the list of twenty-seven scriveners who are named in the Charter of 1616 as the first office-bearers of the Company in its new shape. It is possible that he stood aloof from the movement for incorporation. That he must have complied with the new regulations, however, is evident from the fact that he continued in the practice of his craft. He was in active business as late as May 1623; on the 26th day of which month "Thomas Bower and John

¹ Mr. Hyde Clarke in the *Athenæum* of June 10, 1880, on the authority of

Mr. Gribble, Clerk of the Scriveners' Company.

Hatton, servants to John Milton, scrivener," set their names as witnesses to an indenture, connected with the conveyance of a messuage and some lands near Boston in Lincolnshire, from an Edward Copinger, of Nottinghamshire, gentleman, to two persons named Randolph, both "gentlemen," and both of London. The original is in the Public Record Office. It is a very neat, carefully penned, and carefully drawn parchment, highly creditable to the "shop" from which it issued. The scrivener had then been twenty-three years in business.

The relatives of the family must not be forgotten. It is not to be supposed but that there were still various Miltons of the paternal stock, in Oxfordshire or elsewhere, with whom there may have been more or less of communication. At all events, there were the maternal Jeffreys of Essex, still a numerous stock, and detaching scions into London, of some of whom we may hear in time. For the present we need take note only of the family of that Margaret Jeffrey, the sister of the poet's mother, who had become Mrs. Truelove in 1602 by her marriage with the Essex widower, Mr. William Truelove. The family of this Aunt Truelove had flourished very creditably, if we may judge from the will left by Mr. Truelove at his death some time before May 7, 1618. In that will he is styled "William Truelove, of Blakenham upon the Hill, Co. Suffolk, gentleman," and it appears that he had then property in that county and in Herts, as well as in Essex. He appoints as his executors his wife Margaret and his eldest son William, the latter evidently the sole issue of his first marriage; and, while bequeathing to this son William his lands and other property in Essex, he makes ample provision for the widow and the seven sons and daughters of his marriage with her, viz. Robert, Paul, Richard, Henry, Katherine, Sarah, and Margaret, all of them minors. The widow is to have all the Herts portion of the property, with remainder to her eldest son Robert; additional means are given her for bringing up the six youngest children; and the Essex property also is to come to her and her son Robert in case of failure in the line of

William.¹ That there had all along been cordial intercourse between these Trueloves and the Miltons seems proved by the fact that Aunt Truelove had called one of her daughters after her sister Milton; and, after 1618, no less than before, this country kinship of the Trueloves must have been of some account in the history of the household in Bread Street.

¹ Abstract of Will, dated Oct. 28, 1617, proved May 7, 1618, and registered *41 Meade* in the Prerog. Court of Cant., as communicated to me by Colonel Chester in a letter dated April 13, 1869. The Will, which is proved by both executors, contains a clause

requiring the widow to become bound in £400 "*to my cousin Mr. James Caston*" for the performance of the Will. This is a flash of light, though a faint one, on Phillips's tradition of a Caston connexion in the pedigree of the poet's mother.

CHAPTER III.

EDUCATION AT HOME AND AT ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL.

ALTHOUGH nothing has been yet said respecting that part of Milton's early education which consisted in his gradual training in books, the reader will have taken for granted that this was not neglected. It will have been assumed that the child was duly taught his letters; that, as he grew up, he was farther and more formally instructed; and that he was provided with books to his desire, and with other means of turning his accomplishments to account.

Milton, indeed, was from the very first the pride of his parents, and the object of their most sedulous care. There is evidence that, in a higher sense than that of ordinary compliment, he was a child of unusual promise, and that his father's fondness for him was more than the common feeling of rather late paternity. "*Anno Domini 1619*," says Aubrey, "he was ten years old, as by his picture, and was then a poet." This means that, according to the information given by Christopher Milton, his brother John was, even in his eleventh year, a prodigy in the household, and a writer of verses. What more natural than that such a boy should have every advantage of education, in order that he might one day be an ornament of the Church? "The Church, to whose service, by the intentions of my parents and friends, I was destined of a child," is one of his own phrases in later life¹; and there can be little doubt that the intention existed as early as the time specified.

The tradition, through Aubrey, that the scrivener had his son's portrait painted when he was but ten years old is worth attention. The facts are these:—About the year

¹ *The Reason of Church Government*, Book II.

1618 Cornelius Jansen, a young Dutch painter, came over from his native city of Amsterdam, with the hope of finding employment in England. He took up his residence in Blackfriars, London; and, being really an able artist,—“very clear and natural in his colouring,” say the connoisseurs, “and equal to Vandyck in all except freedom of hand and grace,”—he soon had plenty of work in painting portraits at five broad pieces a head. He painted usually on small panel, with black draperies. Among his surviving works are several portraits of James I. and his children, and not a few of noblemen and ladies of the Courts of James and Charles I. But one of his first works in England, if the connoisseurs are right in pronouncing it his, was a portrait of the scrivener’s son of Bread Street, painted in 1618. The portrait still exists,¹ conveying a far more life-like image of the little Milton, as he used to look in his neat lace frill, with his black braided dress fitting close round his little chest and arms, than any of the ideal portraits of the poetic child. The face is, indeed, that of as pretty a boy as one could wish to see. The head, from the peculiarity of having the hair cut close all round it,—and here the reader must supplement what hardly appears in the engraving, and imagine the hair a light auburn, and the complexion a

¹ In 1858, when an engraving from it was kindly allowed for the first edition of the present volume, it was in the possession of Edgar Disney, Esq., at the Hyde, Ingatestone, Essex, to whom it had descended from Mr. Thomas Hollis (see former note, pp. 5, 6). Mr. Hollis purchased it on the 3rd June, 1760, for thirty-one guineas, at the sale of the effects of Charles Stanhope, Esq., then deceased. He “had seen “the picture at Mr. Stanhope’s about “two months before, when that gentleman told him that he bought it of “the executors of Milton’s widow for “twenty guineas.” (Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq. London, 1780.) This authenticates the picture as having been one of those that belonged to the widow and are mentioned in the inventory of her effects at Nantwich in 1727. It is consequently the one referred to by Aubrey. Lord Harrington, Mr. Stanhope’s relative, wishing to have the lot

returned after the sale, was told by Hollis that “his Lordship’s whole estate should not repurchase it”; and once, when Mr. Hollis’s lodgings in Covent Garden were on fire, he “walked calmly “out of the house with this picture by “Jansen in his hand, neglecting to secure “any other portable article of value.” (Todd’s *Life of Milton*, edit. 1809, p. 142.) Mr. Hollis had the portrait engraved by Cipriani in 1760; and a copy of this engraving is given among the illustrations in the *Hollis Memoirs*, 1780. There is another engraving, by Gardiner, published by Boydell in 1794. Neither does justice to the original; which is a very interesting picture, about 27 inches by 20 in size with the frame, the portrait set in a dark oval, and with the words, “John Milton, ætatis suæ 10, Anno 1618,” inscribed in contemporary characters, but no painter’s name.

delicate pink or clear white and red,—has a look of fine solidity, very different from the fantastic representations, all aerial and wind-blown, offered as the heads of embryo-poets. In fact, the portrait is that of a very grave and intelligent little Puritan boy with auburn hair. The prevailing expression in the face is a loveable *seriousness*; and, in looking at it, one can well imagine that these lines from *Paradise Regained*, which the first engraver ventured to inscribe under the portrait, were really written by the poet with some reference to his own recollected childhood:—

“When I was yet a child, no childish play
To me was pleasing: all my mind was set
Serious to learn and know, and thence to do,
What might be public good; myself I thought
Born to that end, born to promote all truth,
All righteous things.”

Writing in 1641, while his father was still alive, Milton describes his early education in these words:—“I had, “from my first years, by the ceaseless diligence and care of “my father (whom God recompense!), been exercised to “the tongues and some sciences, as my age would suffer, “by sundry masters and teachers, both at home and at the “schools.”¹ And again, in another publication, after his father was dead:—“My father destined me, while yet a “little child, for the study of humane letters. . . . Both at “the grammar-school and also under other masters at home “he caused me to be instructed daily.”² These sentences describe succinctly the whole of Milton’s literary education prior to his seventeenth year, when he went to the University. It is not so easy to distribute the process into its separate parts.

Immediately after the statement, “*Anno Domini* 1619 he was ten years old, as by his picture, and was then a poet,” Aubrey adds, “His schoolmaster then was a Puritan, in “Essex, who cut his hair short.”³ This would seem to

¹ *The Reason of Church Government*, Book II.: Works, III. 144.

² *Defensio Secunda*: Works, VI. 286, 287.

³ These words, I think, have been

usually understood to mean that the Puritan schoolmaster of Essex wore his own hair short—*i.e.* was a Puritan of the most rigid sect. Todd even remarks on it as strange that Milton,

imply that the schoolmaster lived in Essex, and that the boy was sent to him there. Except from Aubrey, however, we hear nothing of such a schoolmaster in Essex. The only teacher of Milton of whom we have a distinct account from Milton himself as having been one of his masters before he went to a regular grammar-school, or as having been his private preceptor while he was attending such a school, was a different person. He was a Thomas Young, M.A., afterwards a Puritan parish-minister in Suffolk, and well known, both in that position and in still higher positions to which he was called, as a zealous and prominent divine of the Presbyterian party. Respecting the earlier life of this not uninteresting man research has been able to recover a few particulars.

By birth he was a Scotchman. In a subsequent publication of his, given to the world at a time when it was not convenient for a Puritan minister of Suffolk to announce his name in full, he signed himself "*Theophilus Philo-Kuriaces Loncardiensis*"; which may be translated "Theophilus Kirklover, or perhaps Lord's-Day-Lover, native of Loncardy."¹ The disguise was then effectual enough, for it might have puzzled his readers to find where Loncardy was. There *is*, however, a place of that name in Great Britain,—Loncardy, more frequently written Loncarty or Luncarty, in Perthshire. The place, now prosaic enough with its linen bleaching-grounds, is celebrated in Scottish History, as having been the scene of a great battle early in the

though educated by such a master, should have all his life kept his clustering locks, and so avoided one outward sign of Puritanism. But, as we have just seen, Milton did not *all his life* wear his hair long. In Jansen's portrait he is a boy with light hair cut very short. May not Aubrey's meaning, then, in the words "who cut his hair short," have been *not* that the schoolmaster wore his own hair short, but that it was he who cut his pupil's hair short, as seen in the picture? From the close conjunction of the two sentences—one referring to the portrait, and the other to the Puritan schoolmaster—is it not likely that the one suggested the other, and that Aubrey,

with Jansen's portrait in his mind's eye (and he took much interest in Milton's portraits), brought in the reference to the Puritan schoolmaster at that point, precisely to explain how it was that, in that portrait, the poet was turned into such a sweet little Roundhead?

¹ The work was a Latin treatise entitled *Dies Dominica*, of strongly Sabbatarian principles, arguing for the Divine authority of the Lord's Day, and was printed and published abroad in 1639, with a title-page ornamented with excellent wood-cut designs. See Warton's notes to Milton's 4th Latin elegy; also Cox's *Literature of the Sabbath Question* (1865), I. 475 and II. 38—39.

eleventh century between the Scots and the Danes. As the legend bears, the Danes were conquering and the Scots were flying, when a husbandman, named Hay, and his two sons, who were ploughing in a field near, rallied their countrymen by drawing their ploughs and other implements across the narrow passage where the fugitives were thickest, at the same time cheering and thrashing them back to renew the fight. The Scots, thus rallied, won the battle; Scotland was freed from the Danes; and the peasant Hay and his sons were ennobled by King Kenneth, had lands given them, and became the progenitors of the noble family of Errol and of the other Scottish Hays.¹—In the place made famous by this exploit there was settled, as early as 1576, in the subordinate clerical capacity of “Reader,” then recognised in the Scottish Presbyterian Kirk-system as framed by Knox and his colleagues, a certain Mr. William Young, who was, it has been ascertained, the father of our present Thomas Young. From being simply “Reader at Loncardy,” however, he was promoted, in Feb. 1582-3, to the full “personage and vicarage of the parochie kirke of Loncardy”; to this was added, in or about 1593, by an arrangement made necessary by the scanty supply of competent clergy in the Reformed Scotland of those days, the vicarage of the adjacent parish of Ragorton or Redgorton; and a still later addition to his pastorate seems to have been the third contiguous parish of Pitcairne. He must have been one of the best provided of all the Scottish parochial clergy of that time, for his income in 1593 was £61 13s. 4d. of annual Scottish money, besides 10 yearly bolls of barley, 8 bolls of meal, his manse and glebe, and the kirk-land of Loncardy. He belonged evidently to the popular or Presbyterian section of the Kirk, then resisting, under the leadership of Andrew Melville and others, the persistent attempts of King James to establish a Scottish Episcopacy; for he was one of forty-two parish-ministers who signed a famous Anti-Episcopal *Protestation offered to the Parliament at Perth* on the 1st of July

¹ Buchanan's Scottish History, Book VI. chap. 32.

1606. Latterly, Episcopacy of a moderate kind having been forcibly established, he had conformed as well as he could; and in April 1612, when proceedings were taken by the Synod of Fife relative to the "hinderance of the Gospel brought be the pluralitie of kirks servet by ane persone," Mr. William Young, parson of Loncardy, Pitcairne, and Redgorton, was one of the many who were mentioned as thus over-worked or over-beneficed. He acted for part of his later life as Clerk to the Presbytery of Perth, and is heard of as "an aged and infirm man" in 1620. He died some time in 1625, and was succeeded in the parish of Loncardy by his son-in-law, Mr. William Crookshank.—Thomas Young, the son, or one of the sons, of this Mr. William Young, must have been born in the manse of Loncardy in 1587 or 1588. After having been grounded at the Grammar School of Perth, he was sent, at the age of fourteen or fifteen, to the University of St. Andrews, where his name is found in the list of matriculations at St. Leonard's College in 1602. Having completed the full course of Philosophy or Arts there, he was one of eighteen students who in July 1606 passed to the degree of Master of Arts as "*minus potentes magistrandi*" or the less opulent candidates of their year. Where he pursued his theological studies is unknown; but it has been conjectured that he may have gone to one of the Protestant Universities of Northern Germany, and may have become a licentiate of the Scottish Kirk on his return home. Whether because his father had other sons in the Kirk and there was room there for no more of the family, or because he could not help that tendency to England for independent reasons which had become an instinct among the Scots after their King James had shown them the example, it was in England that he sought employment. He was settled in or near London probably about 1612, and appears to have supported himself partly by assisting Puritan ministers in that neighbourhood and partly by pedagogy. It is extremely likely that he is the "Mr. Young" who is found mentioned as one of those persons afterwards of note in the

Church of England who had been at one time or another pulpit assistants or curates to the celebrated Mr. Thomas Gataker of Rotherhithe. If so, his introduction to Mr. Stocke, the Rector of Allhallows, Bread Street, would have been the easiest thing in the world. Certain it is that, by some means or other, about or before 1618, he had become acquainted with Mr. Stocke's well-to-do parishioner, the scrivener of Bread Street, and had been chosen by that gentleman to teach his son. By the chances of the time and the search after a livelihood, it had fallen to a wandering Scot from Loncardy, bred to hardy literature amid the sea-breezes of St. Andrews, to be the domestic preceptor of the future English poet. He was then about thirty years of age, and seems to have been already a married man. The probability, therefore, is that he did not reside with his pupil, but only visited him daily at hours fixed for the lessons.¹

¹ As Young became afterwards master of Jesus College, Cambridge, it occurred to me, when preparing the first edition of the present volume, to look for his name in an alphabetical list of Cambridge incorporations from 1500 to 1744 preserved among the Cole MSS. in the British Museum (Add. MS. 5884). There I found "*Younge, Tho.*" among those incorporated in 1644, and the words "*St. Andr.*" opposite the name, designating St. Andrews as the University whence he had been incorporated. By the kindness of the late Mr. Romilly, Registrar of Cambridge University, I afterwards saw the record of the grace, dated April 12, 1644, for Young's incorporation into the same M.A. degree at Cambridge that he had attained "*apud St. Andrianos.*" An application to the late Professor Day of St. Andrews then led to a search of the University records there by the Rev. James McBean, the University Librarian, to whom I was indebted for the date of Young's matriculation and a tracing of his matriculation signature. The fact that he was a native of Loncardy, guessed from the "*Loncardiensis*" in the fancy-name used by him for his treatise on the Lord's Day, was confirmed by traces of his father as minister of Loncardy in 1612 found in Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife from 1611 to 1687, published by the

Ahhotsford Club in 1837 (pp. 43, 52). The probable date of Young's birth was ascertained from a copy of his epitaph, as formerly legible in the Church of Stowmarket, Suffolk, given in the *History of Stowmarket* by the Rev. A. G. H. Hollingsworth, M.A., Rural Dean and Vicar of Stowmarket (Ipswich, 1844); where it is stated that he died in Nov. 1655, *etatis* 68. The reference to Young as probably a curate to Gataker of Rotherhithe about 1612 I had from a Memoir of Gataker appended to his Funeral Sermon by Simeon Ashe in 1655.—Though at the date of those inquiries the detection of the Scottish origin and education of Milton's first preceptor had the interest of novelty for myself and the public, it was no surprise to me to find that the late eminent Scottish antiquary, Mr. David Laing, had already known the secret, and been on the track of Young's antecedents. He continued to interest himself in the subject after I had the pleasure of his personal acquaintance, with the result that he printed in Edinburgh in 1870 a thin little volume of 39 pages entitled *Biographical Notices of Thomas Young, S. T. D., Vicar of Stowmarket, Suffolk*; and from this little book I have been able to supply some particulars in the present text that were not in the first edition.

From Young's subsequent career, and from the unusually affectionate manner in which Milton afterwards speaks of him, it is clear that, though his gait and accent may have seemed a little odd at first in Bread Street, he was a man of very superior qualities. The poet, writing to him a few years after he had ceased to be his pupil, speaks of the "incredible and singular gratitude" he owed him, and calls God to witness that he revered him as a father.¹ Again, more floridly, in a Latin elegy written in 1627:—"Dearer "he to me than thou, most learned of the Greeks, to "Cliniades, who was the descendant of Telamon, and than "the great Stagirite to his generous pupil, whom the loving "Chaonis bore to Libyan Jove. What Amyntorides and "the Philyreian hero were to the king of the Myrmidones, "such is he to me. Under his guidance I first explored "the recesses of the Muses and the sacred green spots of "the cleft summit of Parnassus, and quaffed the Pierian "cups, and, Clio favouring me, thrice bedewed my joyful "mouth with Castalian wine." The meaning, in more literal prose, seems to be that Young grounded his pupil well in Latin, introduced him also to Greek, and at the same time awoke in him a feeling for poetry and set him upon the making of English and Latin verses.

How long Young's preceptorship lasted cannot be determined with precision. It began, there is reason to think, in 1618, if not earlier; and it certainly closed about 1622, when Young left England, at the age of about thirty-four, to be pastor of the congregation of English merchants in Hamburg.² But, if Young continued to teach Milton till the time of his departure for Hamburg, then, during the latter part, at least, of his engagement, his lessons in Bread Street must have been only in aid of those given by more public teachers. From the first it had been the intention of Milton's father to send his son to one of the public schools of London, and before 1620 that intention had been carried into effect.

¹ *Epist. Famil.*, No. 1.

² *Ibid.*: where Milton, writing to Young in Hamburg, on the 26th of

March 1625, says that it is "more than three years" since he last wrote to him.

London was at that time by no means ill provided with schools. Besides various schools of minor note, there were some distinguished as classical seminaries. Notable among these was St. Paul's School in St. Paul's Churchyard, a successor of the old Cathedral School of St. Paul's, which had existed in the same place from time immemorial. Not less celebrated was Westminster School, founded anew by Elizabeth in continuation of an older monastic school which had existed in Roman Catholic times. Ben Jonson, George Herbert, and Giles Fletcher, all then alive, had been educated at this school; and the great Camden, after serving in it as under-master, had held the office of head-master since 1592. Then there was St. Anthony's free school in Threadneedle Street, where Sir Thomas More and Archbishop Whitgift had been educated, and which had been once so flourishing that in the public debates in logic and grammar between the different schools of the city St. Anthony's scholars generally carried off the palm. In particular, there had been a feud on this score between the St. Paul's boys and the St. Anthony's boys, the St. Paul's boys nicknaming their rivals "Anthony's pigs," in allusion to the pig which was generally represented as following this Saint in his pictures, and the St. Anthony's boys somewhat feebly retaliating by calling the St. Paul's boys "Paul's pigeons," in allusion to the pigeons that used to hover about the Cathedral.¹ Though the nicknames survived, the feud was now little more than a tradition, St. Anthony's school having come sorely down in the world, while the pigeons of Paul's fluttered higher than ever. A more formidable rival now to St. Paul's was the free school of the Merchant Taylors' Company, founded in 1561. But, besides these great public day-schools, there were schools of note kept by speculative schoolmasters on their own account; of which by far the highest in reputation was that of Thomas Farnabie, in Goldsmith's Rents, near Cripplegate.²

St. Paul's School, as being conveniently near to Bread

¹ Stow's *London*, edit. 1603, p. 75.

² Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*, III., pp. 213—215.

Street, was the one chosen by the scrivener for the education of his son. The records of the admissions to the school do not reach so far back as the beginning of the seventeenth century, but the date of Milton's admission cannot have been later than 1620, when he was in his twelfth year. We are able to give a pretty distinct account of the school and its arrangements at this particular time.

The school had been founded in 1512, the fourth year of the reign of Henry VIII, by Dr. John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, the son of Sir Henry Colet, mercer, who had been twice mayor of London. It was originally dedicated to the Child Jesus; but "the saint," as Strype says, "had robbed his master of the title." The declared purpose of the foundation was the free education, in all sound Christian and grammatical learning, of poor men's children, without distinction of nation, to the exact number of 153 at a time, this number having reference to the number of fishes which Simon Peter drew to land in the miraculous draught (John xxi. 11). For this purpose, Colet, besides building and furnishing the school in a very handsome manner, endowed it with lands in sufficiency to provide salaries perpetually for a head-master, a sur-master or usher, and a chaplain. He himself chose and appointed the first head-master, who was no other than the celebrated grammarian William Lilly; and during the remainder of Colet's life he and Lilly co-operated most zealously in bringing the school to perfection. Colet prepared an English Catechism, which all the boys were to be obliged to learn, and two small works introductory to the study of Latin, in the compilation of which he had the assistance of his friend Erasmus; and Lilly's own Latin Grammar, the foundation of all the Latin Grammars that have since been used in England, was published in 1513 specially for the scholars of St. Paul's. King Henry, "endeavouring a uniformity of grammar all over his dominions," enjoined that Lilly's Grammar should be universally used, and that it should be "penal for any publicly to teach any other."¹ The regulation continued in force during the reigns of

¹ Fuller's Church History, Book V. Section I.

Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, and James; and even now, despite our free trade in Grammars, the "*Propria quæ maribus*," the "*As in præsentî*," and other rules of formulated Latin orthodoxy, are relics of old Lilly.

Colet died in 1519. He had taken care, however, to leave such regulations as should ensure the prosperity of his foundation. Having found by experience, as he told Erasmus, that in trusts of this kind laymen were as conscientious as clergymen, he had not left the charge of his school and its property to his successors in the Deanery of St. Paul's, but to the Mercers' Company of London, to which his father had belonged. The Mercers were to have the entire management of the school, with power to alter the arrangements from time to time; and they were every year to choose two honest and substantial men of their body to be surveyors of the school for that year. On a vacancy in the head-mastership, the Master, Wardens, and Assistants of the Company were to choose his successor, who was to be "a man whole in body, honest, virtuous, and learned in good and clean Latin literature, and also in Greek, if such might be gotten, a wedded man, a single man, or a priest without benefice." His wages were to be "a mark a week and a livery gown of four nobles," besides a free residence in the school. The sur-master or usher, "well learned to teach under him," was to be chosen, on a vacancy, by the head-master for the time being, but with the consent of the surveyors. He was to have 6s. 8d. a week, a free lodging in Old Change, and a gown to teach in. The chaplain or priest, whose business it was to say mass every day, and teach the Catechism in English, with the Creed and Ten Commandments, was to have £8 a year, lodgings in Old Change, and a gown. The number of 153 was to be adhered to as that of the free scholars, but it does not appear that the master was to be precluded from receiving others on the payment of fees. No cock-fighting or other pageantry was to be allowed in the school; no extra holidays were to be granted, except when the king or some bishop in person might beg one for the boys; and, if any boy were taken

away and sent to another school, he was not on any account to be re-admitted. The boys were "to be taught always in "good literature, both Latin and Greek, and good authors, "such as have the very Roman eloquence joined with the "wisdom, specially Christian authors that wrote their wisdom with clean and chaste Latin, either in verse or prose : "but above all the *Catechism* in English; after that the "*Accidence*; then *Institutum Christiani Hominis*, which "Erasmus made at my request, and the *Copia Verborum* of "the same author; then other Christian authors, as Lactantius, Prudentius and Proba, Sedulius, Juvenius, and "Baptista Mantuanus, and such others as shall be thought "convenient for the true Latin speech."¹

Lilly outlived his patron only three years, dying in 1522. During his ten years of mastership he had turned out not a few pupils who became a credit to the school, one of them being the antiquary Leland. A series of competent headmasters had succeeded him; and on the death of the seventh of these in 1608 the Mercers had appointed Alexander Gill, a Lincolnshire man, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he had graduated M.A. in 1590. Some changes had, of course, occurred in the constitution of the school during the century which had elapsed between Lilly's time and that of Gill. The value of the school-lands had increased so as to be estimated, in 1598, at more than £120 per annum. The masters had experienced the benefit of this increase by having their salaries doubled. Naturally also it was no longer "poor men's children" that attended the school, if this had ever strictly been the case, but the children of well-to-do citizens presented by the Mercers. There had been changes too in the course of the studies pursued. Colet's Catechism, as being Popish, had been greatly altered; and Hebrew and other Oriental tongues had been added to Latin and Greek for the most advanced scholars. Still, as far as possible, Colet's regulations were adhered to; and, above all, Lilly's Grammar kept its place, as bound up with the fame of the school.

The original school-house remained with little alteration

¹ Strype's Stow, edit. 1720, I. 163—169.

either in the exterior or in the interior. Over the windows, across the face of the building towards the street, were inscribed, in large capital letters, the words "SCHOLA CATECHIZATIONIS PUERORUM IN CHRISTI OPT. MAX. FIDE ET BONIS LITERIS"; and immediately over the door the shorter legend "INGREDERE UT PROFICIAS." The interior was divided into two parts, a *vestibulum* or ante-room in which the smaller boys were instructed, and the main school-room. Over the door of this school-room on the outside was a legend to the effect that no more than 153 boys were to be instructed in it gratis; and inside, painted on the glass of each window, were the formidable words "*Aut doce, aut disce, aut discede*" ("Either teach, or learn, or leave the place"). The masters were in the habit of quoting this legend against offenders, shortening it for their own sakes into "*Aut disce, aut discede.*" For the head-master there was a "decent cathedra or chair" at the upper end of the school, facing the door and a little advanced from the wall; and in the wall, immediately over this chair, so as to be full in the view of all the pupils, was an "effigies" or bust of Dean Colet, regarded as a masterpiece of art, and having over it the inscription "DEO OPT. MAX. TRINO ET UNI JOHANNES COLETUS DEC. STⁱ PAULI LONDIN. HANC SCHOLAM POSUIT." The under-master or usher had no particular seat, but walked up and down among the classes, taking them all in turn with his superior. There were in all eight classes. In the first or lowest the younger pupils were taught their rudiments; and thence, according to their proficiency, they were, at stated times, advanced into the other forms, till they reached the eighth; whence, "being commonly by this time made perfect grammarians, good orators and poets, and well instructed in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and sometimes in other Oriental tongues," they passed to the Universities. The curriculum of the school extended over from four to six years, the age of entry being from eight to twelve and that of departure from fourteen to eighteen.¹

¹ For the account of St. Paul's School given in the text the authorities are these:—Stow, edit. 1603, pp. 74, 75; Fuller, Church History, Book V.

From the moment when Milton became a "pigeon of St. Paul's" all this would be familiar to him. The school-room; its walls and windows and inscriptions; the head-master's chair; the bust of Colet over it, looking down on the busy young flock gathered together by his deed and scheming a hundred years after he was dead; the busy young flock itself, ranged out in their eight forms, and filling the room with their ceaseless hum; the head-master and the sur-master walking about in their gowns, and occasionally perhaps the two surveyors from the Mercers dropping in to see: what man of any memory is there who does not know that all this would impress the boy unspeakably, and sink into him so as never to be forgotten? For inquisitive boys even the traditions of their school, if it has any, are of interest; and they soon become acquainted with them. And so, in Milton's case, there must have been a pleasure, when he was at St. Paul's, in repeating the names of old pupils of the school who had become famous, from Leland down to such a prodigy as the still-living Camden, who, though he had been mainly educated elsewhere, had for some time been a St. Paul's scholar. There must have been a pleasure also in finding out gradually the names of the head-masters who had preceded Mr. Gill, from Richard Mulcaster, Gill's immediate predecessor, back through Harrison, Malim, Cook, Freeman, and Jones, to John Rightwis, Lilly's successor and son-in-law, who had acted in a Latin play with his scholars before Wolsey, and so to Lilly himself, the great Abraham of the series, and the friend of Colet.¹

The worth of the school, however, depended necessarily on the character and qualifications of the two masters for the time being. These, at the time with which we are concerned, were the above-mentioned Lincolnshire man and Oxford graduate, Mr. Alexander Gill, the head-master, and

Section 1; Cunningham's Handbook of London, *article* "Paul's School"; and, chief of all, Strype in his edition of Stow, 1720, vol. I. pp. 163—169. Strype was himself a scholar of St. Paul's from 1657 to 1661, or about thirty-

seven years after Milton. The original school was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666; but Strype remembered the old building well, and his description of it is affectionately minute.

¹ Strype, as above.

his son, Mr. Alexander Gill the younger, then acting as sub-master or usher.

Old Mr. Gill, as he now began to be called, partly to distinguish him from his son, and partly because he was verging on his fifty-seventh year, fully maintained the ancient credit of the school. According to Wood, he was "esteemed by "most persons to be a learned man, a noted Latinist, critic, "and divine, and also to have such an excellent way of "training up youth that none in his time went beyond him : "whence 'twas that many noted persons in Church and "State did esteem it the greatest of their happiness that "they had been educated under him."¹ Having looked over all that remains of the old gentleman in literary form to verify or disprove this judgment,—to wit, three works published by him at intervals during his life,—I can safely say that the praise does not seem overstated. The first of these works, indeed, hardly affords materials for an opinion of Gill as a pedagogue. It is a tract or treatise, originally published by him in 1601, seven years before his appointment to St. Paul's School, and written in 1597, when he was living as a teacher at Norwich. The tract is entitled *A Treatise concerning the Trinity of Persons in Unitie of the Deitie*, and is in the form of a metaphysical remonstrance with one Thomas Mannering, an Anabaptist of Norwich, who "denied that Jesus is very God of very God," and said that he was "but man only, yet endued with the infinite power of God."—Far more interesting, in connexion with Gill's qualifications as a teacher, is his next work, the first edition of which was published in 1619, or just before the time with which we have to do. It is entitled *Logonomia Anglica*, and is dedicated to King James. Part of the work is taken up with an argument on that new-old subject, the reform of the English Alphabet on the principle of bringing the spelling of English words into greater consistency with their sounds; and those who are interested in this subject will find some very sensible matter upon it in Gill's book. By adding to the English Alphabet the two Anglo-Saxon

¹ *Athena*, II. 597—599.

signs for the two sounds of *th*, and another Anglo-Saxon sign or two, and by farther using points over the vowels to indicate their various sounds, he contrives an Alphabet somewhat like those of our modern phonetic reformers, but less liable to objection from the point of view of Etymology ; and he illustrates this Alphabet by spelling all the English words and passages in his book according to it. But Spelling-Reform is by no means the main purpose of the book. It is, in fact, what we should now call a systematic grammar of the English tongue, written in Latin. Accordingly, it is only in the first part that he propounds his spelling-reform ; and the parts on Etymology, Syntax, and Prosody possess quite a separate value. If Gill was only half as interesting in his school-room as he is in his book, he must have been an effective and even delightful teacher. For example, as an appendix to Syntax in general, he has a chapter on what he calls *Syntaxis Schematistica*, in which he trenches on what is usually considered a part of Rhetoric, and enumerates and explains the so-called tropes and figures of speech,—Metaphor, Metonymy, Allegory, Irony, Climax, &c. This part of the book is studded with examples from the English poets, and above all from Spenser, showing a really fine taste in the selection. Take, as a specimen, the exposition of the Metaphor. I translate from Gill's Latin in the text, and alter his phonetic spelling in the examples.

“*Translation* or *metaphor* is a word taken in one sense from another like it.

‘But now weak age had dimm'd his candle-light.’—*Faerie Queene*.

‘He, thereto meeting, said.’—*Ibid.*;

where ‘meeting’ is used for ‘answering.’

‘I shall you well reward to show the place

In which that wicked wight his days doth wear.’—*Ibid.*

‘Wear’ for ‘consume.’

“Nor let it weary you to hear from our Juvenal, George Withers, one of those metaphors in which he abounds when he lays aside the asperity of his satire :—

‘Fair by nature being born,
Borrowed beauty she doth scorn ;
He that kisseth her need fear
No unwholesome varnish there ;
For from thence he only sips
The pure nectar of her lips,
And with these at once he closes—
Melting rubies, cherries, roses.

"From this root are all Allegories and Comparisons, and also most *Paræmice* and *Enigmata*. For an allegory is nothing else than a continued metaphor. In this our Lucan, Samuel Daniel, is frequent. Thus, *Delia*, Sonnet 31 :—

'Raising my hopes on hills of high desire,
Thinking to scale the heaven of her heart,
My slender muse presumed too high a part;
Her thunder of disdain caused me retire,
And threw me down, &c.'

"So, *Faerie Queene*:—

'Huge sea of sorrow and tempestuous grief,
Wherein my feeble bark is tossed long,
Far from the hoped haven of relief,
Why do thy cruel billows beat so strong,
And thy moist mountains each on other throng,
Threatening to swallow up my fearful life?
O do thy cruel wrath and spiteful wrong
At length allay, and stint thy stormy strife,
Which in these troubled bowels reigns and rageth rife.
For else my feeble vessel, crazed and crackt,
Cannot endure, &c.'

"But, indeed, the whole of Spenser's poem is an allegory in which he evolves an ethical meaning in fables. Thus, the Allegory handles the whole matter on hand obscurely by metaphor; the *Paræmia* and *Enigma* do so much more obscurely; while the Comparison or Simile does it more transparently, because it first unfolds the metaphor, and then confronts it with the thing. Thus, *Faerie Queene*, I. c. 2 :—

'As, when two rams, stirred with ambitious pride,
Fight for the rule of the fair fleeced flock,
Their horned fronts so fierce on either side
Do meet that, with the terror of the shock
Astonied, both stand senseless as a block,
Forgetful of the hanging victory:
So stood these twain unmoved as a rock, &c.'

The subsequent part of the work, on English Prosody, is, in like manner, illustrated by well-chosen examples; and, among other things, Gill discusses in it the compatibility of classical metres with the genius of the English tongue. The following passage, in which he refers to the supposed influence of Chaucer, exhibits what was apparently another crotchet of his, superadded to his crotchet of spelling-reform: viz., the duty of preserving the Old English purity of our tongue against intruding Latinisms and Gallicisms. After maintaining that even after the Danish and Norman invasions the Saxon-English tongue of our island remained pure, he proceeds (I again translate from his Latin) thus:—

"At length, about the year 1400, Geoffrey Chaucer, of unlucky omen, made his poetry famous by the use in it of French and Latin

words. Hence has come down this new mangle in our speaking and writing. . . . O harsh lips ! I now hear all around me such words as *common, vices, envy, malice* ; even *virtue, study, justice, pity, mercy, compassion, profit, commodity, colour, grace, favour, acceptance*. But whither, pray, in all the world have you banished those words which our forefathers used for these newfangled ones ? Are our words to be exiled like our citizens ? Is the new barbaric invasion to extirpate the English tongue ? O ye Englishmen, on you, I say, I call, in whose veins that blood flows, retain, retain what yet remains of our native speech, and, whatever vestiges of our forefathers are yet to be seen, on these plant your footsteps."

This passage, in a work of 1619, is certainly curious ; and there are other interesting curiosities in Gill's *Logonomia Anglica*. It came to a second edition in 1621, just after Milton had become familiar with St. Paul's School and the face of its philological head-master. — But, while working mainly in Philology, Mr. Gill had not abandoned his Metaphysics. In 1635, some fifteen years after the 'time at which we are now arrived, he brought out his last and largest work, called *Sacred Philosophie of the Holy Scriptures*. It was a kind of detailed demonstration, against Turks, Jews, Infidels, Heretics, and all gainsayers whatsoever, of the successive articles of the Apostles' Creed, on the principles of pure reason ; and there was appended to it a reprint of his *Treatise concerning the Trinity*, the first of his published writings.

It is not to be supposed but that in those days, when the idea of severing the secular from the religious in schools had not yet been heard of, Mr. Gill's pupils would now and then have a touch of his Metaphysics as well as of his Philology. They were lucky, it seems, if they had not also a touch of something else. "Dr. Gill, the father," says Aubrey in one of his MSS., "was a very ingeniose person, as may "appear by his writings : notwithstanding, he had his "moods and humours, as particularly his whipping fits. "Often Dr. G. whipped Duncombe, who was afterwards a "colonel of dragoons at Edgehill fight."¹ Duncombe may have been his greatest dunce.

Young Gill, the usher or sur-master, was by no means so

¹ MS. of Aubrey's in the Ashmolean.

steady a man as his father. Born in London about 1597, he had been educated at St. Paul's School; he had gone thence, on one of the Mercers' Exhibitions, to Trinity College, Oxford; and, after completing his course there, and taking his degree and orders, he had come back to town about 1619, and dropped conveniently into the place of his father's assistant.¹ For a time, either before or after this, he assisted the famous Farnabie in *his* school. There must have been, from the first, an element of bluster and recklessness in this junior Gill, annoying and troublesome to his father. The proofs will appear hereafter. Meanwhile his literary reputation was considerably above the common. As early as 1612, immediately after his going to college, he had published a Latin threnody on the death of Prince Henry, one of the scores and scores of effusions of the kind called forth by that event; and, during his course at Oxford, he had written other things of the same sort, both in Latin and in Greek, some of which were also printed. The special character which he bore among the boys of St. Paul's School, when, at the age of twenty-two or thereabouts, he became his father's assistant, was that of a splendid maker of Greek and Latin verses; and his powers in that craft seem to have been pretty amply proclaimed by himself on every opportunity.

Such were the two men to whose lot it fell to be Milton's schoolmasters. He was under their care, as I calculate, at least four years,—from 1620, when he had passed his eleventh year, to the winter or spring of 1624-5, when he had passed his sixteenth. Through a portion of this time, most probably till 1622, he had the benefit also of Young's continued assistance at home, if indeed Young's domestic preceptorship and the attendance at St. Paul's School had not gone on together since about 1618.

St. Paul's School, it is to be remembered, was strictly a grammar-school, or school for classical instruction only. But, since Colet's time, by reason of the great development which classical studies had received throughout the nation

¹ Wood's Ath., III. 43.

at large, the efficiency of the school within its assigned limits had immensely increased. Instead of peddling over Sedulius and other such small practitioners of later or middle-age Latinity, recommended as proper class-books by Colet, the scholars of St. Paul's, as of contemporary schools, were now led through very much the same list of Roman prose-writers and poets that are still honoured in our academies. The practice of writing pure classical Latin, or what might pass for such, both in prose and in verse, was also carried to a perfection not known in Colet's time. But the improvement in Latin was as nothing compared with what had taken place in Greek. Although Colet in his testamentary recommendations to the Mercers had mentioned it as desirable that the head-master should know Greek as well as Latin, he had added "if such a man can be gotten." That, indeed, was the age of incipient Greek in England. Colet had none himself; and that Lilly had mastered Greek, while residing in earlier life in Rhodes, was one of his distinctions. Since that time, however, the passion for Greek had spread; the battle between the Greeks and the Trojans, as the partisans of the new learning and its opponents were respectively called, had been fought out in the days of Ascham and Elizabeth; and, if Greek scholarship still lagged behind Latin, yet in such schools as St. Paul's there were Greek readings and exercises, in anticipation of the higher Greek at the Universities. Probably Hebrew also was taught optionally to a few of the highest boys.

Whatever support other instances may afford to the popular notion that the studious boys at school do not turn out the most efficient men in after life, the believers in that notion may save themselves the trouble of trying to prove it by the example of Milton's boyhood. Here are the testimonies :—

Milton's own account of his habits in his school-time.—"My father destined me while yet a little boy for the study of humane letters, which I seized with such eagerness that from the twelfth year of my

age I scarcely ever went from my lessons to bed before midnight ; which, indeed, was the first cause of injury to my eyes, to whose natural weakness there were also added frequent headaches. All which not retarding my impetuosity in learning, he caused me to be daily instructed both at the grammar-school and under other masters at home ; and then, when I had acquired various tongues and also some not insignificant taste for the sweetness of philosophy, he sent me to Cambridge, one of our two national universities."¹

Aubrey's account.—"When he went to school, when he was very young, he studied very hard and sat up very late, commonly till twelve or one o'clock at night ; and his father ordered the maid to sit up for him."

Wood's account.—"There [at Cambridge], as at school for three years before, 'twas usual with him to sit up till midnight at his book, which was the first thing that brought his eyes into danger of blindness. By this his indefatigable study he profited exceedingly."

Phillips's account.—" [At Paul's School] "he was entered into the rudiments of learning, and advanced therein with . . . admirable success, not more by the discipline of the school and the good instructions of his masters . . . than by his own happy genius, prompt wit and apprehension, and insuperable industry ; for he generally sat up half the night, as well in voluntary improvements of his own choice as the exact perfecting of his school-exercises : so that at the age of fifteen he was full ripe for academical training."

The boy's studies were not confined to the classic tongues. "When, at your expense, my excellent father," he says in a Latin poem addressed to his father in later years, "I had obtained access to the eloquence of the tongue of Romulus, and to the delights of Latium, and to the grand language, becoming the mouth of Jove, uttered by the magniloquent Greeks, you advised me to add the flowers which are the pride of Gaul, and the speech which the new Italian, attesting the barbarian inroads by his diction, pours from his degenerate mouth, and the mysteries also which are spoken by the prophet of Palestine."² The application of these words extends beyond Milton's mere school-days ; but it is probable that before those days were over he had learnt to read French and Italian, and also something of Hebrew.

It is not to be supposed that the literature of his own country remained a closed field to a youth so fond of study, and who had already begun to have dreams for himself of literary excellence. There is evidence, accordingly, that Milton in his boyhood was a diligent reader of English

¹ *Defensio Secunda* : Works, VI. 286, 287.

² *Ad Patrem* : Works, I. 252.

books, and that before the close of his school-time he had formed some general acquaintance with the course of English Literature from its beginnings.

Such a task, it is to be remembered, was by no means so formidable in the year 1624 as a corresponding task would be now. If we strike off from the body of English Literature, as it now presents itself to us, all that portion of it which has been added during the last two centuries and a half, that which would remain as the total Literature of England at the time when Milton began to take a retrospect of it would by no means alarm by its bulk. The oldest English Literature, called generally the Anglo-Saxon, left out of sight, the retrospect divided itself into three periods. (I.) There was the period of the infancy of the New English Literature, ending at the death of Chaucer in 1400. Of the relics of this period, whether in prose or in verse, there were few, with the exception of the works of Chaucer himself and of Langland, which any one, unless studying English in an expressly antiquarian spirit, would care much about. (II.) Passing to the next period, which may be considered as extending from Chaucer's death to about the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, one could not reckon up very many writers, even in that tract of 180 years, with whom the lover of pure literature was bound to be acquainted. The characteristic of this age of English Literature is the absence of any writer, whether in poetry or prose, that could with propriety be named as a successor of Chaucer. The literary spirit seemed, for the time, to have passed rather to the Scottish side of the Tweed, and there to have incarnated itself in a series of Scottish poets, who did inherit somewhat of Chaucer's genius, and of whom the chief, after the poet-king James I., close in time to Chaucer, were Dunbar, Gavin Douglas, and Sir David Lyndsay, in the age preceding the Scottish Reformation. These, however, were beyond the pale of that literature which an English reader in South Britain would regard as properly his own. In lieu of them, he could enumerate such writers as Lydgate, Malory, Skelton, Sir Thomas More, Ascham,

Wyatt, Surrey, and Sackville. They were by no means insignificant names; and, when one remembered that the age of More and Wyatt and Surrey had also been the age of the Reformers Tyndale, Cranmer, Latimer, and their associates, and of the scholars Lilly, Leland, Cheke, and others, one could look back upon that age with a conviction that, if its relics in the form of vernacular poetry and in other forms of pure vernacular literature had not been numerous, this was not on account of any lack of intellectual activity in the age, but because its intellectual activity had been expended in controversial writing and in the business of war, statecraft, and revolution. Still, to any one looking back in the spirit of a literary enthusiast rather than in that of a theologian or a student of history, the age must have seemed unusually barren. (III.) Very different was it when, passing forward from the stormy reign of Henry VIII. through the short reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, one advanced into those golden days when Elizabeth sat securely on the throne. The latter part of this Queen's reign, dating from about 1580, opened the era of the literary splendour of England. That splendid era may be regarded as having extended over about forty-five years in all, or to the death of James I. in 1625, almost the exact point of time with which we are now concerned. To Milton, therefore, as a youth of sixteen, looking back upon the past literary course of his own country, we can see that by far the richest part of that course, the part most crowded with names and works of interest, would be the forty-five years nearest his own day. In other words, if we allow for the great figure of Chaucer seen far in the background, and for a minor Wyatt or Surrey and the like breaking the long interval between Chaucer and more recent times, the whole Literature of England would be represented to Milton, in the year 1624, by that cluster of conspicuous men, some of them still alive and known familiarly in English society, who had been already named "the Elizabethans." In prose there were Raleigh, Sidney, Hooker, Bacon, Bishop Andrews, and others, not to speak of chroniclers and his-

torians, such as Holinshed, Stow, and Speed, or of scholars and antiquarians, like Camden, Usher, and Selden. Bacon's works had all, or nearly all, by this time been given to the world. Then, in poetry, what a burst of stars! First in time and in magnitude among the non-dramatic poets, or the poets best known out of the drama, was Spenser, England's true second son in the muses after Chaucer. As contemporaries or successors of Spenser might be enumerated Chapman, Warner, Daniel, Drayton, and Chapman, with Harrington, the translator of Ariosto, Fairfax, the translator of Tasso, and Sylvester, the translator of Du Bartas, and with the metaphysical, religious, pastoral, and lyrical poets, Davies, Donne, Bishop Hall, Phineas Fletcher, Giles Fletcher, Wither, Carew, and Browne. Add the still more brilliant constellation of dramatists with which these men were historically associated and in part personally intermixed. The earlier Elizabethan dramatists, Greene, Peele, Marlowe, and the rest, had passed away before Milton was born; but the later Elizabethans, Shakespeare, Webster, Middleton, Dekker, Marston, Heywood, and Ben Jonson, lived into the reign of James, and were among the men whom Milton might himself have seen; while to these had been added, almost within his own memory, such younger dramatists as Beaumont and Fletcher, Massinger, Ford, and Shirley. The complete works of one or two of the greatest dramatists were accessible. In 1616 Ben Jonson had published, in folio, a collection of his works prior to that date; and the admirer of Ben had but to purchase, in addition, such separate dramas and masques as Ben had issued since, in order to have the whole of him. More notable still, it was in the year 1623 that Shakespeare's executors, Heminge and Condell, had performed their service to the world, by publishing the first folio edition of Shakespeare's Plays. "Buy the book; whatever you do, buy," was the advice of the editors to the public in their quaint preface; and among the first persons to follow the advice may have been the scrivener Milton.

Theological books of which we now know little or nothing

would then be in high esteem in an English Puritan family; but there is evidence in Milton's earliest writings that his juvenile readings had ranged widely beyond those, and backwards in the series of more classic English writers, and especially of English poets. There are traces in his very earliest poems of his acquaintance with Ben Jonson; and, if he did not have a copy of the folio Shakespeare within reach on its publication in 1623, it is certain, as we shall find, that he had one in his possession not long afterwards. By the consent of Milton's biographers, however, the two English poets with whom he was most especially familiar before his seventeenth year were Spenser and Sylvester. "Humphrey Lownes, a printer, living in the same street with his father," says Todd, "supplied him at least with 'Spenser and Sylvester's Du Bartas.'" ¹ For this statement I have found no sufficient authority. It is not necessary, surely, to suppose that Milton was indebted for his acquaintance with Spenser to the kindness of any neighbour. Cowley, in 1628, at the age of eleven, read Spenser with delight; and, if Cowley's introduction to the poet was owing to the circumstance that his works "were wont to lie in his mother's parlour," Milton can hardly have had far to go for *his* copy. The notion that Lownes may have supplied him with Sylvester's Du Bartas is more plausible; for all the editions of the book had issued from Lownes's press, and the printer himself had a more than professional affection for it. At all events, as much has been made by Milton's commentators of his supposed obligations, both in his earlier and his later poetry, to Du Bartas and Sylvester, it may not be amiss here to give some account of the once popular book with which their names are associated. ²

Guillaume de Salluste, Sieur du Bartas, was perhaps the most famous French poet of the sixteenth century. Born in

¹ Life of Milton, 1809, p. 7, note.

² It was Lauder, I believe, who, in the course of his attempts to prove Milton to have been a plagiarist, first called attention to certain coincidences in idea and expression between Milton's poems, especially his *Paradise Lost*, and Sylvester's Du Bartas. The question was

subsequently argued, in a more becoming spirit, by Todd (*Gent. Mag.*, Nov. 1796), and still more fully and ingeniously by Mr. Charles Duuster, in his "Considerations on Milton's Early Reading and the *Prima Stamina* of his *Paradise Lost*," published in 1800.

1544, and a zealous adherent of the Calvinistic party in the French civil wars, he was a follower of Henry IV. while that champion of Protestantism was struggling for the throne, and served him both in camp and in council. At his death in 1590, he left behind him, as the fruit of his occasional months of solitude, a long religious poem, partly didactic and partly descriptive, entitled *The Divine Weeks and Works*. The popularity of the poem, both in France and in other countries, was immense. Thirty editions of the original were sold within six years; and it was translated into all the living languages of Europe, as well as into Latin.

Joshua Sylvester, the English translator of Du Bartas, was a man qualified to do him justice. Born in 1563, and by profession a "merchant-adventurer," travelling between London and the Continent, he had acquired a knowledge of foreign tongues which led him to employ his leisure in translating foreign poetry. His Calvinistic leanings drew him strongly to Du Bartas. In 1590 he published his first specimen of Du Bartas in English, at the press of "Richard Yardley, on Bread-street-hill, at the signe of the Starre, printer," Yardley being then the occupant of the premises afterwards occupied by Lownes.¹ Farther, in 1598, there was printed at the same office, Yardley having in the mean time been succeeded there by Peter Short, a more extensive specimen of Sylvester's skill in the shape of a version of part of Du Bartas's main work. It was not, however, till 1605,—by which time Short had, in his turn, been succeeded by Humphrey Lownes,—that Sylvester's complete *Du Bartas His Devine Weekes and Workes Translated* came from the same press. The volume was so popular that fresh editions were issued by Lownes in 1611 and 1613. At this time "silver-tongued Sylvester," as he was called, partly on account of this translation, partly on account of his original writings—among which may be mentioned his singular poem against Tobacco, written about 1615²—was a man of no small reput-

¹ Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, by Herbert, 1790, vol. III. p. 1808.

² "Tobacco Battered and the Pipes Shattered about their Eares that idley

Idolize so base and barbarous a Weed, &c., by a Volley of Holy Shot thundered from Mount Helicon."

ation in the London cluster of wits and poets. He died in Holland in 1618, at the age of fifty-five. A new edition of his *Du Bartas* being required in 1621, Lownes took the opportunity of collecting his fugitive pieces, so as to include the translation in a folio containing the whole of Sylvester. To this volume Lownes prefixed an "Address to the Reader" in his own name, in which he speaks of Sylvester as "that divine wit" and "that worthy spirit," and particularly dwells on the fact that in his later years he had "confined his pen to none but holy and religious ditties."

The printer was not wrong in anticipating continued popularity for his favourite. Fresh editions of Sylvester's Works, including the sixth and seventh of his *Du Bartas*, were called for in 1633 and 1641; and we have Dryden's testimony to the high esteem in which Sylvester's *Du Bartas* was held as late as 1650. "I remember, when I was a boy," says Dryden, "I thought inimitable Spenser a mean poet in comparison of Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, and was rapt into "ecstasy when I read these lines:—

'Now when the winter's keener breath began
To crystallize the Baltic ocean,
To glaze the lakes and bridle up the floods,
And periwig with wool the bald-pate woods.'

To these words Dryden adds, as his more mature impression, "I am much deceived now if this be not abominable fustian." This sentence may be considered to have sealed Sylvester's fate in England. After 1660 he ceased to be read, and was only referred to, like his original in France, as a pedantic and fantastic old poet, disfigured by bad taste and low and ludicrous imagery. Of late, partly on Milton's account, the interest in him has somewhat revived; and such recent English critics as can relish poetry under an uncouth guise find much to like in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, just as some recent foreign critics, Goethe among them, have found a good deal to admire even yet in the French original.

When Milton was a boy at St. Paul's School everybody was reading Sylvester's *Du Bartas*. The first portion, entitled THE FIRST WEEK, OR BIRTH OF THE WORLD, occupies nearly two

hundred pages, and is divided into seven "Days" or Cantos, thus:—1st Day: *The Chaos*; 2nd Day: *The Elements*; 3rd Day: *The Sea and Earth*; 4th Day: *The Heavens, Sun, Moon, &c.*; 5th Day: *The Fishes and Fowls*; 6th Day: *The Beasts and Man*; 7th Day: *The Sabaoth*. Each Canto treats of the part of the work of Creation indicated by the prefixed heading; and in each the poet accumulates such miscellaneous matters of Natural History and Cosmology as related themselves to the subject. In the first Canto are described the emergence out of chaos and the creation of elemental light; in the second there is an ample display of crude meteorological knowledge; in the third the poet passes on to his geology, mineralogy, and botany; in the fourth he expounds his astronomy, which is decidedly anti-Copernican; in the fifth and sixth we have his zoology in all its ramifications, with expositions of the human anatomy and physiology somewhat in the spirit of a Bridgewater Treatise; and in the last the poet becomes doctrinal and reflective. The following passage from the third Canto, describing the creation of the forest and fruit trees, is characteristic of the general style of the descriptive parts:—

"No sooner spoken but the lofty pine
 Distilling pitch, the larch yield-turpentine,
 Th' ever-green box and gummy cedar, sprout,
 And th' airy mountains mantle round about:
 The mast-full oak, the useful ash, the holm,
 Coat-changing cork, white maple, shady elm,
 Through hill and plain ranged their plumed ranks.
 The winding rivers bordered all their banks
 With slice-sea alders and green osiers small,
 With trembling poplars, and with willows pale,
 And many trees beside, fit to be made
 Fuel or timber, or to serve for shade.
 The dainty apricock (of plums the prince),
 The velvet peach, gilt orange, downy quince,
 Already bear, grav'n in their tender barks,
 God's powerful providence in open marks.
 The scent-sweet apple and astringent pear,
 The cherry, filberd, walnut, meddeler,
 The milky fig, the damson black and white,
 The date and olive, aiding appetite,
 Spread everywhere a most delightful spring,
 And everywhere a very Eden bring.'

A finer passage, and perhaps that in the whole of this portion

of the poem in which the poet is to be seen at about his very best, is the following, from the last Canto, or *Seventh Day of the First Week*, comparing the Sabbatic rest of the Deity after the Six Days of Creation with the calm delight of a painter in contemplating his finished picture:—

“The cunning painter that, with curious care
 Limning a landscape, various, rich, and rare,
 Hath set a-work in all and every part
 Invention, judgment, nature, use, and art,
 And hath at length, t’ immortalize his name,
 With weary pencil perfected the same,
 Forgets his pains, and, inly filled with glee,
 Still on his picture gazeth greedily.
 First in a mead he marks a frisking lamb,
 Which seems, though dumb, to bleat unto the dam :
 Then he observes a wood seeming to wave ;
 Then th’ hollow bosom of some hideous cave ;
 Here a highway, and there a narrow path ;
 Here pines, there oaks, torn by tempestuous wrath.
 Here, from a craggy rock’s steep-hanging boss,
 Thrummed half with ivy, half with crisped moss,
 A silver brook in broken streams doth gush,
 And headlong down the horned cliff doth rush ;
 Then, winding thence above and under ground,
 A goodly garden it bemoateth round.
 There, on his knee, behind a box-tree shrinking,
 A skilful gunner, with his left eye winking,
 Levels directly at an oak hard by,
 Whereon a hundred groaning culvers cry :
 Down falls the cock, up from the touch-pan flies
 A ruddy flash that in a moment dies ;
 Off goes the gun, and through the forest rings
 The thundering bullet, borne on fiery wings.
 Here, on a green, two striplings, strippèd light,
 Run for a prize with laboursome delight ;
 A dusty cloud about their feet doth flow ;
 Their feet, and head, and hands, and all do go ;
 They swelt in sweat ; and yet the following rout
 Hastens their haste with many a cheerful shout.
 Here six pied oxen, under painful yoke,
 Rip up the folds of Ceres’ winter cloak.
 Here, in the shade, a pretty shepherdess
 Drives softly home her bleating happiness :
 Still, as she goes, she spins ; and, as she spins,
 A man would think some sonnet she begins.
 Here runs a river, there springs up a fountain ;
 Here vales a valley, there ascends a mountain ;
 Here smokes a castle, there a city funes ;
 And here a ship upon the ocean looms.
 In brief, so lively Art hath Nature shaped
 That in his work the workman’s self is rapt,
 Unable to look off ; for, looking still,
 The more he looks the more he finds his skill.

So th' Architect whose glorious workmanships
 My cloudy muse doth but too much eclipse,
 Having with painless pain and careless care
 In these Six Days finished the table fair
 And infinite of th' Universal Ball,
 Resteth this day, t' admire himself in all,
 And for a season, eying nothing else,
 Joys in his work, sith all his work excels."

The Second Part of the poem, entitled metaphorically *THE SECOND WEEK*, is, though unfinished, considerably longer than the first. It is a metrical paraphrase of the Sacred History of the World, as related in the Hebrew Scriptures, as far as the Books of Kings and Chronicles. It is divided into metaphorical "Days," each corresponding to an era in the Sacred History, and each entitled by the name of a man representative of that era. The finished portion includes four "Days," entitled *Adam*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, and *David*, each treated in four subdivisions. Three more "Days," entitled respectively *Zedechias*, *Messias*, and *the Eternal Sabbath*, were to have been added had the author lived to fulfil his entire plan, as is indicated in the invocation with which the first Book commences:—

"Great God, which hast this World's birth made me see,
 Unfold his cradle, show his infancy:
 Walk thou, my spirit, through all the flow'ring alleys
 Of that sweet garden, where through winding valleys
 Four lively floods crawled: tell me what misdeed
 Banished both Eden's Adam and his seed:
 Tell who, immortal mortalizing, brought us
 The balm from Heaven which hopèd health hath wrought us:
 Grant me the story of thy Church to sing,
 And gests of kings: let me this total bring
 From thy first Sabbath to his fatal tomb,
 My style extending to the day of doom."

It is with Milton's early readings in Du Bartas, Spenser, and other poets, that we are bound, by the concord of time, to connect his own first efforts in English verse. Aubrey, as we have seen, says he had been a poet from the age of ten. Of his boyish attempts in versification, however, the earliest that remain are two preserved by himself, and published in his middle life with the intimation that they were written when he was "fifteen years old,"—*i. e.* in 1624, the

last year of his stay at St. Paul's School. They are translations or paraphrases of two of the Psalms. Both may be given here, the second somewhat abridged, with the titles prefixed to them by himself:—

A PARAPHRASE ON PSALM CXIV.

[*This and the following Psalm were done by the Author at fifteen years old.*]

When the blest seed of Terah's faithful son
 After long toil their liberty had won,
 And past from Pharian fields to Canaan land,
 Led by the strength of the Almighty's hand,
 Jehovah's wonders were in Israel shown,
 His praise and glory were in Israel known.
 That saw the troubled sea, and shivering fled,
 And sought to hide his froth-becurlèd head
 Low in the earth ; Jordan's clear streams recoil,
 As a faint host that hath received the foil.
 The high huge-bellied mountains skip like rams
 Amongst their ewes, the little hills like lambs.
 Why fled the Ocean ? And why skipt the Mountains ?
 Why turnèd Jordan toward his crystal fountains ?
 Shake, Earth ; and at the presence be aghast
 Of Him that ever was and aye shall last,
 That glassy floods from rugged rocks can crush, '
 And make soft rills from fiery flint-stones gush.

PSALM CXXXVI.

Let us, with a gladsome mind,
 Praise the Lord, for he is kind :
 For his mercies aye endure,
 Ever faithful, ever sure.

Let us blaze his name abroad,
 For of Gods he is the God :
 For &c.

* * * *
 Who, by his wisdom, did create
 The painted heavens so full of state :
 For &c.

Who did the solid Earth ordain
 To rise above the watery plain :
 For &c.

Who, by his all-commanding might,
 Did fill the new-made world with light :
 For &c.

And caused the golden-tressèd sun
All the day long his course to run :
For &c.

The hornèd moon to shine by night
Amongst hér spangled sisters bright :
For &c.

He, with his thunder-clasping hand,
Smote the first-born of Egypt-land :
For &c.

And, in despite of Pharaoh fell,
He brought from thence his Israel :
For &c.

The ruddy waves he cleft in twain
Of the Erythræan main :
For &c.

The floods stood still, like walls of glass,
While the Hebrew bands did pass :
For &c.

But full soon they did devour
The tawny king with all his power :
For &c.

* * * *

All living creatures he doth feed,
And with full hand supplies their need :
For &c.

Let us therefore warble forth
His mighty majesty and worth :
For &c.

That his mansion hath on high
Above the reach of mortal eye :
For his mercies aye endure,
Ever faithful, ever sure.

Warton, Todd, Mr. Dunster, and others who have examined minutely these two earliest extant specimens of Milton's verse, find in them rhymes, images, and turns of expression which were almost certainly suggested, they say, by Sylvester, Spenser, Drummond, Drayton, Chaucer, Fairfax, and Buchanan. Thus, in the second of the two, "golden-tressèd sun" is either a version of Buchanan's "*solem auri-*

comum” in his Latin version of the same Psalm, or it is directly borrowed from Chaucer in *Troilus and Cresseide*:

“The golden-tressèd Phebus high on loft.”

The phrase “Erythræan main” for the Red Sea is Sylvester’s; and the word “ruddy,” as applied to the waves of this “Erythræan,” comes from him. “Warble forth,” which sounds so quaintly in the last stanza but one, is also Sylvester’s. The admired phrase “tawny king,” as a name for Pharaoh, is traced by Todd to Fairfax’s Tasso, published in 1600:

“Conquer’d were all hot Afric’s tawny kings.”

Much of this criticism is overstrained, and unfair to the young poet, who was quite capable of the “golden-tressèd sun,” or even of the “tawny king,” for himself. Still the proof is clear that, in his two Psalm-translations, he made free use of phrases lying before him in books, and also that Sylvester was the English poet whose rhymes and cadences dwelt most familiarly in his ear. The first of the two paraphrases is Sylvester all over. “Froth-becurlèd head” is quite in his manner; “recoil” and “foil,” and “crush” and “gush,” are among his stereotyped rhymes; the metre is Sylvester’s; and these two lines, conspicuous for their dissyllabic endings, look as if Sylvester had written them:

“Why fled the Ocean? And why skipt the Mountains?
Why turnèd Jordan from his crystal fountains?”

Apart from the imitative faculty shown in the verses, they do have some poetic merit. They are clear, firmly-worded, and harmonious. Dr. Johnson’s opinion of them, it is true, is not high. “They raise,” he says, “no great expectations; they would in any numerous school have obtained “praise, but not excited wonder.” But would Apollo himself, when at school, have “excited wonder” by any paraphrase of a Hebrew Psalm?

The young poet had, of course, friends about him to whom he showed such first attempts of his in composition. It is certain that the younger Mr. Gill was no stranger to the efforts of his favourite pupil in his own metrical art. Young

Gill, indeed, was the person who, at this time, stood most nearly in that position of literary mentor to Milton which Young had formerly held. Four years later, Milton, writing to Gill from Cambridge, and enclosing some Latin verses of that date for his inspection, addresses him as one whom he knows to be "a very severe judge in poetical matters," and whom he had found "very candid" heretofore in his remarks on his pupil's productions;¹ and in the same letter he adverts to Gill's "almost constant conversations with him" when they were together, and regrets being now absent from one from whose society he had never once gone away "without a manifest accession of literary knowledge." Gill, as we are to see, was by no means a model either of character or of temper; but that he should have stood for a year or two in such a relation to Milton as Milton's words imply is to be remembered in his favour.

Generally, however, an ingenuous boy has friends and acquaintances of his own age with whom he exchanges deeper confidence than with his elders. Milton may have had several such among his schoolfellows at St. Paul's. His brother Christopher had entered the school, a boy of nine or ten, before he left it. Among his schoolfellows nearer his own age was a Robert Pory, who was to become a clergyman, and was to attain considerable preferment in the Episcopal Church of England after the Restoration. He was probably Milton's form-fellow, for he left St. Paul's School for Cambridge along with Milton. But the school-fellow between whom and Milton there existed the most affectionate intimacy was a certain Charles Diodati.

As the name indicates, Diodati (pronounce it Diodāti, not Diodāti) was of Italian extraction. As far back as 1300, when Dante was at his political zenith in Florence, a family of Diodatis is found settled in the neighbouring Republic of Lucca. Their descent and ramifications there, in high civic repute, and with the distinction of having repeatedly furnished the Republic with its Gonfaloniere or chief magistrate, have been traced down of late, by the most pains-

¹ Epist. Fam. 3.

taking research, through the next two centuries. In the sixteenth century we can fasten on one of them, Michele Diodati, who was Gonfaloniere of Lucca in 1541, when the Emperor Charles V. and Pope Paul III. held their "memorable interview" in that city on the affairs of Germany. By his wife, Anna Buonvisi, this Michele Diodati had a large family of sons and daughters. Of the sons, the third, named Carolo Diodati, having been sent to Lyons in his youth to learn banking business in an establishment belonging to his mother's kindred, gave effect to tendencies towards Protestantism that had already been working in the family and in the community of Lucca generally, and turned openly Protestant. Driven from France by the St. Bartholomew Massacre of 1572, he settled in Geneva, to the citizenship of which he was admitted on the 29th of December in that year, and where there were already a number of Italian refugee Protestants like himself, forming a little Protestant Italian congregation. His first wife having died, he married, for his second, a Marie Mei of Geneva, whose parents were from Lucca; and by her he had four sons, Joseph, Jean or Giovanni, Theodore, and Samuel, and three daughters, Anne, Marie, and Madeleine. He lived to a great age, seeing these children variously disposed of, most of them remaining in or about Geneva; whither also there had followed him, since his first settlement there, others of the Diodatis from Lucca, "apostate from the Catholic Religion" (*Catholicâ pejeratâ fide*), including a cousin, named Pompeo Diodati, with that cousin's Italian wife, Laura Calandrini, and some of her relatives.—Of the sons of this Carolo Diodati, the original Protestant refugee in Geneva from among the Diodatis of Lucca, one attained European celebrity. This was the third son, Jean or Giovanni Diodati, born at Geneva in 1576. He was the famous Genevese theologian Diodati, whose name is now chiefly remembered in association with the Italian version of the Scriptures, called Diodati's Bible, which he published in 1607, but whose many other distinctions in his life-time, such as his Professorship of Hebrew in the University of Geneva, his

eloquent and eminent pastorship in that city, his conspicuous deputyship to the Synod of Dort, and his leadership, both personally and by numerous writings in French and Italian, in the continental controversy between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, and in the subordinate controversy between Protestant Arminianism and Protestant Calvinistic orthodoxy, it would be difficult to enumerate. His wife, married in Geneva, was a Madeleine Burlamaqui, and he died there in 1649, having had five sons and four daughters.—Theodore Diodati, the next older brother of the great Genevese divine, and born at Geneva in 1574, had adopted the medical profession, had come over to England in early life, had married there an English lady of some means, and had obtained considerable practice and reputation as a physician. In 1609 he is heard of as living near Brentford, “then physician to Prince Henry and the Lady Elizabeth”; and there is a curious story in Fuller’s *Worthies*, Co. Middlesex, of an extraordinary cure performed by him in that year on one Tristram, a gardener of the neighbourhood, by unusually copious blood-letting, no less than sixty ounces of blood within three days.¹ His diploma or qualification to practice at that time and for a good while afterwards seems to have been a foreign one only; for it was not till Jan. 1616-17 that he was admitted a Licentiate of the London College of Physicians, having previously strengthened his claims by taking the regular degree of Doctor of Medicine at the University of Leyden on the 5th of October 1615.² Thenceforward his residence seems to have been in London; where, at all events, he is found residing during the main part of his subsequent life, his house being in the parish of Little St. Bartholomew, near Bartholomew’s Hospital. His practice seems to have been extensive, especially among persons of rank, and to have taken him

¹ The cure, which seems to have been much talked of in the medical world then and afterwards, was mentioned incorrectly in the first edition of Hake-will’s *Apology, or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God*, published in 1627; and in the Appendix to the

second edition, published in 1630, Hake-will prints a letter from Diodati himself, dated Sept. 30, 1629, giving the exact particulars.

² Munk’s Roll of the Royal College Physicians, I. 160.

often into the country to considerable distances. Before 1624 he is found applying to King James for the post of Physician to the Tower, and referring for evidence of his fitness to "Monsieur de Mayerne," the royal physician, afterwards Sir Theodore Mayerne.¹ In fact, not only as being the brother of the great Genevese divine, but also on his own account, Dr. Theodore Diodati of Little St. Bartholomew, whose foreign name was varied, for the convenience of his more slovenly neighbours, into Deodate, Dyodat, and still other forms, must have been a much respected personage and of very considerable social mark among the Londoners. He might even be made to figure with some interest in a history of the state of the medical art in his time; for, among numerous memoranda of old physicians and old medical practice preserved among the Ayscough MSS. in the British Museum, there is a document, of about sixteen neatly-written pages, giving copies of about 173 of Dr. Theodore Diodati's favourite prescriptions. As I looked at them, the extreme compositeness and whimsicality of some of them, with the recollection of the tremendous blood-letting at Brentford in 1609, would have roused a sense of alarm for those whose fortune it was to be patients of the good Italian doctor, had I not had evidence enough that they might have fared worse, in the matter of drugs at least, by going to any one else.—Our immediate concern with the naturalized Italian physician, however, is of a more special kind. By his English wife he had, at the time at which we are now concerned with him, three children living. There was a daughter, called Philadelphia Diodati; there was a son, named John, doubtless after his uncle, the Genevese divine; and there was another son, Charles Diodati, named probably after his grandfather, Carolo, the original Protestant refugee from Lucca, who had been a Genevese citizen and banker or merchant since 1572. This old grandfather, it appears, was alive as late as 1625, to take interest not only in his various Genevese

¹ An undated memorial by him in French, which I have seen among the English State Papers.

descendants, but also in the English offshoots from him through his son Dr. Theodore. Communications had been kept up, at all events, between the London Diodatis and their Genevese relatives; the celebrated Uncle John himself had recently been on a visit to London; and the children of the London physician must have heard much, and learnt to think much, of him in particular, and of his house in Geneva and their unknown cousins there.¹

The half-Italian Charles Diodati comes to be so vitally important a person in Milton's biography that the reader will not find these particulars of his ancestry and parentage superfluous. Born in 1609, he was almost exactly of the same age as Milton, or but a few months younger. In the routine of scholastic study, however, he had somewhat the start of Milton. He had been sent at a very early age to St. Paul's School, and he passed thence, in February 1622-3, to Trinity College, Oxford, the College to which the younger Gill still belonged by registration on its books, and which he had but recently left in person. Notwithstanding this disparity, an intimacy had sprung up between young

¹ My authorities for the account of the Diodati family given in the first edition of this volume were chiefly Milton's *Epistolæ Familiæres* 6 and 7, his Latin Elegies 1 and 6, and his *Epitaphium Damonis*, with the notes of Warton and Todd to the Elegies and Epitaph, and such findings of my own as appear in the last three foot-notes. In the present text, however, I have been able to add very considerably to the previous information, and to certify new particulars in the genealogy. This has been rendered possible, in the first place, by some interesting discoveries of Colonel Chester respecting the London Diodatis, kindly communicated by him to myself. Numerous as have been Colonel Chester's contributions of such particulars to Milton's Biography, none has been more important than one which I had an opportunity of making public in the Preface to the Cambridge Edition of Milton's Poetical Works in 1874. It appertains primarily to a point in the Biography not reached in the present volume; but it is by the light which it threw back on the circumstances of the Diodati

family at our present date that we have been able to recognise a Philadelphia Diodati as a daughter of the London physician alive at that date, and to determine the name of one of her two brothers as John. We shall have to recur to this Diodati research of Colonel Chester's and to mention other particulars in it. Meanwhile I have to acknowledge also my obligations in the text to an elaborate American Genealogical Essay, entitled *Mr. William Diodate and his Italian Ancestry*, read before the New Haven Colony Historical Society, June 28, 1875, by Professor Edward E. Salisbury, LL.D., and printed by him for private circulation. The "Mr. William Diodate" who gives the title to the Essay was a grandson of John Diodati, the brother of Milton's friend Charles. He emigrated to New Haven before 1717, and died there in 1751, leaving traces of himself in the history of the Colony, which Mr. Salisbury has recovered. It was the interest of his name in its Miltonic and other connexions that moved Mr. Salisbury to those minute and persevering investi-

Milton and young Diodati much closer than is common even between schoolfellows of the same form.¹ Milton's references to their friendship in some of his subsequent letters show how very familiar it was. He calls Diodati "*pectus amans nostri, tamque fidele caput*" ("my own loving heart, my so faithful one"); he calls him also his "*lepulum sodalem*" ("sprightly companion"); and once, when Diodati, sending him some verses, asks for some in return in proof of continued affection, Milton protests that his love is too great to be conveyed in metre. From the tone of these references one imagines Diodati as a quick, amiable, intelligent youth, with something of his Italian descent visible in his face and manner. Milton, while at St. Paul's, must have been often in the Italian physician's house, and acquainted with the whole family, Charles's brother John and his sister Philadelphia included. It is to be remembered, however, that during the last year or two of Milton's stay at school Diodati was a student at Oxford, and that so their communications were necessarily less frequent than they had been.

At the close of the year 1624, or shortly after the Paraphrases of Psalms cxiv. and cxxxvi. were written, Milton too was ready for College. As it happened, however, it was not *his* departure, but that of another member of the family, that was to cause the first break in the little household of Bread Street. While the poet had been receiving his lessons from Young and other domestic masters, and while he and his brother Christopher had been attending St. Paul's School, their elder sister Anne had grown up, under such education as was deemed suitable for her, into a young woman of from eighteen to two-and-twenty, and a very

gations of the Diodati genealogy generally the results of which he has presented in his Essay, both in a connected historical narrative and in a vast appended table of pedigree. Incorporating Colonel Chester's discoveries respecting the London Diodatis, he succeeds, most wonderfully, in tracing out the prior Genevese and Italian Diodatis. By his own courteous gift, I

possess a copy of his Essay, and also one of a paper printed by him in 1878, entitled *A Supplement to the Diodati Genealogy*.

¹ This intimacy of Milton with Diodati, who left St. Paul's School in 1622-3, is one of the circumstances which make it all but certain that Milton entered the school as early as 1620, if not earlier.

desirable match for somebody. Accordingly, during the year 1624, a frequent visitor in the house in Bread Street had been a certain Mr. Edward Phillips, originally from Shrewsbury, but now for a considerable number of years resident in London, where he held a very good situation in an important Government office, called the Crown Office in Chancery. He had been "bred up" in this office, and had at last come to be "secondary of the office under old Mr. Bembo," *i. e.* to be the person in the office immediately next to Mr. John Benbow, who was styled the Deputy Clerk of the Crown and was the real managing man under the Chief Clerk. Phillips may have been well known to the elder Milton, professionally and otherwise; and the younger Milton may have heard one day without surprise that he was the accepted suitor of his sister Anne. Some time towards the close of the year, as near as can be guessed, the marriage took place,¹ the bride "having a considerable dowry given her by her father"; and then the poet's sister, now Mrs. Phillips, removed from Bread Street to a house of her own, in the Strand, near Charing Cross.²

The marriage of the poet's sister does not seem to have taken place in the parish of Allhallows, Bread Street. Had it taken place there, and had Mr. Stocke himself not performed the ceremony, it might have been performed by a curate whom Mr. Stocke had then recently engaged to assist

¹ The authority for this approximate date will afterwards appear.

² Life of Milton by Phillips; Wood's Ath. IV. 760; and Stow's London by Strype (1720), Book VI. p. 69. The last gives the Latin epitaph of "old Mr. Bembo," or Mr. John Benbow, from the Church of St. Martin's in the Fields, from which it appears that he died Oct. 7, 1625, *ætat.* 61, after having been in the Crown Office forty years, and latterly Deputy Clerk. As "secondary" under him, therefore, Mr. Phillips can have been but the third person in the office; and, if he came to be the second person or Deputy Clerk, it must have been after Mr. Benbow's death. Respecting the duties of the ancient office of the Clerk of the Crown (abolished by stat. 2 and 3 William IV.) the following extract from Chamberlain's *Anglie*

Notitia for the year 1671 may be interesting:—"This office is of high importance. He (the Clerk of the Crown) is either by himself or deputy continually to attend the Lord Chancellor or Keeper of the Great Seal for special matters of state, and hath a place in the higher House of Parliament. He makes all writs for summoning Parliaments, and also writs for new elections of members of the House of Commons, upon warrant directed to him by the Speaker, upon the death or removal of any member; also commissions of oyer and terminer, gaol-delivery, commissions of peace, and many other commissions distributing justice to His Majesty's subjects." It may have been useful to the scrivener in business to have a son-in-law in such a Government office.

him in his declining years, and whose name was to be known in the Church of England long after Mr. Stocke's had been forgotten. This was the Rev. Brian Walton, M.A., the future editor of the Polyglott Bible and Bishop of Chester, then fresh from Cambridge, and about twenty-four years of age.¹ It is something in the early life of Milton that he must, if but for a few months, have seen the future Polyglott in the pulpit in Bread Street and heard him preach. ✓

Passing from such matters, as these, specially interesting to the household in Bread Street, into the larger world of political events, we find the all-engrossing business of 1623 and 1624 to have been still that of the "Spanish Match." We have seen with what disgust the English had regarded the apathy of James and Buckingham when James's son-in-law, the Elector-Palatine, was maintaining the Protestant cause against the Emperor, and with what rage they saw the Elector crushed in the contest, deprived not only of the Bohemian kingdom, but of the Palatinate itself, and driven, with his British-born wife, into a mean exile in Holland. The feeling then was that, as the Palatinate had been lost from the want of timely assistance from England, the least that England could do was to labour for its recovery. This feeling broke out strongly in James's third parliament (1621-2), which, though refractory on every other point, showed a wonderful willingness to grant subsidies for the recovery of the Palatinate. But the king was very sluggish. The same cause which had kept him from moving in defence of the Palatinate prevented him from any sincere effort now. His Protestant theology was not proof against the chance of such a Roman Catholic daughter-in-law as the Spanish Infanta, whose dowry would be counted by millions. The nation, accordingly, had been greatly agitated when day by day the business of the Spanish Match seemed to be approaching the dreaded conclusion, and especially when at last, in February 1622-3, Prince Charles, with the Marquis of Buckingham as his escort, set out secretly for the Continent, on his way to Madrid. For months after the departure of the Prince

¹ Wood's Fasti, II. 82.

the country was full of sinister rumours. It was rumoured that the Court of Madrid were tampering with the faith of the Prince, and it was known that pledges had been given favourable to the Catholic Religion in England. To alarmists there seemed to be nothing between the English nation and what they dreaded most,—a repetition of the reign of Philip and Mary. What, then, were the rejoicings over England when it was suddenly announced, in the autumn of 1623, that the match had after all been broken off, and that the Prince was on his way to England without the Infanta! In September 1623 the Prince did return; for some months the delight was boundless; and in February 1623-4, when a new parliament met, it was to congratulate the king on the rupture with Spain and to urge him to make the rupture complete by declaring war. James, aging and feeble, reluctantly consented. What mattered it that the preparations were of no avail, that the levies against Spain died of pestilence on board their ships, without being able to land on any part of the continent? What mattered it even that the Prince, free from his engagements to one Catholic princess, was about to marry another, in the person of the Princess Henrietta-Maria, youngest sister of the reigning French king, Louis XIII.? Was not this princess the daughter of the great Henry IV., once the hero of the French Huguenots, who, though he had embraced Roman Catholicism in order to secure the crown, had all his reign, from 1593 to 1610, governed France on Protestant rather than Catholic methods? Was not French Roman Catholicism, with all its faults, a very different thing from Spanish Roman Catholicism?

Such was the main drift of national events and of the national sentiment during the four or five years of Milton's life spent at St. Paul's School. Of the hundreds of smaller contemporary events, each a topic of nine days' interest to the English people in general or the people of London in particular, a few may be selected by way of sample:—

1620-21, *March 15* (the Poet in his thirteenth year).—Proceedings in Parliament against Lord Chancellor Bacon for bribery. They issued in his conviction and confession, and his sentence to be dismissed from office, to be disqualified for ever for the King's service,

to be banished beyond the precincts of the Court, to pay a fine of £40,000, and to be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure. The heavier portions of the sentence were immediately remitted; but Bacon retired a disgraced and ruined man.

1621, *July*.—Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, accidentally kills a gamekeeper with an arrow at a deer-hunt. As the Archbishop was favourable to the Puritans, a great deal was made of the accident at Court. It was even debated whether, as having shed man's blood, he was not incapacitated for his sacred office.

1623: *Sunday, Oct. 26* (the Poet in his sixteenth year).—Great commotion caused in London by the *Fatal Vespers in Blackfriars*—*i. e.* by the fall of a building or chapel in Blackfriars in which a congregation of Catholics had met to celebrate mass. Upwards of a hundred persons were killed; and, as the public feeling against the Catholics and the Spanish Match was then at its height, the accident was regarded as a judgment of God upon the hated sect. In the interest of this view, it was noted by the curious that the day of the accident, the 26th of October, was the 5th of November in the Papal reckoning. No one was more ferocious on the occasion than young Gill. Among his Latin poems there is one expressly describing the accident. It is entitled *In ruinam Cameræ Papisticæ Londini*. Here are a few of the lines:—

Est locus ab atris qui vetus fraterculis
Traxisse nomen fertur: hic Satanas modò
Habuit sacellum: huc, proprio infortunio,
Octobris in vicesimo et sexto die
(Atqui, secundum computum Papisticum,
Quinto Novembris), turba Catholica frequens
Confluxit.¹

“Be not elated,” says Gill in continuation, addressing the Roman Catholics whom he imagines assembled in the crazy tenement; “though our benignant Prince sees fit to let you meet for your idolatrous worship, God himself takes his cause in hand. Just while the Jesuit is getting on fluently with his oration, and pouring out his vituperations of the orthodox and his welcome blasphemies, crash goes the framework of the house, and where are you?”—There is a notice of this famous Blackfriars Accident, with a list of sixty-eight of the persons killed, in *Historical Notices of events occurring chiefly during the Reign of Charles I.*, printed in 1869 from the MSS. of Nehemiah Wallington, of St. Leonard's, Eastcheap.

1623, *Nov. 9*.—The great scholar Camden dies. As was usual on such occasions, obituary verses were written by the pupils and other admirers of the deceased; and a volume of such, by Oxford scholars, was published shortly afterwards under the title of “*Camdeni Insignia*” (Oxon. 1624). One of the pieces contained in it was a set of Horatian stanzas by Charles Diodati, of Trinity College. Here are two of the stanzas:—

“Sed nec brevis te sarcophagus teget,
Camdene, totum; multaque pars tui
Vitabit umbras, et superstes
Fama per omne vigebit ævum.

¹ Gill's *Poetici Conatus*, 1632.

Donec Britannûm spumeus alluet
 Neptunus oras, dumque erit Anglia
 Ab omnibus divisa terris,
 Magna tui monumenta vivent."

1624-5, *January and February* (the Poet just beginning his seventeenth year).—As *events* of these months we may mention two fresh "poetic efforts" of young Gill. The one is a Latin poem sent, on the 1st of January, to Thomas Farnabie the schoolmaster, "along with a skin of Canary wine" ("*cum utre vini Canarii pleno*"). The other, still more characteristic, is a poem addressed to his father, old Mr. Gill, on his sixtieth birthday ("*In parentis mei natalem cum ipse sexagesimum ætatis annum completeret*"), Feb. 27, 1624-5. Here are a few of the lines :

"Forte aliquis dicet patrios me inquirere in annos ;
 Nec desunt tibi qui vellent suadere senectæ
 Quod mihi longa tuæ rupendaque fila videntur.
 Si tamen est Numen, quod nos auditque videtque,
 Explorans justo trepidas examine fibras ;
 Si meus es genitor ; si sum tua vera propago ;
 Si parte ex aliquâ similis tibi forte patrisso ;
 Si credis primum me te fecisse parentem ;
 Si speras, manibus junctis et poplite flexo,
 Quod mea te soboles primo decorabit aviti
 Nomine : mitte, precor, vanas de pectore curas,
 Atque mei posthac securus vive malignâ
 Suspicionem procul. Nam tristes cur ego patris
 Promittam exsequias ? mihi quid tua funera prosint ?
 Quas mihi divitias, quæ culta novalia, linques ?"¹

In plain English thus :—"Perchance some one will tell you that I am speculating on my father's age ; nor are kind friends wanting who would wish to persuade you that I think the thread of your life rather long spun out already and quite fit for breaking. But, if there is a God who both sees and hears us, searching with just scrutiny our trembling fibres ; if thou art indeed my father ; if I am thy true offspring ; if in anything I take after you ; if you believe that I first made you a parent ; if you hope, with joined hands and bent knee, that my offspring will first decorate you with the name of grandfather : throw vain cares aside, and henceforth let all suspicion of me be far from you. For why should I look forward to the melancholy obsequies of my father ? What good would your death do me ? What riches, what cultivated acres, will you leave me ?"

A comfortable kind of letter, truly, for a father to receive from a son on his sixtieth birthday ! Meanwhile, as far as Milton is concerned, we have been anticipating a little. Fully a fortnight before Mr. Gill received the above delicate missive from his son, Milton had taken his leave both of father and son, and had begun his college-life at Cambridge.

¹ Gill's *Poetici Conatus*, 1632.

BOOK II.

1625—1632.

CAMBRIDGE.

- I. CAMBRIDGE AND ITS DONS IN 1625.
- II. MILTON'S SEVEN YEARS AT THE UNIVERSITY, WITH THE
INCIDENTS OF THAT PERIOD : 1625—1632.
- III. ACADEMIC STUDIES AND RESULTS : MILTON'S *PROLUSIONES*
ORATORIÆ.

CHAPTER I.

CAMBRIDGE AND ITS DONS IN 1625.

MILTON was admitted a Lesser Pensioner of Christ's College, Cambridge, on the 12th of February, 1624-5.¹ He was one of fourteen students registered in the entry-book of the College as having been admitted during the half-year between Michaelmas 1624 and Lady-Day 1625. The following is the list of the fourteen, translated from the entry-book :²—

Catalogue of the Students who were admitted into Christ's College from Michaelmas 1624 to Lady-Day 1625 : Arthur Scott, Prælector.

Richard Pegge, native of Derby, son of Jonas Pegge : initiated in the rudiments of grammar in the public school of Aderston, under the care of Mr. Bedford, master of the same : admitted a sizar Oct. 24, 1624, under Mr. Cooke, and paid entrance-fee 5s.

Edward Donne, native of London, son of Marmaduke Donne, Presbyter : admitted first into St. John's College under the tutorship of Mr. Horsmanden, and there for two years, more or less, studied letters : thereafter transferred himself to our College, was admitted a lesser pensioner under the tutorship of Mr. Gell, and paid entrance-fee 10s.

Thomas Chote, native of Essex, son of Thomas Chote : admitted a lesser pensioner under Mr. Gell, Nov. 1624, and paid entrance-fee 10s.

Richard Britten, native of Essex, son of William Britten : admitted a sizar Dec. 21, 1624, under Mr. Gell, and paid entrance-fee 5s.

— Robinson. [As there is no farther entry opposite this name, Robinson must have failed to reappear.]

¹ It may be well here to remind the reader of the reason for this double mode of dating. Till 1752 the year in England was considered to begin on the 25th of March. All those days, therefore, between the 31st of December and the 25th of March, which we should now date as belonging to a particular year, were then dated as belonging to the year preceding that. According to *our* dating, Milton's entry at Christ's College took place on the 12th of Feb. 1625 ; but in the *old* reck-

oning that day was the 12th of Feb. 1624. The confusion is farther increased by the fact that in Scotland after 1600 the year did begin, as now, on the 1st of January.

² From a copy kindly furnished me by Mr. Wolstenholme, Fellow and Tutor of Christ's College. In each case the school in which the intrant had been previously educated is specified, and the schoolmaster's name given, as in the first entry. In most cases I have omitted these items.

Richard Earle, native of Lincoln, son of Augustine Earle : admitted a greater pensioner Jan. 11, 1624, aged 16, under the tutorship of Mr. Chappell, and paid entrance-fee 20s.

Robert Ellis, native of Essex, son of Robert Ellis : admitted a sizar Feb. 3, 1624, under Mr. Knowesly, and paid entrance-fee 5s.

John Milton, native of London, son of John Milton : was initiated in the elements of letters under Mr. Gill, master of St. Paul's School : was admitted a lesser pensioner Feb. 12, 1624, under Mr. Chappell, and paid entrance-fee 10s. (*"Johannes Milton, Londinensis, filius Johannis, institutus fuit in literarum elementis sub M^{ro} Gill, Gymnasii Paulini præfecto; admissus est pensionarius minor Feb. 12, 1624, sub M^{ro} Chappell, solvitque pro ingressu 10s."*)

Robert Pory, native of London, son of Robert Pory : imbibed the rudiments of letters in St. Paul's public school, under the care of Mr. Gill, head-master of the same : was admitted a lesser pensioner, under the tutorship of Mr. Chappell, Feb. 28, 1624, and paid entrance-fee 10s.

Philip Smith, native of Northampton, son of Thomas Smith : admitted a sizar under Mr. Sandelands, March 2, 1624, and paid entrance-fee 5s.

Thomas Baldwin, native of Suffolk, son of James Baldwin : admitted a lesser pensioner March 4, 1624, under Mr. Alsop, and paid entrance-fee 10s.

Roger Rutley, native of Suffolk, son of Richard Rutley : admitted at the same time, and under the same tutor, a lesser pensioner, and paid entrance-fee 10s.

Edward Freshwater, native of Essex, son of Richard Freshwater : admitted a lesser pensioner March 8, 1624, under Mr. Chappell, and paid entrance-fee 10s.

William Jackson, native of Kent, son of William Jackson : admitted a lesser pensioner March 14, 1624, under the charge of Mr. Scott, and paid entrance-fee 10s.

In the remaining half of the same academic year, or between Lady-Day and Michaelmas 1625, there were thirty fresh entries. Milton, therefore, was one of forty-three students who commenced their academic course at Christ's College in the year 1624-5.

It will be noted that eight of the students in the above list entered as "lesser pensioners," four as "sizar," and but one as a "greater pensioner." The distinction was one of rank. All the three grades paid for their board and education, and in this respect were distinct from the *scholars*, properly so called, who belonged to the foundation. But the "greater pensioners" or "fellow-commoners" paid most. They were usually the sons of wealthy families; and they had the privilege of dining at the upper table in the common

hall along with the Fellows. The "sizars," on the other hand, were poorer students; they paid least; and, though receiving the same education as the others, they had a lower rank and inferior accommodation. Intermediate between the greater pensioners and the sizars were the "lesser pensioners"; and it was to this class that the bulk of the students in all the Colleges at Cambridge belonged. Milton, as the son of a London scrivener in good circumstances, took his natural place in becoming a "lesser pensioner." His school-fellow Robert Pory, who entered the College in the same year and month, and chose the same tutor, entered in the same rank. Milton's father and Pory's father must have made up their minds, in sending their sons to Cambridge, to pay about £50 a-year each, in the money of that day, for the expenses of their maintenance there. It was equivalent to about £180 or £200 a-year now.¹

Why the elder Milton chose Christ's College in Cambridge, or indeed why he chose Cambridge University rather than Oxford, for the education of his son, does not appear. Then, as now, Christ's College stood, in respect of numbers, not at the head of the sixteen Colleges included in the University, but only near the head. The following is a list of the sixteen in the order of their numerical importance in the year 1621 :—

1. *Trinity College* (founded 1546):—It had, on the foundation, 1 master, 60 fellows, 68 scholars, 4 chaplains or conductors, 3 public professors, 13 poor scholars, 1 master of choristers, 6 clerks, 10 choristers, and 20 almsmen; and the addition of the remaining students and others not on the foundation, with officers and servants of the College, made a total of 440
2. *St. John's College* (founded 1511):—1 master, 54 fellows, and 84 scholars, with non-foundation students, &c., making a total of 370
3. *Christ's College* (founded 1505):—1 master, 13 fellows,

¹ Milton seems not to have had any of those exhibitions—some of "ten pounds a year for seven years," Strype tells us—which the Mercers' Company, as patrons of St. Paul's School, had in their gift to bestow on deserving pupils of the school. In the autobiography of Sir Simonds D'Ewes he tells us that, when he went as a fellow-commoner to

St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1618, his father would not make him a larger allowance than £50 a year; which, with the utmost economy, he could barely make sufficient. If this was a stingy sum for a "fellow-commoner," it was probably about the proper sum for a "lesser pensioner."

	and 55 scholars, with other students, &c., making a total of	265
4.	<i>Emanuel College</i> (founded 1584):—1 master, 14 fellows, 50 scholars, 10 poor scholars, with other students, &c., making a total of	260
5.	<i>Queens' College</i> (founded 1446):—1 president, 19 fellows, 23 scholars, 8 bible-clerks, and 3 lecturers, with other students, &c., making a total of	230
6.	<i>Gonville and Caius College</i> (founded 1348):—1 master, 25 fellows, 1 conduct, 61 scholars, with other students, &c., making a total of	180
7.	<i>Clare Hall</i> (founded 1326):—1 master, 17 fellows, 36 scholars, with other students, &c., making a total of	144
8.	<i>Peterhouse</i> (founded 1257):—1 master, 17 fellows, 21 scholars and bible-clerks, with other students, &c., making a total of	140
9.	<i>Pembroke College</i> (founded 1343):—1 master, with fellows, scholars, and other students, &c., making a total of	140
10.	<i>King's College</i> (founded 1441):—It had, on the foundation, 1 provost, 70 fellows and scholars, 3 chaplains or conducts, 1 master of choristers, 6 clerks, 16 choristers, 6 poor scholars, 14 senior fellows' servitors, and a few others, making a total of	140
11.	<i>Sidney Sussex College</i> (founded 1598):—1 master, 12 fellows, 29 scholars, with other students, &c., making a total of	140
12.	<i>Corpus Christi College</i> , or <i>Benet College</i> (founded 1351):—1 master, 12 fellows, 14 scholars, with other students, &c., making a total of	140
13.	<i>Jesus College</i> (founded 1496):—1 master, 16 fellows, 22 scholars, with other students, &c., making a total of	120
14.	<i>Magdalen College</i> (founded 1519):—1 master, 10 fellows, 20 scholars, with other students, &c., making a total of	90
15.	<i>Catharine Hall</i> (founded 1475):—1 master, 6 fellows, 8 scholars, with other students, &c., making a total of	56
16.	<i>Trinity Hall</i> (founded 1350):—1 master, 12 fellows, 14 scholars, with other students, &c., making a total of	56
Total in all the Colleges ¹		2911

From this list it appears that Christ's College, though not the largest of the Colleges in Cambridge, was far from being the smallest. Its reputation fully corresponded with its rank and proportions. Among the eminent men whom it had sent forth it could count the Reformer Latimer, the antiquary Leland, several distinguished prelates of the six-

¹ The table has been compiled chiefly from a MS. volume in the British Museum (Add. MS. No. 11,720) entitled "The Foundation of the University of Cambridge, &c.," prepared in 1621 by John Scott of Cambridge, notary public,

—apparently one of a number of copies presented to the heads of Colleges. This particular copy was the presentation copy of Dr. Richardson, Head of Trinity College, and was purchased for the Museum in 1840.

teenth century, Harrington, the translator of Ariosto, and the heroic Sir Philip Sidney. It appears still to have kept up its reputation as a place of sound learning. "It may 'without flattery,'" remarks Fuller, "be said of this House, 'Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest 'them all,' if we consider the many divines who in so 'short a time have here had their education.'" At all events, it was one of the most comfortable Colleges in the University. It was substantially built, and had a spacious inner quadrangle, a handsome dining-hall and chapel, good rooms for the fellows and students, and an extensive garden behind, provided with a bowling-green, a pond, alcoves, and shady walks, in true academic taste.

In the year 1624-5, when Milton went to Cambridge, the total population of the town may have been eight or nine thousand.¹ Then, as now, the distinction between "town" and "gown" was one of the fixed ideas of the place. While the town was governed by its mayor, aldermen, and common council, and represented in Parliament by two burgesses, the University was governed by its own statutes, as administered by the Academic authorities, and was represented in Parliament by two members returned by itself. The following is a list of the chief authorities and office-bearers of the University in the year 1624-5 :—

Chancellor : Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, elected 1614.

High Steward : Sir Edward Coke, the great lawyer, elected 1614.

Vice-Chancellor of the Year : Dr. John Mansell, Head of Queens' College.

Proctors of the Year : William Boswell of Jesus College, and Thomas Bould of Pembroke.

HEADS OF COLLEGES IN 1624-5.

1. *Peterhouse* : Dr. Leonard Mawe, Master ; elected 1617 ; a Suffolk-man by birth ; educated at Peterhouse ; appointed Regius Professor of Theology in 1607 ; had afterwards been chaplain to Prince Charles, and had accompanied him to Spain ; at a later period (1625) was transferred to the mastership of Trinity College, and ultimately (1628) became Bishop of Bath and Wells, in which dignity he died, 1629.²

¹ In 1622 the total number of students of all degrees in the University, with the College officials, &c., was 3050.

(Cooper's Annals, II. p. 148.)

² Fuller's Worthies, Suffolk ; and Wood's Fasti, I. 282.

2. *Clare Hall* : Dr. Thomas Paske, Master ; elected 1621.
3. *Pembroke College* : Dr. Jerome Beale, Master ; elected 1618, and held office till 1630.
4. *Gonville and Caius College* : John Gostlin, M.D., Master (this being one of the few Colleges where custom did not require the Master to be a Doctor of Divinity) ; elected 1618 ; a Norwich-man by birth ; educated at Caius ; admitted M.D. 1602 ; afterwards Regius Professor of Physic in the University ; was Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1618-19, and again in 1625-6, in which year he died. "He was," says Fuller, "a great scholar, eloquent Latinist, and rare "physician" ; "a strict man in keeping, and magistrate in pressing, "the statutes of College and University,"—in illustration of which Fuller says that in his Vice-Chancellorship it was penal for any scholar to appear in boots.¹
5. *Trinity Hall* : Clement Corbet, LL.D., Master ; elected 1611, and held office till 1626.
6. *Corpus Christi* or *Benet College* : Dr. Samuel Walsall, Master ; elected 1618, and held office till his death in 1626.
7. *King's College* : Dr. Samuel Collins, Provost ; elected 1615 ; a Buckinghamshire-man by birth ; educated at Eton, and then at Cambridge, at King's College ; presented to the living of Braintree in Essex, 1610 ; King's Professor of Divinity at Cambridge 1617, and afterwards Prebendary of Ely and parson of Somersham. He died in 1661. According to Fuller, he was "one of an admirable wit and "memory, the most fluent Latinist of our age, so that, as Caligula is "said to have sent his soldiers vainly to fight against the tide, with "the same success have any encountered the torrent of his tongue in "disputation." From what Fuller says farther, Collins seems to have been specially popular as a man of eccentric and witty ways. He was also known as a polemical author.²
8. *Queens' College* : Dr. John Mansell, President ; elected 1622, and held office till 1631.
9. *Catharine Hall* : Dr. John Hills, Master ; elected 1614, and held office till his death in 1626.
10. *Jesus College* : Dr. Roger Andrews, Master ; elected 1618, and held office till 1632.
11. *Christ's College* : Dr. Thomas Bainbrigge, Master ; elected 1620, and held office till 1645.
12. *St. John's College* : Dr. Owen Gwynne, Master ; elected 1612, and held office till his death in 1633. He was a Welshman by birth ; had been a fellow of St. John's, and vicar of East Ham in Essex from 1605 to 1611. In 1622 he was preferred to the archdeaconry of Huntingdon, then vacant by the promotion of Laud to the bishopric of St. David's. The College, Baker says, was very much mismanaged in his time, though it had the good fortune to send forth during his prefecture three alumni no less famous than the Earl of Strafford, Lord Fairfax, and Lord Falkland. He left, says Baker, nothing to the College but his name, and "that adds little lustre to our "annals."³
13. *Magdalen College* : Barnaby Gooch, LL.D., Master ; elected in 1604, and held office till his death in 1625-6.

¹ Fuller's *Worthies*, Norwich ; and Wood's *Fasti*, I. 350.

² Fuller's *Worthies*, Bucks ; and Wood's *Ath.*, II. 663-4 ; also Hacket's *Life of Archbishop Williams*, 1692,

part I, p. 26.

³ Wood's *Fasti*, I. 375 ; and Baker's *MS. History of St. John's College* (Harl. MS. 7036), which contains a detailed account of Gwynne.

14. *Trinity College*: Dr. John Richardson, Master; elected 1615, and held office till his death in 1625: succeeded by Mawe.

15. *Emanuel College*: Dr. John Preston, Master; elected 1622, and held office till his death in 1628. Of all the heads of Colleges this was the one whose presence in Cambridge was the most impressive. Born in Northamptonshire in 1587, Preston was admitted a student of King's College, Cambridge, in 1604, and afterwards removed to Queens' College, of which he became a fellow in 1609. "Before he commenced M.A.," says Fuller, "he was so far from eminency as "but a little above contempt: thus the most generous wines are the "most muddy before they fine. Soon after, his skill in philosophy "rendered him to the most general respect of the University." He had, during the earlier part of his College-life, "received some religious impressions" from a sermon by a Puritan preacher, which had the effect of making him all his life a tenacious adherent of the Calvinistic theology and Puritan church-forms. When King James first visited Cambridge in 1614, Mr. Preston was appointed to dispute before him, and he acquitted himself so wonderfully that his preferment in the Church would have been certain "had not his inclinations to Puritanism been a bar in his way." As it was, he devoted himself to an academical life; making it his business to train up the young men committed to him in the principles of Puritanism, and so, as well as by the Puritan tone of his public lectures and sermons, becoming conspicuous in a University where most of the heads and seniors tended the other way. "He was," says Fuller, "the greatest "pupil-monger in England in man's memory, having sixteen fellow-commoners (most heirs to fair estates) admitted in one year at "Queens' College. As William the Popular of Nassau was said to "have won a subject from the King of Spain to his own party every "time he put off his hat, so was it commonly said in the College that "every time when Master Preston plucked off his hat to Dr. Davenant, "the College-master, he gained a chamber or study for one of his "pupils." When he was chosen Master of Emanuel in 1622, he was still under forty; and he was then made D.D. He carried most of his pupils from Queens' to Emanuel with him; and, as Master of Emanuel, he kept up the reputation of that house as the most Puritanical in the University. Holding such a post, and possessing such a reputation, it was natural that he should be regarded by the Puritans of England as their leading man; and accordingly he was selected by the Duke of Buckingham as the medium through whom the Puritans were to be managed. "Whilst any hope," says Fuller, "none but "Doctor Preston with the Duke; set up and extolled; and afterwards "set by and neglected, when found useless to the intended purpose." During the days of his favour at Court he had been appointed chaplain to Prince Charles. When Milton went to Cambridge the eclipse of the Puritan Doctor's fortunes as a courtier had begun; but he was still at the height of his reputation with the Puritans, none the less because he was reported to have stood firm against the temptation of a bishopric. He also still held the important position of Trinity lecturer; and this position, together with that of Preacher at Lincoln's Inn, enabled him to promulgate his opinions almost as authoritatively as if he had been a bishop. Had he lived longer it is probable he would have played a still more important part in English history. Summing up his character, Fuller says, "He was a perfect politician, and used, lap-wing-like, to flutter most on that place which was farthest from his "eggs. He had perfect command of his passion, with the Caspian

"Sea never ebbing nor flowing, and would not alter his composed face for all the whipping which satirical wits bestowed upon him. He never had wife, nor cure of souls, and, leaving a plentiful, but no invidious, estate, died A.D. 1628, July 20." He left not a few writings.¹

16. *Sidney Sussex College*: Dr. Samuel Ward, Master; elected 1609, and held office till his death in 1643. He was a native of the county of Durham; became a scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge, and then a fellow of Emanuel; whence he was preferred to the Mastership of Sidney Sussex. In 1621 he was appointed Margaret Professor of Divinity; which office he held along with his Mastership. He was a learned man, and was reputed to be of Puritan leanings till Puritanism came into the ascendant. Fuller, who had been his pupil, gives this description of him in comparison with his contemporary Collins of King's: "Yet was he a Moses not only for slowness of speech, but, otherwise, meekness of nature. Indeed, when, in my private thoughts, I have beheld him and Dr. Collins (disputable whether more different or more eminent in their endowments), I could not but remember the running of Peter and John to the place where Christ was buried. In which race John came first, as the youngest and swiftest, to the grave; but Peter first entered into the grave. Doctor Collins had much the speed of him in quickness of parts; but let me say (nor doth the relation of a pupil misguide me) the other pierced the deeper into the underground and profound points of Divinity."²

Besides the above-named sixteen men (or, if we include the Proctors, eighteen), with whose physiognomies and figures Milton must necessarily have become acquainted within the first month or two of his residence at the University, we are able to mention a few others of those Cambridge notabilities of the time with whom he must, by sight at least, have soon become familiar.

There was Mr. Tabor of Corpus Christi, the Registrar of the University, who had held that office since 1600. There was old Mr. Andrew Downes, Fellow of St. John's, Regius Professor of Greek in the University, "an extraordinarily tall man, with a long face and a ruddy complexion, and a very quick eye," rather slovenly and eccentric in his habits and now somewhat doting (he had told one of his pupils confidentially that the word *cat* was derived from *καίω*, "I burn"), but with the reputation of being "a walking library" and a prodigy in Greek.³ There was Mr. Robert

¹ Fuller's *Worthies*, Northamptonshire, and *Church History*, *sub anno* 1628; also Wood's *Fasti*, I. 333, and Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, II. 193 et seq. Fuller was himself a student of

Queens' College before Preston had left it for Emanuel.

² *Hist. of Univ. of Camb. sub anno* 1641-2.

³ Fuller's *Hist. of Univ. of Camb.*

Metcalfe, a Fellow of John's since 1606, and now Regius Professor of Hebrew. As Public Orator of the University, there was a man of no less mark than George Herbert, the poet,¹ already an object of general admiration on account of his genius and the elegant sanctity of his life, though his fame in English poetry had yet to be acquired. He had formerly held for a year (1618-19) the office of Prælector of Rhetoric, and had then rather astonished the University by selecting for analysis and comment, not an oration of Demosthenes or Cicero, as was usual, but an oration of King James, whereof "he shewed the concinnity of the parts, the propriety of the phrase, the height and power of it to move the affections, the style utterly unknown to the Ancients, who could not conceive what true kingly eloquence was, in respect of which those noted Demagogi were but hirelings and triobulary rhetoricians."² Now, however, he was generally with the Court, either at London or elsewhere, and visited Cambridge only when the duties of his Public Oratorship called him thither specially. More permanent residents at Cambridge were Mr. Thomas Thornton, Fellow of St. John's, who had been appointed the first Lecturer in Logic on the recent foundation of a Lectureship in that science by Lord Maynard (1620)³, and the still more distinguished Mr. Abraham Whelock, Fellow of Clare Hall, Keeper of the Public Library, and one of the preachers of the town. Whelock, a Shropshire man, was already known as a Saxon scholar and Orientalist, in which latter capacity he was selected, some eight years later, as the first holder of a Professorship of Arabic then instituted. He afterwards assisted Walton in his Polyglott.

Passing to those who, without holding University offices, were yet publicly known in 1624-5 as distinguished Fellows of their several Colleges, we might have a pretty numerous list. Peterhouse, of which Mawe was Master, does not furnish at the moment any in this class deserving of note, Brian Walton, who had been a student of this College,

¹ Walton's Life of Herbert.

³ Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, III. 125.

² Ibid. 135.

having just left it without having held a fellowship. In Clare Hall, under Paske, the most eminent Fellows, besides Whelock, were, Dr. Richard Love, afterwards Dean of Ely and Master of Corpus Christi College, Dr. Augustine Lindsell, especially learned in Jewish antiquities, afterwards successively Dean of Lichfield, Bishop of Peterborough, and Bishop of Hereford, and Mr. Humphrey Henchman, who, after the Restoration, was successively Bishop of Salisbury and Bishop of London. In Pembroke Hall, under the mastership of Beale, Fellows of eminence were Dr. Matthew Wren, afterwards Master of Peterhouse and Bishop of Hereford and of Ely, Mr. Benjamin Laney, who, succeeding Beale as Master, was ejected in 1644, restored at the Restoration, and promoted successively to the sees of Peterborough, Lincoln, and Ely, and Mr. Ralph Brownrigg, afterwards Master of Catharine Hall, and finally Bishop of Exeter. In Caius, under the prefecture of Gostlin, no Fellow can be mentioned as of particular note at this epoch, the College resting, for the time, on the fame of pupils it had recently sent forth into the world, among whom were the anatomist Harvey and the physician Glisson. Trinity Hall, under Dr. Corbet, was in a similar condition. In Corpus Christi, under Walsall, the most distinguished men were Dr. Henry Butts, Walsall's successor, two years afterwards, in the mastership, and Mr. Richard Sterne, afterwards Head of Jesus College, Bishop of Carlisle, and ultimately Archbishop of York. King's, under the provostship of Collins, no longer had among its Fellows its ornament, the mathematician Oughtred, who was then living as a clergyman in Surrey; but it had Dr. Thomas Goade, the son of one of its former Provosts, Mr. William Gouge, afterwards a famous Puritan minister and member of the Westminster Assembly, and Ralph Winterton, an able Bachelor of Physic, subsequently Doctor and Regius Professor of Medicine in the University. A person of some consequence among the seniors of Queens', now that its magnate Preston had left it, was Dr. John Towers, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough. In Catharine Hall, under Dr. Hills, the most eminent men

seem to have been John Arrowsmith and William Spurstow, both afterwards distinguished as Puritan divines. In Jesus College, under Dr. Roger Andrews, besides William Boswell, one of the Proctors of the year, afterwards Sir William Boswell, there were Mr. William Beale, who succeeded Dr. Gwynne as Master of St. John's, and Thomas Westfield, afterwards Bishop of Bristol. In the great College of St. John's, over which Dr. Gwynne presided, the Fellows of greatest note, besides Metcalfe, the Professor of Hebrew, were Dr. Richard Sibbes, who succeeded Hills as Master of Catharine Hall, Daniel Horsmanden and Daniel Ambrose, both tutors of the College, and Richard Holdsworth, a man unusually respected as a tutor, and who became afterwards Master of Emanuel and Dean of Worcester. Magdalen College presents at the time no name of note. In Trinity College, then the rival of St. John's in the University, we find Robert Crichton, a Scotchman of high reputation for learning, afterwards the successor of Herbert as Public Orator and of Downes as the Professor of Greek, with James Duport, also subsequently Professor of Greek and Master of Magdalen, Dr. Thomas Comber, afterwards Master of Trinity, and Charles Chauncy, afterwards eminent as a Puritan preacher. Of Emanuel College the Fellow and Tutor most in repute seems to have been a Mr. Thomas Horton; and in Sidney Sussex (where Oliver Cromwell had been a student for a short time about eight years before, and where Cromwell's tutor, Mr. Richard Howlett, still resided) the most eminent Fellow was a certain learned Mr. Paul Micklethwaite.¹

Such were some of the most conspicuous Dons of their several Colleges at the time when Milton's acquaintance with Cambridge began. In each College, however, under these, there was, of course, its own particular crowd of younger men, already more or less advanced in their University course before Milton began his. Three aris-

¹ The names have been gathered out of Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, the *Cambridge Collections of Verses*, a portion of Baker's MSS., Drake Morris's MS. *Lives of Illustrious Cantabs.* (Harl.

7176), Wood's *Athenæ and Fasti*, Fuller's *Worthies*, and the *Lives of Nicholas Ferrar and Matthew Robinson*, edited with notes by Mr. Mayor.

tocratic scholars of whom we hear as pursuing their studies at this time were James Stuart, Duke of Lennox, of the blood-royal, now a popular alumnus of Trinity College, young Lord Wriothesly of St. John's, son of Shakespeare's Earl of Southampton, and young Sir Dudley North, also of St. John's, son of Lord North of Kirtling. Among men similarly in advance of Milton in their respective Colleges, and who were to be afterwards distinguished as scholars or divines, the following may be named:—Henry Ferne, then a student in Trinity College, in the fifth year of his course, afterwards Master of the same College and Bishop of Chester; Edmund Castell, then a student of Emanuel, in the fourth year of his course, afterwards Whelock's successor as Professor of Arabic in the University, Prebendary of Canterbury, an assistant of Walton in his Polyglott, and one of the most laborious Orientalists of his age; Robert Mapletoft, then a student of Queens', in his third or fourth year, afterwards a distinguished Fellow and Tutor of that College, and Master of Pembroke Hall; and, best known of all, Thomas Fuller, the Church-Historian, then also a student of Queens', and in the fifth year of his course. To these may be added Edward Rainbow, who entered Magdalen College as a student in the very year in which Milton entered Christ's, and who was afterwards Master of his College, and Bishop of Carlisle. Not to multiply names, it will be enough to note as then at Cambridge two youths more, both only a little older than Milton, who were, like him, to take rank as poets in English Literature. Edmund Waller was then a student of King's, and Thomas Randolph had been admitted to Trinity College on an exhibition from Westminster School in the year 1623.

In the preceding account next to nothing has been said of the particular College with which Milton had more immediately connected himself. The following details will supply the defect.

The Head, or Master, of Christ's College, at the time when Milton joined it, was, as has been already stated, a

certain Dr. Thomas Bainbrigge, who had held that office since 1620. The chief fact in this person's life seems to have been that he *was* Master of Christ's; for very little else is to be ascertained concerning him. According to Cole,¹ he "was descended out of the north," of a family which gave several others of the same name to the English Church. According to the same authority, he had not "any other preferment before he became Master of Christ's," and his election to that post was owing rather to the circumstance of his having been Vice-master under the previous head, Dr. Valentine Cary, than to any special merit. On other evidence Cole is inclined to add that, if he did not obtain farther preferment, it was not from any lack of "sufficient obsequiousness." Within his jurisdiction, however, Bainbrigge had the reputation of being "a severe governor." He survived till September 1646.

If Christ's College was not very eminent in its Master, it was tolerably fortunate in its Fellows. The names of its thirteen Fellows at the time, arranged as nearly as possible in the order of their seniority, were these:—William Power, William Siddall, William Chappell, Joseph Meade, John Knowsley, Michael Honeywood, Francis Cooke, Nathaniel Tovey, Arthur Scott, Robert Gell, John Alsop, — Simpson, and Andrew Sandelands.²

All the thirteen were either Bachelors of Divinity or Masters of Arts. Several of them were, or were to be, men of some mark in the Church. Honeywood, for example, who was of a distinguished and very numerous family, died in the Deanery of Lincoln, as late as 1681, leaving an unusually fine library and some fame for scholarship. Gell,

¹ Cole's MSS. vol. XX. p. 65, and *Athenæ Cantab.*, in *Brit. Mus.*

² This list has been drawn up from a comparison of four lists before me. One is Cole's MSS. *Brit. Mus.* vol. XX. p. 64, enumerating the Fellows of Christ's in 1618; another, by Scott (*Add. MS. Brit. Mus.* 11,720), enumerates the Fellows in 1621; a third, which I found in an original document pasted by Baker into one of his MS. volumes (*Harl.* 7036, p. 143), contains

the signatures of the Master and Fellows of Christ's in 1637; and the fourth, furnished me by Mr. Wolstenholme, Fellow and Tutor of Christ's, enumerates those who were Fellows of the College "during all or some part of Milton's time there." The four lists, checking each other, enable me to determine—I think, precisely—who were Fellows in 1624-5, and also (at least as regards the first nine of the list) in what order of seniority they stood

whose popularity as a tutor appears from his getting for his pupils three of the thirteen fellow-students of Milton admitted in the same half-year with him, became afterwards Rector of the Parish of St. Mary Aldermary, London; which living he held through the Protectorate, with the reputation of being a learned man, but of somewhat mystical notions, and too fond of "turning Scripture into allegories." He died in 1665, leaving some foolish sermons on astrological and apocalyptic topics, and a mass of commentaries on Scripture, which were published in 1676, in two large folios, as *Gell's Remaines*. The most interesting of all the thirteen Fellows for us, however, are Meade, Chappell, and Tovey.

Apart from his casual relation to Milton as one of the senior Fellows of Christ's College, Joseph Meade (otherwise Mede or Mead) was a remarkable man. Born in 1586, in Essex, he had been sent to Christ's College in the year 1602. After passing through the regular course with much distinction, he commenced M.A. in 1610, and was at the same time elected a Fellow of his College. In 1618 he graduated B.D. During his College course he had been much troubled by sceptical doubts, especially by the question whether $\tau\acute{o}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$, or the universal frame of things, was not a mere phantasy of the mind. These doubts, however, had vanished; and by the time he was a Fellow he was known in the University as "an acute logician, an accurate philosopher, a skilful mathematician, an excellent anatomist (being usually sent for when they had any anatomy in Caius College), a great philologer, a master of many languages, and a good proficient in the studies of History and Chronology." To these accomplishments, enumerated by one biographer, Fuller adds that he was "an exact text-man, happy in making Scripture expound itself by parallel places." He was also a man of singularly meek disposition, conspicuously charitable in his judgments, yet communicative and even facetious among his friends. "His body was of a comely proportion, rather of a tall than low stature. In his younger years (as he would say) he was but slender and spare of body; but afterwards, when he was full-

“grown, he became more fat and portly, yet not to any excess. His eye was full, quick, and sparkling. His complexion was a little swarthy, as if somewhat overtinctured with melancholy.” With all these advantages, Meade had one unfortunate defect, an imperfection in his speech. The letter *r*, says Fuller, “was shibboleth to him, which he could not easily pronounce; so that a set speech cost him double the pains to another man, being to fit words as well to his mouth as his matter. Yet, by his industry and observation, he so conquered his imperfection that, though in private discourse he sometimes smiled out his stammering into silence, yet, choosing his words, he made many an excellent sermon without any considerable hesitation.” The consciousness of this defect, combined with his natural love of quiet, led him to refuse all offers of preferment,—including that of the Provostship of Trinity College, Dublin, made to him through Archbishop Usher in 1626, and again in 1630,—and to bound his wishes for life within the limits of his Fellowship and his College. Nominally, indeed, at a later period, he was chaplain to Archbishop Laud; but neither duty nor emolument was attached to the office. His life was passed almost wholly in his “cell,” as he called his chambers,—which he had chosen on the ground floor, under the College-library, as being free from noise, but with his bed-room window to the street. This window he used to keep open all night in summer, so that sometimes tricks were played upon him.¹ His sole physical recreation was walking about Cambridge, or in the “backs” of the Colleges and the fields near; and on these occasions he used to botanize, or discourse with any one who was with him on herbs and their virtues. Within-doors, however, he was fond of having his brother-fellows with him to converse on serious topics or chat away the time. His methods in his tutorial business were somewhat peculiar. “After he had by daily lectures well grounded his pupils in Humanity, Logic, and Philosophy, and by frequent conversation under-

¹ I was able to identify Meade's rooms in the College in May 1857. They were then turned into a part of

the library, the old library above not affording room enough. The little window to the street is still as it was.

“stood to what particular studies their parts might be most profitably applied, he gave them his advice accordingly; and, when they were able to go alone, he chose rather to set every one his daily task than constantly to confine himself and them to precise hours for lectures. In the evening they all came to his chamber, to satisfy him that they had performed the task he had set them. The first question which he used then to propound to every one in his order was ‘*Quid dubitas?*’, ‘What doubts have you met in your studies to-day?’; for he supposed that to doubt nothing and to understand nothing were verifiable alike. Their doubts being propounded, he resolved their *quæres*, and so set them upon clear ground to proceed more distinctly; and then, having by prayer commended them and their studies to God’s protection and blessing, he dismissed them to their lodgings.” The ample time which Meade thus procured for himself he devoted, in great part, to studies in Greek and Hebrew and readings in Mathematics and History. His special fascination, however, was for abstruse studies in the Biblical prophecies, and for cognate speculations of a mystical character in Chronology and Astronomy. He was a believer in a modified Astrology, thinking that the celestial arrangements had some effect on the *φύσις* or nature of men, though the influence did not amount to a destruction of free agency. As a theologian he brought all his learning to bear on the dark parts of Scripture; and the great work of his life—his *Clavis Apocalyptica*, or “Key to the Interpretation of the Apocalypse,”—is still a standard book in a special department of English theological literature. Meade’s views, derived from his Apocalyptic researches, were substantially those of the Chiliasts or Millennarians, who expect a personal reign of Christ as the close of the present era of the world; and these and similar views break out in his letters to theological contemporaries. He used often to insist on the text, “And the land had rest fourscore years” (Judges iii. 30), treating it as a historical generalization of the English past, on the faith of which one might predict the near approach at that

time of a great crisis in the English Church and State. He was also an advocate for union among all Protestant Churches, and, with a view to this end, would urge the constant development of their points of agreement rather than their points of difference. Only towards the Church of Rome could he be called inimical. Yet he was hardly so to the extent that others were. Whenever he heard the Roman Catholic taunt to Protestants quoted, "Where was your Church before Luther?" he had the answer ready, "Where was the fine flour when the wheat went to the mill?" Singularly enough, however, with all Meade's interest in the far-off events of the Apocalyptic future,—nay, partly, as he himself thought, on account of that interest,—he took more interest than any other man in Cambridge in the current events of his own day. He was an indefatigable collector of news; and he even spent regularly a part of his income in getting authentic and speedy intelligence sent to him by correspondents at Court and abroad. "I am neither Dean nor Bishop," he used to say, "but thus much I am willing to set apart to know how the world goes." Nor was Meade a miser of the information he procured. He had correspondents in various parts of England,—especially one Sir Martin Stuteville, in Suffolk—to whom he regularly communicated by letter the freshest news that were going; and these remaining letters of Meade's, some now printed, and others still in MS., are among the most graphic accounts we have of men and things during the reigns of James I. and Charles I. In all Cambridge there was no such place for hearing the latest gossip as the Fellows' table at Christ's where Meade helped to carve. When to all these recommendations we add that Meade was a very benevolent man, with a kind word for all the young scholars, and even for the dandy fellow-commoners, whom he called "University-tulips," it will be understood how popular he was, and what a blank was caused in Cambridge by his death. That event took place rather suddenly, in his fifty-third year, on the 1st of October, 1638, or six years after Milton had left College. His

bones still rest in the Chapel of the College which he loved so well, and to which he left part of his small fortune.¹

William Chappell was a more important man in the College than any of the other Fellows except Meade. He was four years Meade's senior, having been born at Lexington in Nottinghamshire in the year 1582. Having been sent early to Christ's College, he distinguished himself there by his gravity of deportment and industry as a student; and in 1607 he became Fellow of the College, three years before Meade was elected to the same rank. "He was remarkable," says Fuller, "for the strictness of his conversation: no one tutor in our memory bred more or better pupils, so exact his care in their education. He was a most subtle disputant." In this last character his reputation was quite extraordinary. Hardly a man in the University was a match for Chappell of Christ's in a Latin logomachy. On the second visit of King James to Cambridge, in the spring of 1615, he had been appointed one of the opponents in a public Act of disputation to be held before the King on certain points of controversy between Protestantism and the Papacy, the respondent in the Act being Mr. Roberts of Trinity, afterwards Bishop of Bangor. On this occasion, says one of Chappell's biographers, he pushed Roberts so hard "that he fainted." Upon this King James, who valued himself much for his skill in such matters, undertook to maintain the question, but with no better fortune; for Chappell was so much his superior at logical weapons that his Majesty "openly professed his joy to find a man of so great talents so good a subject." Living on the credit of this triumph, Chappell continued for many years a Fellow of Christ's. Meade and he were on particularly intimate terms. "The chief delight," says Meade's biographer, "which he (Meade) took in company was to discourse with learned friends; particularly for several years he set apart some of his hours to spend in the conversation of his worthy friend

¹ Life of Meade by Worthington, prefixed to the collected folio edition of Meade's works in 1672; also Fuller's

Worthies, Essex, and Sir Henry Ellis's Original Letters illustrative of English Hist., first series, 1824.

"Mr. William Chappell, who was justly esteemed a rich "magazine of rational learning." There were not wanting some, however, who charged Mr. Chappell with Arminianism. "Lately there sprung up," says a writer some thirty years afterwards, "a new brood of such as did assist "Arminianism, as Dutch Tompson of Clare Hall, and Mr. "William Chappell, Fellow of Christ's College, as the many "pupils that were Arminianized under his tuition show." These suspicions, existing perhaps as early as 1625, were confirmed by Chappell's subsequent career. Through Laud's interest, he was transferred from his Fellowship at Cambridge in 1633, the year after Milton left Cambridge, to the Deanery of Cashel in Ireland. Found very efficient there in carrying out Laud's views of uniformity, he was promoted to the Provostship of Trinity College, Dublin, and, in 1638, to the Bishopric of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross. Had Laud's power lasted much longer, he would probably have had an English Bishopric; but, having been involved in Laud's ruin, he left Ireland in 1641, came over to England, and, after undergoing a short imprisonment and otherwise suffering during the Civil War, he died at Derby in 1649. As specimens of his authorship there remain a little treatise entitled *The Preacher, or the Art and Method of Preaching*, published originally in Latin in 1648 and afterwards in English in 1656, and another treatise, first published in 1653, entitled *The use of Holy Scripture gravely and methodically discoursed*; in addition to which the authorship of the well-known *Whole Duty of Man* has been claimed for him. I have looked over his *Art of Preaching*; and the impression which it has left is that, though not a common-place man, and probably an accurate tutor, he must have been a man of dry and meagre nature, not so genial by half as Meade.¹

¹ The foregoing particulars concerning Chappell have been derived from the British Biography, vol. IV. pp. 448-9, from Cole's MS. *Athenæ Cantab.*, from Fuller's Worthies, Nottingham, and from Cooper's Annals of Cambridge. The last-named work corrects some errors in the account in the British Biography. There the disputation in

which Chappell gained such a triumph is said to have occurred during the King's last visit to Cambridge, in 1624. Documents quoted by Mr. Cooper show that it was during the King's second visit, in 1615. In these documents, moreover, it is not Roberts, the respondent, but Cecil, the Moderator of the Act, that faints.

Respecting Nathaniel Tovey our information is more scanty than respecting Chappell. He was born at Coventry, the son of a Mr. Tovey, Master of the Grammar School there, who had been tutor to Lord Harrington of Exton. Left an orphan when quite young, he had been taken in charge by Lucy, Countess of Bedford, the only daughter of Lord Harrington; who, after maintaining him for some time in her household, had sent him to Christ's College in Cambridge, in order that "the excellent talent which she saw in him might not be wasted away in the idleness of a Court life." Here, after graduating in Arts, he obtained a Fellowship. In 1621 he held the Logic Lectureship in the College. He subsequently took the degree of B.D.; which was his academic degree during the time when Milton was at Christ's. He gave up his Fellowship not long after Milton had left the College,—apparently before the year 1637,—having been appointed to the Rectory of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, the parish in which, two centuries and a half before, the Reformer Wycliffe had laboured. While parson of this famous parish, Tovey married a niece of the mathematician Walter Warren, who was a Leicestershire man. He had for some time in his hands the papers which Warren left at his death, including certain Tables of Logarithms. Unlike his great predecessor, Tovey did not die parson of Lutterworth. He was ejected from the living, in or before the year 1647, by the Parliamentary sequestrators. In 1656, however, he was inducted into the living of Ayleston, in the same county of Leicestershire, on the nomination of John Manners, Earl of Rutland. Entries in his handwriting are still to be seen in the Registry of this parish. He did not long hold the living. He and his wife were cut off together by an epidemic fever in September 1658, leaving one daughter. On the 9th of that month they were both buried in the Church of Ayleston, where the epitaph on his tombstone still is, or recently was, to be seen. Of his character or doings during that earlier portion of his life when he was a Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, we have no authentic account. His name

occurs in some College documents of the period ; but that is all.¹

Into the little world of Christ's College, presided over by such men as we have mentioned, forming a community by itself, when all the members were assembled, of some two hundred and fifty persons, and surrounded again by that larger world of the total University to which it was related as a part, we are to fancy Milton introduced in the month of February 1624-5, when he was precisely sixteen years and two months old. He was a little older perhaps than most youths then were on being sent to the University.² Still it was his first departure from home, and all must have seemed strange to him. To put on for the first time the gown and cap, to move for the first time through unfamiliar streets, observing college after college, each different from the others in style and appearance, with the majestic King's conspicuous in the midst, and to see for the first time the famous Cam and walk by its banks, would be powerful sensations to a youth like Milton. Even within the cloisters of his own college he had matter enough for curiosity and speculation. Apart from the sight of the Master and Fellows, respecting whom, and especially respecting his own tutor Chappell, his curiosity would naturally be strongest, would not the faces and figures of his fellow-students, collected from all the counties of England, and answering to names many of which he had never heard before, interest and amuse him? Which of these faces, some fair, some dark, some ruddy, were to be most familiar and the most dear to him in the end? In which of these bodies, tall, of mid stature, or diminutive, beat the manliest hearts? As all this was interesting to Milton then prospectively, so it is interesting to us now in the retrospect. Nor,

¹ These particulars respecting Tovey are derived chiefly from Nichols's "History and Antiquities of Leicestershire," where Tovey is noticed in connexion both with Lutterworth (vol. IV. pp. 264 and 299) and Ayleston (Ibid. pp. 28—33). Nichols himself derives the facts chiefly from Tovey's epitaph in Ayleston Church, which he quotes.

The other particulars are from Wood's *Athenæ*, II. 302, and Scott's Account of Cambridge in 1621 (Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 11,720). For an apparent reference to Tovey, while he was parson of Lutterworth, see Clarendon's *Life*, p. 948.

² Fourteen or fifteen was a not unusual age.

with due search, would it be impossible, even at this distance of time, to present in one list the names, surnames, and scholastic antecedents of all the two hundred youths or more, the gathered mass of whom in the hall or chapel of Christ's in the spring of 1624-5 Milton may have surveyed with the feelings described.¹ Of some of them we shall hear as we proceed.

A matter of some importance to the young freshman at College, after his choice of a tutor, is his choice of chambers. Tradition at Christ's College still points out the rooms which Milton occupied. They are in the older part of the building, on the left side of the court, as you enter through the street gate, and are the first-floor rooms on the first stair on that side. The rooms consist at present of a small study, with two windows looking into the court, and a very small bed-room adjoining. They do not seem to have been altered at all since Milton's time. They must have been unaltered, at all events, at the date of Wordsworth's interesting reminiscence of them, and of the consequences of his own extraordinary act of Milton-worship in them, given in the part of his *Prelude* where he sketches the history of his undergraduateship at St. John's between 1786 and 1789 :—

“ Among the band of my compeers was one
Whom chance had stationed in the very room
Honoured by Milton's name. O temperate bard !
Be it confessed that, for the first time, seated
Within thy innocent lodge and oratory,
One of a festive circle, I poured out
Libations to thy memory, and drank, till pride
And gratitude grew dizzy in a brain
Never excited by the fumes of wine
Before that hour or since. Then forth I ran
From the assembly : through a length of streets
Ran, ostrich-like, to reach our chapel-door
In not a desperate or opprobrious time,
Albeit long after the importunate bell
Had stopped, with wearisome Cassandra voice
No longer haunting the dark winter night.

¹ Without taxing the College-Register I have myself counted (chiefly in Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 5885) the names and surnames of 189 students of Christ's who took their B.A. degree between the years 1625 and 1632 inclusively, and

who were, therefore, among Milton's College contemporaries. I believe about ten per cent. of these might be easily traced as of some considerable note in the subsequent history of Church and State.

Call back, O friend, a moment to thy mind
 The place itself and fashion of the rites.
 With careless ostentation shouldering up
 My surplice, through the inferior throng I clove
 Of the plain Burghers, who in audience stood
 On the last skirts of the permitted ground
 Under the pealing organ. Empty thoughts!
 I am ashamed of them: and that great Bard,
 And thou, O friend, who in thy ample mind
 Hast placed me high above my best deserts,
 Ye will forgive the weakness of that hour."

When we hear of "Milton's rooms" at College, however, the imagination is apt to go wrong on one point. It was very rare in those days for any member of a College, even a Fellow, to have a chamber wholly to himself. Two or three generally occupied the same chamber; and, in full Colleges, there were all kinds of devices of truckle-beds and the like to multiply accommodation. In the original statutes of Christ's College there is a chapter specially providing for the manner in which the chambers of the College should be allocated; "in which chambers," says the founder, "our wish is that the Fellows sleep two and two, but the scholars four and four, and that no one have alone a single chamber for his proper use, unless perchance it be some Doctor, to whom, on account of the dignity of his degree, we grant the possession of a separate chamber."¹ In the course of a century, doubtless, custom had become somewhat more dainty. Still, in all the Colleges, the practice was for the students to occupy rooms at least two together; and in all College biographies of the time we hear of the chum or chamber-fellow of the hero as either assisting or retarding his studies. Milton's chamber-fellow at first would naturally be Pory. But in the course of seven years there must have been changes.

The Terms of the University then, as now, were those fixed by the statutes of Elizabeth. The academic year

¹ Statutes of Christ's Coll. cap. 7, from a MS. copy. In Dean Peacock's *Observations on the Statutes of the University of Cambridge* (1841) it is stated that both in Trinity College and St.

Joh's four students used originally to have one chamber in common, or one Fellow and two or three students. "Separate beds were provided for all scholars above the age of fourteen".

began on the 10th of October, and the Michaelmas or October Term extended from that day to the 16th of December. Then followed the Christmas vacation. The Lent or January Term began on the 13th of January and extended to the second Friday before Easter. There then intervened the Easter vacation of three weeks. Finally, the Easter or Midsummer Term began on the 11th day (second Wednesday) after Easter-day, and extended to the Friday after "Commencement Day," *i. e.* after the great terminating Assembly of the University, at which candidates for the higher degrees of the year were said to "commence" in those degrees; which "Commencement Day" was always the first Tuesday in July. The University then broke up for the "long vacation" of three months.

In those days of difficult travelling, and of the greater strictness of the statutes of the different Colleges in enforcing residence even out of term, it was more usual than it is now for students to remain in Cambridge during the short Christmas and Easter vacations; but few remained in College through the whole of the long vacation. During part of this vacation, at least, Milton would always be in London. But, if he wished at any other time to visit London, there were unusual facilities for the journey.

The name of Thomas Hobson, the Cambridge carrier and job-master of that day, belongs to the History of England. Cambridge was proud of him; he was one of the noted characters of the place. Born in 1544, and now, therefore, exactly eighty years of age, he still every week took the road with his wain and horses, as he had done sixty years before, when his father was alive, making the journey from Cambridge to the Bull Inn, in Bishopsgate-street, London, and thence back again, and carrying letters and parcels, and sometimes stray passengers, both ways. All through Shakespeare's life Hobson's cart-bells had tinkled, Hobson himself riding in the cart or trudging by the side of it, along the London and Cambridge road. He had driven the team as a grown lad for his father before Shakespeare was born; and now, eight years after Shakespeare's bones had been laid

under the pavement in Stratford Church, he was still hale in his old vocation. Nor, though only a carrier, driving his own wain, was he a person of slight consequence. There was many a squire round about Cambridge whom old Hobson could have bought and sold. Having begun life on his own account with a goodly property left him by his father, including the wain he used to drive, eight team-horses, and a nag, he had, by his prudence and honesty, gradually increased this property, till, besides paying the expenses of a large family, he was one of the wealthiest citizens of Cambridge. He owned several houses in the town, and much land round. This increase of fortune he owed in part to his sagacity in combining other kinds of business, such as farming, malting, and inn-keeping, with his trade as a carrier. But his great stroke in life had been the idea of letting out horses on hire. "Being a man," says Steele, in the *Spectator*, "that saw where there might good profit arise though the duller men overlooked it," and "observing that the scholars of Cambridge rid hard," he had early begun to keep "a large stable of horses, with boots, bridles, and whips, to furnish the gentlemen at once, without going from college to college to borrow." He was, in fact, according to all tradition, the very first man in this island that let out hackney horses. But, having no competition in the trade, he carried it on in his own way. He had a stable of forty good cattle, always ready and fit for travelling; but, when any scholar or other customer, whoever he might be, came for a horse, he was obliged to take the one that chanced to stand next the stable-door. Hence the well-known proverb, "Hobson's choice, this or nothing": the honest carrier's principle being that every customer should be justly served, and every horse justly ridden in his turn. Some of Hobson's horses were let out to go as far as London; and on these occasions it was Hobson's habit, out of regard for his cattle, always to impress upon the scholars, when he saw them go off at a great pace, "that they would come time enough to London if they did not ride too fast."

✓ Milton, as we shall see, took a great fancy to Hobson.

The daily routine of College-life when Milton went to Cambridge, was as follows :—In the morning, at five o'clock, the students were assembled, by the ringing of the bell, in the College-chapel, to hear the morning-service of the Church, followed on some days by short homilies by the Fellows. These services occupied about an hour; after which the students had breakfast. Then followed the regular work of the day. It consisted of two parts. There were the *College Studies*, or the attendance of the students on the lectures and examinations of the College tutors or lecturers in Latin, Greek, Logic, Mathematics, Philosophy, &c.; and there were the *University Exercises*, or the attendance of the students, together with the students of other Colleges, in the “public schools” of the University, either to hear the lectures of the University professors of Greek, Logic, &c. (which, however, was not incumbent on all students), or to hear and take part in the public disputations of those students of all the Colleges who were preparing for their degrees.¹ After four hours or more so spent, the students dined together at twelve o'clock in the halls of their respective Colleges. After dinner there was generally again an hour or two of attendance on the declamations and disputations of contending graduates either in College or in the “public schools.” During the remainder of the day, with the exception of attendance at the evening-service in Chapel, and at supper in the hall at seven o'clock, the students were free to dispose of their own time. It was provided by the statutes of Christ's that no one should be out of College after nine o'clock from Michaelmas to Easter, or after ten o'clock from Easter to Michaelmas.

Originally the rules for the daily conduct of the students at Cambridge had been excessively strict. Residence extended over nearly the whole year, and absence was per-

¹ The distinction between *College-studies* and *University-exercises* must be kept in mind. Gradually, as all know, the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, originally mere places of residence for those attending the University, have, in matters of teaching, absorbed or

superseded the University. Even in Milton's time this process was far advanced. The University, however, was still represented in the public disputations in “the schools”; attendance on which was obligatory.

mitted only for very definite reasons. While in residence, the students were confined closely within the walls of their Colleges, leaving them only to attend in the public schools. At other times, they could go into the town only by special permission; on which occasions no student below the standing of a B.A. in his second year was suffered to go unaccompanied by his tutor or by a Master of Arts. In their conversation with each other, except during the hours of relaxation in their chambers, the students were required to use Latin, or Greek, or Hebrew. When permitted to walk into the town, they were forbidden to go into taverns or into the sessions, or to be present at boxing-matches, skittle-playings, dancings, bear-fights, or cock-fights, or to frequent Sturbridge fair, or even to loiter in the market or about the streets. In their rooms they were not to read irreligious books, nor to keep dogs or "fierce birds," nor to play at cards or dice, except for about twelve days at Christmas, and then openly and in moderation. To these and other rules obedience was enforced by penalties. There were penalties both by the College and by the University, according as the offence concerned the one or the other. For smaller offences there were fines according to the degree of delinquency; imprisonment might be inflicted for grave and repeated offences; rustication, with the loss of one or more terms, for still more flagrant misbehaviour; and expulsion from College and University was the punishment for heinous criminality. The tutor could punish for negligence in the studies of his class, or inattention to the lectures; College offences of a more general character came under the cognisance of the Master or his substitute; and for non-attendance in the public schools, and other such violations of the University statutes, the penalties were exacted by the Vice-Chancellor. All the three—the Tutor and the Master as College authorities, and the Vice-Chancellor as resident head of the University—might, in the case of younger students, resort to corporal punishment. "*Si tamen adultus fuerit*," say the statutes of Christ's, referring to the punishments of fine, &c., which the

Tutor might inflict on a pupil; "*alioquin virgâ corrigatur.*" The Master might punish in the same way and more publicly. In Trinity College there was a regular service of corporal punishment in the hall every Thursday evening at seven o'clock, in the presence of all the undergraduates, on such junior delinquents as had been reserved for the ceremony during the week. The University statutes also recognise the corporal punishment of non-adult students offending in the public schools. At what age a student was to be considered adult is not positively defined; but the understanding seems to have been that after the age of eighteen corporal punishment should cease, and that even younger students when above the rank of undergraduates should be exempt from it.¹

It had been impossible to keep up so strict a system of discipline. Through the sixty-five years which had elapsed since the passing of the Elizabethan statutes the decrees of the University authorities and their acts interpreting the statutes had been uniformly in the direction of relaxation; and practice had outstripped the written law. In the matter of residence there was much more indulgence than had been contemplated by the statutes. The rule of not permitting students to go beyond the walls of their Colleges was also much modified. Students might be seen wandering in the streets, or walking along the Trumpington Road, with very little security that they would talk Latin on their way, or that, before returning to College, they might not visit the Dolphin, the Rose, or the Mitre. These three taverns—the Dolphin kept by Hamon, the Rose by Wolfe, and the Mitre by Farlowe—were the favourite taverns of Cambridge; "the best tutors," as the fast students said, "in the University." When the Mitre fell down in 1634, Randolph, then a Fellow of Trinity College, gave this receipt to the landlord for re-edifying it:—

"Then drink sack, Sam, and cheer thy heart;
Be not dismayed at all;

¹ Statutes of Christ's Coll. in MS.; Statutes of the University of the 12th of Elizabeth (1561) printed in Dyer's

"Privileges of the University of Cambridge;" and Dean Peacock's "Observations on the Statutes" 1841.

For we will drink it up again,
 Though we do catch a fall.
 We'll be thy workmen day and night,
 In spite of bug-bear proctors :
 Before, we drank like freshmen all ;
 But now we'll drink like doctors.”¹

In spite of old decrees to the contrary, bathing in the Cam was a daily practice. The amusements of the collegians included many of the forbidden games. Smoking was an all but universal habit in the University.² The academic costume was sadly neglected. At many Colleges the undergraduates wore “new-fashioned gowns of any colour whatsoever, blue or green, or red or mixt, without any uniformity but in hanging sleeves, and their other garments light and gay, some with boots and spurs, others with stockings of diverse colours reversed one upon another, and round rusty caps.” Among graduates and priests also, as well as the younger students, “we have fair roses upon the shoe, long frizzled hair upon the head, broad spread bands upon the shoulders, and long large merchants’ ruffs about the neck, with fair feminine cuffs at the wrist.” To these irregularities arising from the mere frolic and vanity of congregated youth add others of a graver nature arising from different causes. While, on the one hand, all the serious alike complained that “nicknaming and scoffing at religion and the power of godliness,” and even “debauched and atheistical” principles, prevailed to an extent that seemed “strange in a University of the Reformed Church,” the more zealous Churchmen about the University found special matter for complaint in the increase of Puritanical opinions and practices, more particularly in certain Colleges where the heads and seniors were Puritanically inclined. It had become the habit of many Masters of Arts and Fellow-Commoners in all Colleges to absent themselves from public prayers. Upon Fridays and all fasting days the victualling houses prepared

¹ Cooper's *Annals*, III. 266.

² When the tobacco-hating King James visited Cambridge for the first time, in 1615, one of the orders issued to graduates and students was that they

should not, during his Majesty's stay, visit tobacco-shops, nor smoke in St. Mary's Chapel or Trinity Hall, on pain of expulsion from the University.

flesh in "good store for all scholars that will come or send unto them." In the churches, both on Sundays and at other times, there was little decency of behaviour; and the regular forms of prayer were in many cases avoided. "Instead whereof," it was complained, "we have such private fancies and several prayers of every man's own making (and sometimes suddenly conceiving too) vented among us that, besides the absurdity of the language directed to God himself, our young scholars are thereby taught to prefer the private spirit before the public, and their own invented and unapproved prayers before the Liturgy of the Church." In Trinity College "they lean or sit or kneel at prayers, every man in a several posture as he pleases; at the name of Jesus few will bow; and, when the Creed is repeated, many of the boys, by some men's directions, turn to the west door." In other Colleges it was as bad or worse. In Christ's College there was very good order on the whole; but "hard by this House there is a town inn (they call it *The Brazen George*) wherein many of their scholars live, lodge, and study, and yet the statutes of the University require that none lodge out of the College."¹

It yet remains to describe the order of the curriculum which students at Cambridge in Milton's time went through during the whole period of their University studies. This period, extending, in the Faculty of Arts, over seven years in all, was divided, as now, into two parts. There was the period of Undergraduateship, extending from the time of admission to the attainment of the B.A. degree; and there was the subsequent period of Bachelorship, terminating with the attainment of the M.A. degree.

By the original statutes, a complete *quadriennium*, or

¹ For a detailed account of University disorders and deviations from discipline, arising more especially from Puritan opinions, see a paper submitted to Archbishop Laud in 1636 by Dr. Cosin, Master of Peterhouse, and Dr. Sterne, Master of Jesus College, in Cooper's Annals, III. 280—283. For a

description of the state of morals and manners at the University, as it appeared to a serious and well-behaved student of Puritanical tendencies, see Autobiography of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, Bart., edited from the MS. by J. O. Halliwell, 1845. D'Ewes was admitted a student of St. John's in 1618.

four years' course of studies, measured by twelve full terms of residence in a College, and of matriculation in the books of the University,¹ was required for the degree of B.A. Each year of the *quadriennium* had its appropriate studies; and in the last year of it the students rose to the rank of "Sophisters," and were then entitled to partake in the disputations in the public schools. In the last year, and practically in the last term, of their *quadriennium*, they were required by the statutes of the University to keep two "Acts" or "Responsions" and two "Opponencies" in the public schools,—exercises for which they were presumed to be prepared by similar practice in their Colleges. The nature of these "Acts" and "Opponencies" was as follows:—One of the Proctors having, at the beginning of the academic year, collected the names of all the students of the various Colleges who intended to take the degree of B.A. that year, each of these received an intimation, shortly after the beginning of the Lent term, that on a future day, generally about a fortnight after the notice was given, he would have to appear as "Respondent" in the public schools. The student so designated had to give in a list of three propositions which he would maintain in debate. The question actually selected was usually a moral or metaphysical one. The Proctor then named three Sophisters, belonging to other Colleges, who were to appear as "Opponents." When the day arrived, the Respondent and the Opponents met in the schools, some Master of Arts presiding as Moderator, and the other Sophisters and Graduates forming an audience. The Respondent read a Latin thesis on the selected point; and the Opponents, one after another, tried to refute his arguments syllogistically, in such Latin as they had provided or could muster. When one of the speakers was at a loss, it was the duty of the Moderator to help him out. When all the Opponents had

¹ The reader must distinguish between *admission* into a College and *matriculation* in the general University Registers. Both were necessary, but the acts were distinct. The College books certified all the particulars of a

student's connexion with his College and residence there; but, for degrees and the like, a student's standing in the University was certified by the matriculation-book kept by the University Registrar.

spoken, and the Moderator had dismissed them and the Respondent with such praise as he thought they had severally deserved, the "Act" was over.

When a student had kept two Responsions and two Opponencies,—and, in order to get through all the Acts of the two or three hundred Sophisters who every year came forward, it is evident that the "schools" must have been continually busy,—he was farther examined in his own College, and, if approved, was sent up as a "quæstionist," or candidate for the B.A. degree. The "quæstionists" from the various Colleges were then submitted to a distinct examination, usually on three days in the week before Ash Wednesday week, in the public schools, before the Proctors and others of the University. Those who passed this examination were furnished by their Colleges with a *supplicat* to the Vice-Chancellor and Senate, praying that they might be admitted, as the phrase was, *ad respondendum quæstioni*. Then, on a day before Ash Wednesday, all the quæstionists from each College went up, headed by a Fellow of the College, to the public schools, for the process of "entering their Priorums," *i. e.* proposing and answering, each of them, some question out of Aristotle's Prior Analytics; after which they became what was called "determiners." From Ash Wednesday till the Thursday before Palm Sunday the candidates were said to stand *in quadragesimâ*, and had a farther course of exercises to go through; and on this latter day their probation ended, and they were pronounced by the Proctor to be full Bachelors of Arts.¹

Many students, of course, never advanced so far as the B.A. degree, but, after a year or two at the University, removed to study law at the London Inns of Court, or to begin other business. Oliver Cromwell, for example, had left Sidney Sussex College, in 1617, after about a year's residence. Those who did take their B.A. degree and meant to advance farther were required by the original

¹ In this account I have followed Dean Peacock's *Observations on the Statutes*; but there were deviations from the general practice. It was not

absolutely essential, for example, that the B.A. degree should be taken in the Lent Term.

statutes to reside three years more, and during that time to go through certain higher courses of study and perform certain fresh Acts in the public schools and their Colleges. These regulations having been complied with, they were, after having been examined in their Colleges and provided with *supplicats*, admitted by the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor *ad incipiendum in artibus*; and then, after certain other formalities, they were ceremoniously created Masters of Arts either at the greater *Comitia* or general "Commencement" at the close of the academic year (the first Tuesday in July), or on the day immediately preceding. Those two days—the *Vesperie Comitiorum*, or day before Commencement-day, and the *Comitia*, or Commencement-day itself—were the gala-days of the University. Besides the M.A. degrees, such higher degrees as LL.D., M.D., and D.D., were then conferred.

By the original statutes, the connexion of the scholar with the University was not yet over. Every Master of Arts was sworn to continue his "regency" or active University functions for five years; which implied almost continual residence during that time, and a farther course of study in Theology and Hebrew, with Acts, disputations, and preachings. Then, after seven full years from the date of commencing M.A., he might, by a fresh set of forms, become a Doctor of either Law or Medicine, or a Bachelor of Divinity; but for the Doctorate of Divinity five additional years were necessary. Thus, in all, nineteen years at the University were necessary for the attainment of the rank of D.D., and fourteen years for the attainment of the Doctorates of Law and Medicine.

Framed for a state of society which had passed away, and too stringent even for that state of society, these rules had fallen into modification or disuse. (1.) As respected the *quadriennium*, or the initiatory course of studies preparatory to the degree of B.A., there had been a slight relaxation, consisting in an abatement of one term of residence out of the twelve required by the Elizabethan statutes. This had been done in 1578 by a formal decree of the Vice-Chancellor

and Heads. It was then ordered that every student should enrol his name in the University Register and take his matriculation oath within a certain number of days after his first joining any College and coming to reside, and that, for the future, all persons who should have so enrolled and matriculated, "before, at, or upon the day when the ordinary sermon *ad Clerum* is or ought to be made in the beginning of Easter Term," and who should be proved by the commons-books of their Colleges to have in the meantime resided regularly, should be considered to have "wholly and fully" discharged their *quadriennium* in the fourth Lent following the said sermon.¹ In other words, the Lent Term in which a student went through his exercises for his B.A. degree was allowed to count as one of the necessary *twelve*. Since that time another of the required terms has been lopped off, so that now *ten* real terms of residence are sufficient. This practice seems to have been introduced before 1681;² but in Milton's time the interpretation of 1578 was in force. Even then, however, matriculation *immediately* after joining a College was not rigorously insisted on, and *a student who matriculated any time during the Easter Term might graduate B.A. in the fourth Lent Term following.* (2.) It was impossible, consistently with the demands of the public service for men of education, that all scholars who had taken their B.A. degree should thereafter continue to reside as punctually as before during the three additional years required for their M.A. degree, and should then farther bind themselves to seven years of active academic duty if they aspired to the Doctorate in Laws or Medicine, and to still longer probation if they aspired to the Doctorate in Theology. Hence, in spite of oaths, there had been gradual relaxations. The *triennium* of continued residence between the B.A. degree and the M.A. degree was still for a good while regarded as imperative; but after this second degree had been taken the connexion with the University was slackened. Those only remained in the

¹ Dyer's "Privileges of the University of Cambridge," I. 282-3.

² See Decree of Vice-Chancellor and Heads in that year in Dyer, I. 330.

University beyond this point who had obtained Fellowships, or who filled University offices, or who were assiduously pursuing special branches of study; and the majority were allowed to distribute themselves in the Church and through society, devices having been provided for keeping up their nominal connexion with the University, with a view to their advance to the higher degrees. (3.) Not even here had the process of relaxation stopped. The obligation of three years of continued residence between taking the B.A. degree and commencing M.A. had been found to be burdensome; and, after giving way in practice, it had been formally abrogated. The decree authorizing this important modification was passed on the 25th of March 1608, so that the modification was in force in Milton's time and for seventeen years before it. "Whereas," says this decree, "doubt hath lately risen "whether actual Bachelors in Arts, before they can be "admitted *ad incipiendum* [*i. e.* commencing M.A.], must "of necessity be continually commorant in the University "nine whole terms, We, for the clearing of all controversies "in that behalf, do declare that those who, for their learning and manners, are, according to statute, admitted "Bachelors in Arts are not so strictly tied to a local commorancy and study in the University and Town of Cambridge, but that, being at the end of nine terms able by "their accustomed exercises and other examinations to "approve themselves worthy to be Masters of Arts, they "may justly be admitted to that degree." Reasons, both academical and social, are assigned for the relaxation. At the same time, lest it should be abused, it was provided that the statutory Acts and Exercises *ad incipiendum* should still be punctually required, and also that every Bachelor who should have been long absent should, on coming back to take his Master's degree, bring with him certificates of good conduct, signed by "three preaching ministers, Masters of Arts at least, living on their benefices" near the place where the said Bachelor had been longest residing.¹

¹ Dyer, I. 289—292.

CHAPTER II.

MILTON'S SEVEN YEARS AT CAMBRIDGE, WITH THE INCIDENTS OF THAT PERIOD. 1625—1632.

HAVING described the conditions of University life at Cambridge at the time when Milton went thither, I proceed to what may be called the *external* history of that portion of Milton's life which he did actually pass in connexion with Cambridge. What follows, in fact, may be regarded as a history of the University of Cambridge in general, and of Christ's College in particular, year by year, from 1624 to 1632, in so far as that history involved also the facts of Milton's life through the same seven years.¹

¹ The materials are very various. Milton's own letters and poems during the period are a part of them. I think it right at the outset, however, to mention two authorities which I have used largely.—One is the *Annals of Cambridge*, by Charles Henry Cooper, late Town-Clerk of Cambridge, and formerly Coroner of the town, published in 4 vols. 8vo. between 1842 and 1852. It is one of the most admirable works of the kind known to me, a very model of succinct and accurate research. It was followed, in 1858 and 1861, by the first and second volumes of the same author's projected *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, carrying on the list of Cambridge men, with their biographies, from 1500 to 1609. The two works together, the *Annals* and the *Athenæ*, entitle Mr. Cooper's memory to the same immortal respect at Cambridge that is due at Oxford to the memory of Anthony Wood.—While availing myself of Mr. Cooper's "Annals" for the years in which I am interested, I have enriched my account by references to an important MS. hitherto but slightly used. Among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum are two bulky volumes (Nos. 389 and 390) consisting of *Letters written by Joseph Meade, Fellow of*

Christ's College, Cambridge, to Sir Martin Stuteville, at Dalham in Suffolk, from December 1620 to April 1631 inclusively. The nature of these letters may be inferred from the account I have already given of Meade and his habits of news-collecting. At least once every week he had a budget of gossip from correspondents in London, with sometimes a printed *coranto* included; and regularly every week he sent off to Stuteville, either in the originals or in abstracts by his own hand, the news he had thus received, generally adding a shorter or longer paragraph of Cambridge and University news, and of gossip about himself. Such being the nature of the MS. volumes, they have naturally at various times been consulted. One or two of Meade's letters were printed by Sir Henry Ellis in his collections of "Original Letters illustrative of English History," and larger use of them was made by the editor of "The Court and Times of Charles I. illustrated by authentic Letters, &c." 1848. The fact that the letters were written from Christ's College at the time when Milton was there induced me to go through them for myself.

ACADEMIC YEAR 1624-5.

MILTON ætat. 16.

Vice-Chancellor, Dr. JOHN MANSELL, President of Queens' College.*Proctors*, WILLIAM BOSWELL, M.A., of Jesus College, and THOMAS BOULD, M.A., of Pembroke Hall.

MICHAELMAS TERM . October 10, 1624, to December 16, 1624.

LENT TERM January 13, 1624-5, to April 8, 1625.

EASTER TERM April 27, 1625, to July 8, 1625.

By the above it will be seen that the date of Milton's admission into Christ's College, February 12, 1624-5, was towards the middle of the Lent or second term of the current academic year. The subjoined letter of his proves that he did not remain in Cambridge through the whole of this term, but was again in London some time before the close of it. We translate from the Latin:—

“ TO THOMAS YOUNG, HIS PRECEPTOR.

“ Although I had resolved with myself, most excellent Preceptor, to send you a certain small epistle composed in metrical numbers, yet I did not consider that I had done enough unless I wrote also another in prose; for the boundless and singular gratitude of mind which your deserts justly elaim from me was not to be expressed in that cramped mode of speech, straitened by fixed feet and syllables, but in a free oration, or rather, were it possible, in an Asiatic exuberance of words. Albeit, in truth, to express sufficiently how much I owe you were a work far greater than my strength, even if I should ransack all those hoards of arguments which Aristotle or which that Dialectician of Paris [Ramus?] has amassed, or even if I should exhaust all the fountains of oratory. You complain, indeed, as justly you may, that my letters to you have been as yet few and very short; but I, on the other hand, do not so much grieve that I have been remiss in a duty so pleasant and so enviable as I rejoice, and all but exult, at holding such a place in your friendship that you should care to ask for frequent letters from me. That I should never have written to you for now more than three years, however, I pray you will not interpret to my discredit, but, in accordance with your wonderful indulgence and candour, view with a charitable construction. For I call God to witness how much in the light of a Father I regard you, with what singular devotion I

have always followed you in thought, and how I feared to trouble you with my writings. My first care, I suppose, is that, since there is nothing else to commend my letters, their rarity may commend them. Next, as that most vehement desire after you which I feel makes me always fancy you with me, and speak to you and behold you as if you were present, and so (as generally happens in love) soothe my grief by a certain vain imagination of your presence, it is in truth my fear that, as soon as I should meditate a letter to be sent you, it should suddenly come into my mind by what an interval of earth you are distant from me, and so the grief of your absence, already nearly lulled, should grow fresh, and break up my sweet dream. The Hebrew Bible, your truly most acceptable gift, I received some time since. These lines I have written in London amid city distractions, and not, as usual, surrounded by books (*non libris, ut soleo, circumseptus*): if, therefore, anything in this epistle shall please you less than might be, and disappoint your expectation, it shall be made up for by another more elaborate one as soon as I have returned to the haunts of the Muses.

“London: March 26, 1625.”

The inference from this letter is that Milton's visit to Cambridge in the Lent Term of 1624-5 had been merely for the purpose of enrolling his name in the College books, choosing his rooms, &c., and that, after staying a week or two, he had returned to London for a holiday before fairly commencing his new life as a Cantab. This was a common practice.

While Milton was penning his letter to Young the news round him in London was that King James was breathing his last. He died the following day, March 27, 1625. For a time the rumour ran that he had been poisoned. This at last settled into what seems to have been the truth: viz. that, when the king was dying, Buckingham and his countess had applied a plaster to him without the consent or knowledge of the physician, and that the physician was very angry and talked imprudently in consequence. On a *post mortem* examination, his heart “was found of an extraordinary bigness,” and “the semiture of his head so strong “as they could hardly break it open with a chisel and a “saw, and so full of brains as they could not, on the open-

“ing, keep them from spilling,—a great mark of his infinite “judgment.”¹ Any lamentations, however, that there were for the death of the large-brained Scotchman were soon drowned in the proclamation of his successor of the narrow forehead. Charles was in his twenty-fifth year.

Milton returned to Cambridge within twelve days after the king's death. This is proved by the date of his matriculation entry, which is April 9, 1625. On that day he must have presented himself personally, with other freshmen, before Mr. Tabor the Registrar, and had his name enrolled in the University books. There were in all seven matriculations from Christ's College on that day, as follows:—

Fellow Commoners: Thomas Aldridge and Richard Earle.

Lesser Pensioners: John Milton, Robert Pory, and Robert Bell.

Sizars: Edmund Barwell and Richard Britten.²

Of the six thus matriculated along with Milton three are already known to us, as having been among the fourteen admitted into Christ's in the same half-year with him; but Aldridge, Bell, and Barwell are new names. It is worth noting, also, that Pory, from the very beginning, seems to stick close to Milton. They had probably returned to Cambridge together. Both of them had been admitted of Christ's College in the reign of James; but they did not become registered members of the University till that of Charles had begun.

Through the Easter term of 1625, which was Milton's first effective term at the University, there was still a good deal of bustle there in connexion with the death of the old king and the accession of the new. It was difficult for the dons and the scholars, accustomed as they had been so long to the formula “*Jacobum Regem*” in their prayers and graces, to bring their mouths all at once round to “*Carolum*

¹ Meade to Stuteville, April 9, 1625, and another letter, quoted in Sir Henry Ellis's *Original Letters*, series I. vol. III.

² These names I had from the Matriculation-book, by the courtesy of Mr.

Romilly, the Registrar of the University. Five of the names are given in one of Baker's MSS. (Harl. 7041), professing to be a list of matriculations from 1544 to 1632.

Regem” instead. Meade tells of one Bachelor of his College who was so bent on remembering that “*Jacobus*” had gone out and “*Carolus*” had come in that, when, in publicly reading the Psalms, he came to the phrase “*Deus Jacobi*” (God of Jacob), he altered it, before he was aware, into “*Deus Caroli*” (God of Charles), and then stood horror-struck at his mistake.¹ As was usual on such occasions, the University, like her sister of Oxford, got up a collection of Greek and Latin verses in praise of the departed sovereign and in congratulation of his successor.² Then, on the 7th of May, or ten days after the opening of the term, being the day of the funeral of the late King at Windsor, “all the University did meet at the schools in their formalities, at nine o’clock in the morning, and went from thence to St. Mary’s,” where, the walls being all hung with black, and pinned over with many escutcheons and verses, Dr. Collins, the Provost of King’s, preached a sermon, preparatory to a Congregation held in the same place in the afternoon, when Mr. Thorndike, the deputy-orator, delivered a speech.³ This was probably the first University proceeding at which Milton assisted.

Before the term had begun Sir Martin Stuteville had intimated his intention of sending his son John to the University, and had consulted Meade whether Christ’s College or St. John’s was the preferable house. Meade had replied, March 26, in favour of Christ’s; and Stuteville had, accordingly, decided to enter his son there under Meade’s tutorship. Owing to the crowded state of the College, however, there was some difficulty about his accommodation. Writing on the 23rd of April, Meade explains that the choice is between the “old building, where there are four studies in each chamber,” and “the new, where there are but two studies and two beds” in each chamber. The following, written April 25, shows how the matter was settled:—

“For chamber, the best I have in my power. That John Higham [an older pupil of Meade’s, of a family known to the Stutevilles and

¹ Meade to Stuteville, April 9, 1625: the day of Milton’s matriculation.

² “*Cantabrigiensium Dolor et Sola-*

men,” &c. cantab. 1625.

³ Cooper’s *Annals*, III. 178.

living near them] keeps in hath 4 studies, and near me ; and I had thought to have devised some change that they [*i. e.* John Higham and young Stuteville] should keep together. Otherwise, I must dispose of your son in the new building, where I have a study void in one of the best chambers ; but a Master of Arts is the chamber-fellow makes it [*sic*] thereby inconvenient for my use. I have no way but to get one of my Bachelors (Mareh), who keeps in the same building, to keep with the Master of Arts, and let yours have the use of his study, though it be not in so good a chamber. For bedding we shall make a shift perhaps for a week, till we know better what is needful. If he keeps in the new building he must have a whole bedding, because he lies alone ; if in another chamber, where he hath a bedfellow, they must take a bed between them, and his part will be more or less, according as his bedfellow is furnished."

Thus settled, young Stuteville becomes a fellow-collegian of Milton, one of the select knot of Meade's pupils, as distinct from those of the other tutors. "Your son," writes Meade to Sir Martin on the 30th of April, "is gowned, but we are not yet settled to our studies : we will begin the next week ; for, this week, he had to look about him to know where he was." On the 28th of May he says, "My pupil is well, and gives me yet good content, and I hope will continue." On the 4th of June he writes inquiring about "one Tracey of Moulton, an attorney's son," whom John Higham has been recommending to him as a new pupil, but respecting whom and his connexions he wishes to be farther informed. Sir Martin's reply was satisfactory, for on the 14th of June Meade writes, "Your request I take for a testimonial : let him come some week before the Commencement." Before the end of the term, accordingly, Tracey is added to the number of Meade's pupils.

A great matter of gossip at Cambridge, as everywhere else, was the marriage of the young King with the French Princess Henrietta-Maria. On the 11th of May, or four days after James's body was laid in the vault, the marriage was solemnized by proxy at Paris. For a month afterwards the country was on tiptoe for the arrival of the Queen. On the 17th of June Meade sends to Stuteville an account of the first meeting between Charles and his bride at Dover on the preceding Monday, the 13th ; which was the day after she had landed. Having heard, when at breakfast, that the King had arrived from Canterbury, she "went to him,

“kneeled down at his feet, took and kissed his hand. The King took her up in his arms, kissed her, and, talking with her, cast his eyes down to her feet (she, seeming higher than report was, reaching to his shoulders): which she soon perceiving, discovered and showed him her shoes, saying to this effect, ‘Sir, I stand upon mine own feet; I have no helps by art. Thus high I am, and neither higher nor lower.’ Where and when one presently wrote with a coal these lines following:—

‘All places in this castle envy this,
Where Charles and Mary shared a royal kiss.

“She is nimble and quick, black-eyed, brown-haired,—in a word, a brave lady.” The marriage gave occasion to another collection of University verses, to which the chief contributors were the Duke of Lennox, old Downes, Dr. Collins, Abraham Whelock of Clare Hall, and James Duport and Thomas Randolph of Trinity.¹ This was old Downes’s last literary appearance. He lived some time longer, but the duties of the Professorship were discharged by Creighton.

Mixed up with the gossip about the King’s marriage are allusions in Meade’s letters to a matter of more gloomy concern. The Plague was in England. In London it raged so as to cause great alarm. It began there in May with a weekly average of forty-five deaths, and it increased through June and July, till the mortality reached the number of 2,471 in one week. Other parts of the country began to be infected. Cambridge remained free; but there were cases in some of the villages round. Writing to Stuteville on the 9th of July, the day after the close of the term, Meade says: “It grows very dangerous on both sides to continue an intercourse of letters, not knowing what hands they may pass through before they come to those to whom they are sent. Our Hobson and the rest should have been forbidden this week, but that the message came too late. However, it is his last.” The same letter contains an account of another matter which was then the talk of Cam-

¹ “Epithalamium Illustriss. et Feliciss. Principum Caroli, &c., a Musis Cantabrigiensibus decantatum”: Cantab. 1625.

bridge,—the suicide, the day before, of Dr. Blomfield of Trinity Hall, an old and frail man, by hanging himself in his chamber.

It is possible that Milton remained part of the long vacation in College; for on the 17th of July Meade writes to Stuteville that “the University is yet very full of scholars,” and that he must postpone an intended visit to Dalham, *i. e.* to Stuteville’s place in Suffolk. On the 1st of August, however, a grace was passed for discontinuing, on account of the plague, all sermons and other public exercises that would otherwise have been held during the vacation; and on the 4th of the same month a royal proclamation was issued forbidding, for the same reason, the holding of the great annual fair at Sturbridge near Cambridge.¹ The town was thus thinned; and such members of the University as had not gone off lived shut up in their Colleges, afraid to go out much, and alarmed daily by reports that the plague had appeared in the town. On the 4th of September Meade writes:—

“I desire to be at Dalham Monday come se’ennight, which will be soon here: a week is soon gone. I cannot sooner . . . but I think I shall think the time long, and be forced to you for want of victual. All our market to-day could not supply our commons for night. I am steward, and am fain to appoint eggs, apple-pies, and custards, for want of other fare. They will suffer nothing to come from Ely. Eels are absolutely forbidden to be brought to our market; so are rooks. You see what it is to have a physician among the Heads. [This is an allusion to Dr. Gostlin, Head of Caius, whose sanitary knowledge would be in request at such a time.] We cannot have leave scarce to take the air. We have but one M.A. in our College; and this week he was punished 10*d.* for giving the porter’s boy a box on the ear because he would not let him out at the gates. You may by this gather I have small solace with being here, and therefore will haste all I can to be in a place of more liberty and society; for I have never a pupil at home. And yet, God be thanked, our town is free so much as of the very suspicion of infection.”

Milton, we may suppose, had left College before it was reduced to the condition described in this letter, and was passing the interval with his parents in London or elsewhere. As many as 35,000 persons were said to have died of the plague that autumn in London. ||

¹ Cooper’s Annals, III. 179.

ACADEMIC YEAR 1625-6.

MILTON ætat. 17.

Vice-Chancellor, JOHN GOSTLIN, M.D., Master of Caius College.*Proctors*, JOHN NORTON of King's, and ROBERT WARD of Queens'.

MICHAELMAS TERM October 10, 1625, to December 16, 1625.

LENT TERM January 13, 1625-6, to March 31, 1626.

EASTER TERM April 19, 1626, to July 7, 1626.

When the Colleges reassembled the plague was still raging. Indeed, as late as March 1626 Meade continues to send to Stuteville the weekly bills of mortality received from his London correspondents. Before the end of the Michaelmas Term, however, the number of cases had fallen so low that the public mind was reassured; and in Cambridge, where there had not been one case, there was, after the first week or two of the session, no interruption of the usual routine. The following scraps from Meade's letters will indicate the nature of the smaller matters of gossip which occupied him and others at Cambridge during the academic year:—

Nov. 5, 1625.—"My pupil had wrote last week, but sent too late. It will not be so easy for a child to find continual invention for a mere expression of duty and thankfulness, unless you appoint him some material to write of, whereout he might pick somewhat, and usher it with suitable expressions."

Dec. 10.—"This is good handsome winter weather."

March 25, 1626.—"I pray, tell me what you know of such a knight as Sir John Tasborough in your shire. He was with me this week about placing two of his sons. He is utterly unknown to me, farther than I learned of a gentleman, a stranger too, who came with him to my chambers. He brought not his sons, and I was a great while very shy, suspending my promise to entertain them unless I knew them well grounded, &c.; yet I yielded at length, and they should come, and himself with them, in Easter-week. He told me he knew yourself very well . . . I thank my lady [Lady Stuteville] for my cheese; and, if I had a box to keep them from breaking, I would have sent her a collop and an egg, an orange or a limon, a green peascod and cracked walnut-shell, &c., all of sugar, and in their colours scarce to be discerned from natural. A gentleman whom I never saw sent them to me. But I dare not trust Parker's man's paimiers with them."

April 1.—"I cannot possibly stir with convenience till Easter be past, expecting Sir John Tasborough and his sons that week; of which gent. I desired before and do still some information from you,

especially of his estate, that I be not again burnt with Fellow-Commoners as I have already."

April 8.—"Thank you for your information of the knight. Of his wife's recusancy himself told me, and that he desired, in that respect, that there should be a special care taken of his sons for training them in the true religion; whom he hoped as yet were untainted, though not very well informed, by default of some school-masters he had trusted."¹

May 13.—"Mr. Howlett [*i. e.* Howlett of Sidney Sussex College, who had been Oliver Cromwell's tutor] yesterday carried away my store [*i. e.* budget of news], which I doubt not but ere now is arrived with you . . . My pupil shall not need come home for close [clothes]."

June 24.—"I will now tell you of an accident here at Cambridge, rare if not strange, whereof I was yesterday morning an eye-witness myself."—Meade then tells of a codfish, in whose maw, when it was opened in the fish-market, there was found "a book in decimo-sexto of the bigger size," together with two pieces of sailcloth. The book, on being dried, was found to consist of three religious treatises, bound together. One was entitled *The Preparation to the Crosse and to Death*, &c., the author being Richard Tracey, and the date 1540; the second was *A Mirrour or Glasse to knowe Thyselfe: being a Treatise made by John Frith whiles hee was prisoner in the Tower of London*, A.D. 1532; the third was entitled *The Treasure of Knowledge*, &c. "Some of the graver sort" were disposed to regard the accident as preternatural; and the three treatises were reprinted in London in the following year under the title *Vox Piscis*.²

More important matters than the above were talked over at the University through the same eight or nine months.

Lord Bacon had died on the 9th of April, and the interest which the University would in any case have felt in this event was increased by the fact that the deceased had bequeathed a sum of money to endow a Lectureship in Natural Philosophy, tenable by any Englishman or foreigner not already professed (this was characteristic of Bacon) in any one of the three faculties of divinity, law, or physick. The intention was all for which the University was indebted to her illustrious son; for, when his estate was realized, it was found that there were not sufficient funds.³

¹ In a letter in the State Paper Office, dated "Dorset House, March 4, 1628-9," and addressed by Sir John Sackville to a courtier not named, I find a farther allusion to this Suffolk knight, Tasborough, and his son, Meade's pupil. "I am so well acquainted with your noble disposition," writes Sackville, "that it emboldens me to move a business unto you, which I think you may with a word get of the King. If you can get it, it will be

"worth you a £1000, and me as much more, if you choose; and this it is:—Sir John Tasborough, a Suffolk man, lies very sick and cannot escape. His son is not 20 years old; and, if you can get his wardship of his Majesty, I think £2000 would be given for it. It is true the gentleman hath a mother; but she cannot compound for his wardship, for she is a Papist."

² Cooper's Annals, III. 196-7.

³ Cooper, III. 184-5.

The same academic year was signalised by what would now be called a movement for University Reform. When Charles's first Parliament met in the previous summer (June 18, 1625), full of complaints and intentions of reform, one of the first matters to which they had directed their attention was the state of the Universities. They presented a petition to the King (July 8) complaining of the increase of Popery and other abuses both at Oxford and Cambridge, and insisting on "the restoration of the ancient discipline." It was at Oxford, whither the Parliament had adjourned on account of the plague, that the King returned his answer (Aug. 8). He informed the Parliament that he approved of their recommendation, and would cause the Chancellor of each University to take means for carrying it into effect. The disagreement between Charles and the Commons on other points, however, having proved irreconcilable, Parliament was hastily dissolved four days afterwards (Aug. 12, 1625), not one Act having been passed during the brief session, nor any supplies voted. But the Universities themselves had caught the alarm, and they hastened, as soon as they reassembled, to make clean at least the outside of the cup and platter. Thus, at Cambridge, on the 19th of December, 1625, a decree was passed by the Vice-Chancellor and eleven of the sixteen Heads of Colleges, containing the following regulations, amongst others:—

"That, for the future, no woman, of whatever age or condition, dare either by herself, or, being sent for, be permitted by others, in any College, to make any one's bed in private chambers; or to go to the hall, or kitchen, or buttery; or carry any one's commons, bread, or beer to any scholar's chamber within the limits of the College, unless she were sent for to nurse some infirm sick person.

"That the nurses of sick persons, and all laundresses, should be of mature age, good fame, and wives or widows, who themselves should take the scholar's linen to wash and bring the same back again when washed.

"That young maids should not be permitted, upon any pretext whatsoever, to go to students' chambers."¹

All this amounted to something, but it was not enough. The King, at a loss for supplies, and thwarted more and more in his efforts to raise them by his own authority, had

¹ Cooper, III. 182.

convened a second Parliament, to meet on the 6th of February, 1625-6; and, before facing this Parliament, he thought it advisable to do something towards carrying out his former promise of University Reform. Accordingly, on the 26th of January, he addressed a letter to the Earl of Suffolk, as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, recapitulating the petition of the preceding Parliament, and requiring him to direct the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads of Houses to meet and seriously consider "what are or have been the true occasions of this general offence taken at their government," and what might be the proper remedies. The Earl forwarded the King's letter to Dr. Gostlin and the Heads, imploring them in his own name to "put all their brains together and be all of one mind, as one entire man, to bring home that long banished pilgrim, Discipline."¹ This led to some activity; but, before much could be done, an event happened which interrupted for the time all other academic proceedings.

The event was nothing less than the death of the Earl of Suffolk, leaving the Chancellorship of the University vacant. He died on Sunday, the 28th of May; and next day all Cambridge was thrown into commotion by the arrival of Dr. Wilson, chaplain to Mountain, Bishop of London, with a message from the Bishop, to the effect that it was his Majesty's pleasure that the Senate should elect the Duke of Buckingham to the vacant dignity. It was a message of startling import. Apart from the general unpopularity of the Duke, his election at that particular time would be an open defiance of Parliament. Following up certain charges of the preceding Parliament, the Parliament then sitting had, in March, impeached the Duke for misconduct of the Spanish War and for other political crimes. The King had been obliged to consent to the prosecution. Naturally, therefore, when the Heads met on the receipt of Dr. Wilson's message, there was a difference of opinion among them. Wren of Peterhouse, Paske of Clare Hall, Beale of Pembroke, Mawe of Trinity, with others, urged immediate compliance with

¹ Copy of Letter in State Paper Office, of date February 27, 1625-6.

the King's wishes; but many demurred to such haste in so grave a matter. The Bishop's chaplain had brought no letters with him; and was a mere verbal message to be received as a sufficient voucher for the King's pleasure? Whatever force there was in this argument was effectually destroyed next day by the receipt of letters from Neile, Bishop of Durham, stating that the King had set his heart upon the Duke's election, and by the arrival of the Bishop of London in person, and of Mr. Mason, the Duke's Secretary, to conduct the canvass.

"On news of this consultation and resolution of the "Heads," says Meade, "we of the Body murmur; we run "to one another to complain; we say that the Heads in this "election have no more to do than any of us; wherefore we "advise what to do." Some bold spirits resolved to set up the Earl of Berkshire, a son of the deceased Chancellor, in opposition to the Duke. They did not wait to consult the nobleman, but immediately canvassed for him. What passed in the day or two preceding the election, which took place on the 1st of June, and the result of the election itself, will be learnt from Meade's letter dated June 3rd:—

"My Lord Bishop labours; Mr. Mason visits for his lord; Mr. Cosins for the most true patron of the clergy and of scholars. Masters belabour their Fellows. Dr. Mawe sends for his, one by one, to persuade them: some twice over. On Thursday morning (the day appointed for the election) he makes a large speech in the College-chapel, that they should come off unanimously: when the School bell rung, he caused the College bell also to ring, as to an Act, and all the Fellows to come into the Hall and to attend him to the Schools for the Duke, that so they might win the honour to have it accounted *their* College Act. Divers in town got hackneys and fled, to avoid importunity. Very many, some whole Colleges, were gotten by their fearful Masters, the Bishop, and others, to suspend, who otherwise were resolved against the Duke, and kept away with much indignation: and yet, for all this stir, the Duke carried it but by three votes [The exact numbers were 108 votes for the Duke against 102 for Lord Berkshire]. . . . You will not believe how they triumphed (I mean the Masters above-named) when they had got it. Dr. Paske made his College exceed that night, &c. Some since had a good mind to have questioned the election for some reason; but I think they will be better advised for their own ease. We had but one Doctor in the whole town durst (for so I dare speak) give with us against the Duke; and that was Dr. Porter of Queens'. What will the Parliament say to us? Did not our burgesses condemn the Duke in their charge given up to the Lords? I pray God we hear well of it; but the

actors are as bold as lions, and I half believe would fain suffer, that they might be advanced."

The election, as Meade had anticipated, did cause much public excitement. The Duke wrote to the Vice-Chancellor, acknowledging the honour conferred upon him, and asking the Heads to allow him to postpone his official visit for some months; and the Bishop of Durham also wrote, conveying the King's thanks. The election, in fact, had been a stroke of Court policy in opposition to Parliament, and the courtiers were delighted with their success. The Commons, on the other hand, took the matter up warmly, and spoke of calling the University to account; and there was a tart skirmish of messages and counter-messages on the subject between them and the King. The whole question, with many others, was suddenly quashed by the dissolution of the Parliament on the 15th of June. The Parliament had sat four months, but, like its predecessor, had been unable to pass a single bill. Scarcely had it been dissolved when (July 1626) differences with France led to a war with that country, in addition to the war already on hand with Spain.

The tradition of some incident in Milton's University life of such a kind that his enemies, by exaggerating and misrepresenting it, were able afterwards to use it to his discredit, is very old. It was probably first presented in the definite shape in which we now have it by Dr. Johnson in his memoir of the poet. "There is reason to believe," says Johnson, "that Milton was regarded in his College "with no great fondness. That he obtained no fellowship "is certain; but the unkindness with which he was treated "was not merely negative. I am ashamed to relate what I "fear is true, that Milton was one of the last students in "either University that suffered the public indignity of "corporal correction." The question of Milton's general popularity at College will be considered hereafter, and it is with the special statement that we are concerned here.

Johnson's authority for the statement, we now know, was Aubrey's MS. Life of Milton, as either seen by himself in

the Ashmolean, or inspected there by some one whom he knew. The original passage there is as follows :—

“And was a very hard student in the University, and performed all his exercises with very good applause. His first tutor there was

Mr. Chappell, from whom receiving some unkindness, he was (though it seemed contrary to the rules of the College) transferred to the tuition of one Mr. Tovell [miswritten for Tovey], who died parson of Lutterworth.”¹

This passage occurs in a paragraph of particulars expressly set down by Aubrey in his MS. as having been derived from the poet's brother Christopher. It seems impossible, therefore, to doubt that it is in the main authentic. Of the whole statement, however, precisely that which has least the look of authenticity is the pungent fact of the interlineation. That it *is* an interlineation, and not a part of the text, suggests that Aubrey did not get it from Christopher Milton, but picked it up from gossip afterwards; and it is exactly the kind of fact that gossip delights to invent. But take the passage fully as it stands, the interlineation included, and there are still two respects in which it fails to bear out Johnson's formidable phrase, “one of the last students in either University who,” &c., especially in the circumstantial form which subsequent writers have given to the phrase by speaking of the punishment as a public one at the hands of Dr. Bainbrigge, the College Master. In the first place, so far as Aubrey hints, the quarrel was originally but a private one between Milton and his tutor Chappell,—at most a tussle between the tutor and the pupil in the tutor's rooms, with which Bainbrigge may have had nothing to do. In the second place, let the incident have been as flagrant as possible, it yet appertains and can appertain only to one particular year, and that an early one, of Milton's undergraduateship. At no time in the history of the University had any except undergraduates been liable by statute to corporal punishment; and even undergraduates, if over the age of eighteen, had usually, if not invariably, been con-

¹ Aubrey, as we have seen, is not quite correct in saying that Tovey “died parson of Lutterworth.” He

died parson of Ayleston, in the same county, in 1658.

sidered exempt. Now, Milton attained the age of eighteen complete on the 9th of December 1626. Unless, therefore, he were made an exception to all rule, the incident must have taken place, if it took place at all, either in his first term of residence, or in the course of that year 1625-6 with which we are now concerned.¹

That the quarrel, whatever was its form, did take place in this very year is all but established by a reference which Milton has himself made to it. The reference occurs in the first of his Latin Elegies; which is a poetical epistle to his friend Diodati, composed, it can be fixed with something like certainty, in April or May 1626.²

Diodati, it will be remembered, had been at Trinity College, Oxford, since Feb. 1622-3. He and Milton, however, had been in the habit of meeting each other in London in the College vacations, and of corresponding with each other at other times. Diodati, it seems, had a fancy for writing his letters occasionally in Greek; and two Greek letters of his to Milton are still extant.³ Neither is dated; but the first bears evidence of having been written in or near

¹ Warton, Todd, and others, have entered somewhat largely into the question of the possibility of the alleged punishment consistently with the College practice of the time. On this head there is no denying that the thing was possible enough. The "*virgâ a suis corrigatur*" of the old statutes certainly remained in force for young undergraduates both at Oxford and Cambridge. As late as 1649, Henry Stubbe, a writer of so much reputation in his day that Wood gives a longer memoir of him than of Milton, was publicly flogged in the refectory of Christ Church, Oxford, when eighteen years of age, for "insolent and pragmatistical" conduct. Other instances might be produced to show that in any case Johnson's phrase, "one of the last at either University who," &c., would be historically wrong. There can be no doubt, however, that the practice was getting out of repute. In the new Oxford statutes of 1635 corporal punishment was restricted (though Stubbe, it seems, did not benefit by the restriction) to boys under sixteen. In connexion with this tendency to restrict

the practice to very young students, it is worth noting, as weakening still farther the likelihood of Aubrey's statement, that one of Aubrey's errors is with respect to Milton's age when he went to College. He makes him to go thither at fifteen, whereas he was over sixteen.

² The elegy unfortunately has no date affixed to it; but, as these and other juvenile pieces of Milton are arranged by himself with some regard to chronological order, and as we can positively determine the elegy which comes next to have been written in September 1626, we can hardly but assume this to have been written earlier in the same year. An allusion in the elegy itself—"tempora veris"—determines the season of the year.

³ The originals, in Diodati's writing, with one or two marginal corrections of the Greek by Milton, are in the British Museum (Add. MS. 5016*, f. 64). Mr. Mitford printed the letters in the Appendix to his Memoir of Milton in Pickering's edition of Milton's works, vol. I. pp. xciii., xciv. The Greek is not so good as the sense.

London, and sent to Milton by a messenger, when the distance between the two friends was not so great but that Diodati might have gone with it himself. I see grounds for dating it in the long vacation of 1625; and, if that date is wrong, it does not matter much. The missive, which is headed Θεόδωτος Μίλτωνι εὐφραίνεσθαι (*"Diodati to Milton, to cheer up"*) runs as follows:—"The present condition of
 "the weather appears too jealously disposed for what we
 "agreed upon lately at parting, stormy and unsettled as it
 "has been now for two whole days; but, for all that, so
 "much do I long for your society that, in my longing, I am
 "dreaming, and all but prophesying, fine weather, and calm,
 "and all things golden, for to-morrow, that we may regale
 "ourselves mutually with philosophical and learned discourses. On this account, therefore, I wished to write
 "to you, expressly to invite you forth and put courage
 "into you, fearing that, in despair of sunshine and enjoyment, at least for the present, you were turning your mind
 "to something else. Yet now take courage, my friend,
 "and stand to what was arranged between us, and put on a
 "holiday frame of mind and one gayer than to-day deserves.
 "For to-morrow all will go well, and air and sun and
 "stream and trees and birds and earth and men will keep
 "holiday with us, and laugh with us, and, be it said without
 "offence, dance with us. Only you be ready, either to start
 "when I call for you, or, without being called for, to come
 "to one who is longing for you. *Ἀυτόματος δέ οἱ ἦλθε βοῶν*
*"ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος."*¹ Farewell."—Not long after the excursion anticipated in this letter, if it ever came off and if we have dated it correctly, the two friends had separated again, to return to their Colleges, Milton for his second year at Cambridge, and Diodati for his fourth at Oxford. On the 10th of December 1625 Diodati took his B.A. degree.² After taking the degree he seems to have left his College to reside for a while in Cheshire, not that his connexion with Oxford was yet over, but because he was drawn to Cheshire

¹ Iliad, II. 408.

² Wood, MS. in the Ashmolean, 8506.

for a while by some reason of pleasure or of business, before beginning his intended study of medicine. . It was from Cheshire, if my surmise is correct, and in the spring of 1626, that he sent to Milton the second of his preserved Greek epistles. It is headed Θεόδωρος Μίλτωνι χαίρειν (*"Diodati to Milton, greeting"*), and is in the same sprightly tone as the first, as follows:—"I have no fault to find with my present mode of life, except this alone, that I lack some kindred spirit that can give and take with me in conversation. For such I long; but all other enjoyments are abundant here in the country; for what more is wanting when the days are long, the scenery blooming beautifully with flowers, and waving and teeming with leaves, on every branch a nightingale or goldfinch or other small bird glorying in its songs and warblings, most varied walks, a table neither scant nor overloaded, and sleep undisturbed. If I could provide myself in addition with a good companion, I mean an educated one and initiated in the mysteries, I should be happier than the King of the Persians. But there is always something left out in human affairs; wherefore moderation is needed. But thou, wonder that thou art, why dost thou despise the gifts of nature? why dost thou persist inexcusably in hanging all night and all day over books and literary exercises? Live, laugh, enjoy youth and the hours as they pass, and desist from those researches of yours into the pursuits, and pleasures, and indolences of the wise men of old, yourself a martyr to overwork all the while. I, in all things else your inferior, both think myself and am superior to you in this, that I know a measure in my labours. Farewell, and be merry, but not after the fashion of the effeminate Sardanapalus."—This letter is of so much interest that one wishes it had been dated. If it was not written from Cheshire and in the spring or early summer of 1626, some other letter of Diodati's, not now preserved, was certainly sent by him to Milton from that neighbourhood at that time. To that letter, if not to this Greek one, Milton replied in an epistle in Latin elegiacs, of which the following,

for lack of something better, may pass as a pretty literal version, both in words and in form :—

TO CHARLES DIODATI.

HERE at length, my dear friend, is your welcome letter before me,
 Bringing your uttered words faithfully messaged on white,
 Bringing them hither to me from Chester's Dee, where its current,
 Rapidly flowing west, seeks the Vergivian sea.
 Much, believe, it delights me distant lands should have nurtured
 Heart so attached to myself, one so unchangeably mine,
 And that the far-away spot which owns my sprightly companion
 Will, at the bidding of love, render him back to me soon.
 Me for the present imagine here in the Thames-watered city,
 Tarrying, nothing loth, under my father's dear roof,
 Free for the time from the care of return to the Cam and its reed-beds,
 Where my forbidden cell causes me little regret.
My taste is not for bare fields denying all softness of umbrage ;
 Little befits such a place Phœbus's worshipful sons.
 Neither suits it me always to bear the gruff threats of a Master,
 Other things also at which tempers like mine must rebel.
 If it be banishment this, to have gone to the house of my father,
 There at my ease to seek quiet amusement at will,
 Certainly neither the name nor the lot of an exile refuse I,
 Glad as I am to enjoy banishment circumstanced so.
 O had it chanced that never heavier hap had befallen
 That unfortunate bard exiled to Scythia's wilds !
 Nothing then had he yielded even to Ionian Homer ;
 Neither would thine be the praise, Maro, of Ovid's defeat.
 Here I may offer my leisure at large to the genial Muses ;
 Here my books, my life, ravish me all to themselves ;
 Hence, when I feel fatigued, the resplendent theatre takes me,
 . Where the garrulous stage calls for its claps of applause ;
 Be it the cautious elder or spendthrift heir that is speaking,
 City-gallant in love, soldier with helmet unlaced,
 Ay, or the man of law, grown fat with ten years of a lawsuit,
 Mouthing his crackjaw words forth to the ignorant mob.
 Often the serving knave, in league with young Hopeful the lover,
 Cheats to his very nose leathery-visaged Papa ;
 Often the maiden there, surprised with novel sensations,
 Knows not what love is, yet, while she knows it not, loves.
 Raging Tragedy, too, will shake her gore-reddened sceptre,
 Tossing her dreadful head, haggard with tempests of hair :
 Pain is in looking, and yet in the pain of such looking is pleasure ;
 For that sometimes in tears lurks a rough touch of the sweet.
 Haply a wretched boy, who has left his bliss unaccomplished,
 All in a piteous plight sinks with the wreck of his love ;

Else 'tis the crime-tracking ghost, who, recrossing the Stygian hell-gloom,

Flashes his funeral torch so that the guilty are found,
Whether the house of Pelops or that of Troy is in mourning,

Ay, or Creon's hall rues its incestuous sires.

Not that within-doors always or here in the city we burrow;

Far from unused by *us* pass the delights of the spring.

Much of us, too, has the grove thick-set with neighbouring elm-trees;

Much the suburban park, nobly beskirted with shade.

Oft may you here, like stars diffusing a radiant gladness,

See our maidens in troops daintily tripping along.

Ah! and how often have *I* been amazed by some wonder of beauty

Fit to make even Jove own himself youthful again;

Ah! and how often been startled by eyes that surpassed in their flashings

Gems and whatever lights both of the hemispheres wheel;

Ay, and by necks more white than the shoulders of twice-living

Pelops,

Or than the milky way dashed with the nectar divine;

Ay, and such exquisite brows, such hair light-blown in the breezes,

Golden snares for the heart set by the cunning of Love;

Oh! and the lip-luring cheeks, to which hyacinthian purple

Poor is, and even the blush seen on Adonis's flower.

Yield, ye heroic fair ones, the themes of cycles of legend,

Even the famousest nymph wooed by a vagabond god;

Yield, ye Persian girls with the turbaned foreheads, and ye too,

Susa's native maids, Nineveh's maidens besides;

Ye too, damsels of Greece, bend low your emblems of honour;

Ye too, ladies of Troy, ladies of Rome at your best;

Nay, nor let Ovid's muse make boast of the porch-walk of Pompey,

Where, or in robes at the play, Italy's beauties were seen.

Glory the foremost is due to these our virgins of Britain;

Be it enough for you, foreigners fair, to come next.

Thou too, London City, erst built by Dardanian settlers,

Raising thy head of towers wide to be seen from afar,

Blest above measure art thou in holding ringed in thy circuit

What of fairest make breathes on our pendulous orb:

Not in thy clearest sky-vault sparkle so many starlets,

All an attendant crowd circling Endymion's queen,

No, as of maidens hast thou, full fair and golden to look at,

Glittering every day all through the midst of thy streets.

Hither, conveyed by her twin-doves, once came (we credit the story)

Loveliest Venus herself, girt with her quivered reserves,

Sworn to prefer it to Onidus, the vales which Simois waters,

Luscious Paphos even, rosy-red Cyprus itself.

As for myself, while yet the blind boy lets me, I purpose

Soon as I can to leave walls of such fortunate luck,

Shunning far on my path false Circe's infamous mansions,
 Safe by the mistletoe's charm, godliest charm that there is.
 Also 'tis fixed that I do return to the Cam and its sedge-swamps,
 There to be drawn again into the roar of the schools.
 Meanwhile accept this trifle, the gift of my friendly affection,
 These few words of mine, coaxed into metres altern.

This interesting epistle so far tells its own story. It shows that some time in the course of the spring of 1626 Milton was in London, amusing himself as during a holiday, and occasionally visiting the theatres in Bankside. The question, however, remains, what was the cause of this temporary absence from Cambridge, and how long it lasted. Was it merely that Milton spent the Easter vacation of that year with his family in town, as any other student might have done, quitting Cambridge on the 31st of March, when the Lent Term ended, and returning by the 19th of April, when the Easter Term began? The language and tone of various parts of the epistle seem to render this explanation insufficient. The passage from line 9 to line 20, in particular, suggests a good deal more. Lest the translation should have failed to convey its exact meaning, it may be given here in the original:—

“Me tenet urbs reflûa quam Thamesis alluit undâ,
 Meque nec invitum patria dulcis habet.
 Jam nec arundiferum mihi cura revisere Camum,
 Nec dudum vetiti me laris angit amor.
 Nuda nec arva placent, umbrasque negantia molles:
 Quam male Phœbicolis convenit ille locus!
 Nec duri libet usque minas perferre magistri,
 Cæteraque ingenio non subeunda meo.
 Si sit hoc exilium, patrios adiisse penates,
 Et vacuum curis otia grata sequi,
 Non ego vel profugi nomen sortemve recuso,
 Lætus et exilii conditione fruor.”¹

¹ Although, in accordance with the general opinion, and with Cowper in his free paraphrase of the Elegy, I have understood the line “*Nec dudum vetiti me laris angit amor*” to mean, “Nor does the love of my lately forbidden College-rooms cause me pain,” I am not sure but *lar* may have been intended here not for his College-rooms,

but for his father's house, and so that the translation might run, “Nor am I now pained with the natural longing for my lately-forbidden paternal hearth.” Though this would change the significance of that one line, however, it would leave untouched the significance of the sarcasms against Cambridge and its scenery, and of the phrases, *Si sit*

Combining all that is positive in the statements of the elegy with all that seems authentic in the passage quoted from Aubrey, we may construe the facts in this form:—Towards the close of the Lent Term of 1625-6 Milton and his tutor Chappell had a disagreement; the disagreement was of such a kind that Bainbrigge, as Master of the College, had to interfere; the consequence was that Milton withdrew or was sent from College in circumstances equivalent to “rustication”; his absence extended probably over the whole of the Easter vacation and part of the Easter Term; but, at length, an arrangement having been made which permitted him to return in time to save that term,¹ he did return, only exchanging the tutorship of Chappell for that of Tovey. He was back in Cambridge, if this calculation is correct, in time to partake in the excitement of the election of the new Chancellor, and to witness the other incidents of the Easter Term, as mentioned in Meade’s letters. He was probably still in London, however, and in his father’s house in Bread Street, when old Mr. Stocke of Allhallows died. That death occurred on the 20th of April, 1626.²

The Easter Term and the studies under his new tutor Tovey once over for that session, Milton returned to town for the long vacation of the same year. Poor Meade, we find, remained at Cambridge, confined to College by an attack of ague, then the prevalent disease of the fenny Cambridge district; and he was not able to go to Dalham, as he had intended, till the beginning of August.³ He was back in Cambridge early in September; and between that time and the opening of the next session on the 10th of October he and other members of the University received

*hoc exilium, profugi nomen, duri minas
perferre magistri, and cætera ingenio non
subeunda meo.* The change, if permissible, would suggest perhaps that the cause of Milton’s quarrel with Chappell and the College authorities had been that they had refused a request of his for leave of absence.

¹ It is certain, as we shall see, that Milton did not lose a term during his College course.

² “The 24th of April, 1626, was buried Mr. Richard Stocke, parson of this parish.”—*Allhallows Register*.

³ Letters to Stuteville, in June, July, and August.

the news of two events that must have been heard of also, with no little interest, by Milton in London and by Englishmen generally. One was the death of the learned and eloquent Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, which took place at Winchester-house, Southwark, on the 21st of September, 1626; and the other was the death, a fortnight later (Oct. 5, 1626), of Nicholas Felton, Bishop of Ely, in which diocese Cambridge is situated.

These two deaths, we know positively, did occupy Milton's thoughts during his vacation-holiday. They are both celebrated by him in Latin verse. Of his Latin "Elegies," the third, entitled *In Obitum Præsulis Wintoniensis*, is a tribute to the memory of Bishop Andrewes; and Bishop Felton's death is celebrated in the third piece of his *Sylvæ*, entitled *In Obitum Præsulis Eliensis*. Brief abstracts of these pieces will serve our purpose as well as full translations:—

On the Death of the Bishop of Winchester.—Sitting alone, sad and silent, I ruminate the various sorrows of the year now drawing to a close. First, the terrible phantom of the Plague, which has recently swept away so many of my countrymen, passes before me. Then I think of some particular deaths which the year has witnessed, especially of the deaths of some who have fought heroically in the war of German Protestantism. But chiefly I lament the great prelate who has just died. Why cannot Death be content with the flowers and the woodlands for a prey; why make havoc also among noble human beings? Meditating thus, I fall asleep, when lo! a beautiful vision. I wander in a wide expanse of champaign, all bright with sunlight and colour; and, while I am wondering at the scene, there stands before me the venerable figure of the departed Bishop, clothed in white, with golden sandals on his feet, and a white mitre on his brow. As the old man walks in this stately raiment, the ground trembles with celestial sound; overhead are bands of angels, moving on starry wings; and a trumpet accompanies them as they chant a welcome. I know that the place is Heaven; and I awake to wish that often again I may have such dreams.

On the Death of the Bishop of Ely.—Scarcely were my cheeks dry after my tears shed for the Bishop of Winchester when hundred-tongued Fame brings me the report of the decease of another prelate, the ornament of his order. I again exclaim in execration of Death, when suddenly I hear a divine voice reminding me what Death is: not the son of Night and Erebus, nor any such fancied pagan horror, but the messenger of God sent to gather the souls of the good to

eternal joy, and those of the wicked to judgment and woe. While hearing this, behold ! I am rapt upwards swiftly beyond the sun, the constellations, and the galaxy itself, till, reaching the shining gates of Heaven, I see the crystal hall with its pavement of pearl. But who can speak of glories like these ? Enough that they may be mine for ever.

To this same academic year, but to an earlier period in the year than any of the three pieces last quoted, belongs the beautiful English poem *On the Death of a Fair Infant Dying of a Cough*. The circumstances of the composition were as follows :—Towards the end of 1625, or about a year after the marriage of the poet's sister with Mr. Edward Phillips of the Crown Office, there has been born to the young pair a little girl, making the scrivener for the first time a grandfather, and the poet an uncle. But the little stranger has appeared in the world at an untoward time. It is in the winter when the Pestilence is abroad. Not to the Pestilence, however, but to death in one of its commoner and less awful forms, was the child to fall a victim. The poet has just seen her and learnt to scan her little features, when the churlish and snowy winter nips the delicate blossom, and, after a few days of hoping anguish over the difficult little breath, the mother yields her darling to the grave. Ere he goes back to Cambridge for the Lent Term, Milton, with the cadence in his mind of one of the little poems in Shakespeare's *Passionate Pilgrim*, writes the little elegy which helped to console the mother then, and which now preserves her grief. The heading "*anno ætatis 17*" fixes the year, and the allusions in the poem determine the season.

"O fairest flower, no sooner blown but blasted,
Soft silken primrose fading timelessly,
Summer's chief honour, if thou hadst outlasted
Bleak Winter's force that made thy blossom dry ;
For he, being amorous on that lovely dye
That did thy cheek envermeil, thought to kiss,
But killed, alas ! and then bewailed his fatal bliss."

Continuing this fancy, the poet tells how Winter, first mounting up in his icy-pearled car through the middle empire of

the freezing air, then descended from his snow-soft eminence and all unawares unhoused the little soul of the virgin by his cold-kind touch. Then, after some stanzas in which he asks whether the fair young visitant of the earth had been a higher spirit sent hither on an errand, or some star fallen by mischance from "the ruined roof of shak't Olympus," he concludes :—

"But oh ! why didst thou not stay here below
 To bless us with thy heaven-loved innocence,
 To slake His wrath whom sin hath made our foe,
 To turn swift-rushing black perdition hence,
 Or drive away the slaughtering pestilence,
 To stand 'twixt us and our deserved smart?
 But thou canst best perform that office where thou art.

"Then, thou the mother of so sweet a child,
 Her false-imagined loss cease to lament,
 And wisely learn to curb thy sorrows wild ;
 Think what a present thou to God hast sent,
 And render Him with patience what He lent.
 This if thou do, He will an offspring give
 That till the world's last end shall make thy name to live."¹

One thinks of the youth of seventeen who could write thus going back among the Bainbrigges, the Chappells, and the rest, to sit beneath them at table, be directed by them what he should read, and lectured by them in logic and in literature. As we shall see, the dons of Christ's did in the end come to appreciate the qualities of their young scholar. Chappell had lost a pupil that would have done him honour ; and, if Tovey did not know at the time what a pupil he had gained, he was to have occasion to remember him a good deal afterwards, when he was parson of Wycliffe's Lutterworth.

¹ That the "fair infant" of this poem *was* the child of Milton's sister there is nothing in the poem itself to prove ; but the fact is decided by a reference to the poem in Phillips's *Life of Milton*.

The poem was written, says Phillips, "upon the death of one of his sister's children (a daughter) who died in infancy."

ACADEMIC YEAR 1626-7.

MILTON *ætat.* 18.

Vice-Chancellor, Dr. HENRY SMITH, Master of Magdalen (in which office he had recently succeeded Dr. Barnaby Gooch).

Proctors, SAMUEL HICKSON of Trinity College, and THOMAS WAKE of Caius.

MICHAELMAS TERM . October 10, 1626, to December 16, 1626.

LENT TERM January 13, 1626-7, to March 17, 1626-7.

EASTER TERM April 4, 1627, to July 6, 1627.

This being Milton's third academic year, there were now, of course, many students, both in his own College and in the rest of the University, whom he could regard as his juniors. In the vacation just past, for example, Benjamin Whichcote had been matriculated as a student of Emanuel, and there had been the following admission at Caius:—

“Jeremy Tailor, son of Nathaniel Tailor, Barber, born at Cambridge, and there instructed for ten years in the public school under Mr. Lovering, was admitted into our College Aug. 18, 1626, in the fifteenth year of his age, in the capacity of a poor scholar (*pauper scholaris*), by Mr. Batchcroft; and paid entrance fee of 12^d.”¹

Among the new names of the session at Milton's own College we may mention those of a George Winstanley, a William More, a Christopher Bainbrigge, related to the Master, a Richard Meade, related, we may presume, to the tutor, and a Christopher Shute, the son of an eminent parish clergyman in London. More important than any of these were the two names whose addition to the roll of students at Christ's is thus recorded in the admission-book:—

“Roger and Edward Kinge, sons of John, Knight of York (both born in Ireland: Roger near Dublin, Edward in the town of Boyle in Connaught), Roger aged 16, Edward 14, were educated under Mr. ✓Farnabie, and were then admitted into this College as Lesser Pensioners, June 9, 1626, under the tutorship of Mr. Chappell.”²

Sir John King, the father of these two young men, filled the office of Secretary for Ireland under Queen Elizabeth

¹ Wood's *Athenæ*, III. 781: note by Bliss.

² Copy furnished me by Mr. Wolstenholme of Christ's College, who informed me that the part of the entry

which I have placed within parentheses is in a different ink and handwriting from the rest, evidently an addition a few years later, when the brothers were better known at Christ's.

and James I., and also during part of the reign of Charles I. The family was well connected in Ireland. One of the young men's sisters was already married, or was soon afterwards married, to Lord Charlemont; another was the wife of Sir George Loder, or Lowther, Chief Justice of Ireland; and their uncle, Edward King, held the Irish bishopric of Elphin.

By the usage of the University, though the academic year opens on the 10th of October, and the Proctors are elected on that day, the election of the new Vice-Chancellor does not take place till the 3rd of November. In the year now under notice it happened that Dr. Gostlin died before the day on which he would have resigned the Vice-Chancellor's office. His death took place on the 21st of October 1626. The Vice-Chancellorship was filled up by the appointment of Dr. Smith, of Magdalen; and, after a good deal of opposition, the vacant Mastership of Caius was given to the Mr. Batchcroft just mentioned as Jeremy Taylor's tutor. While these arrangements were in progress, there was another death of a well-known University official, that of Richard Ridding, of St. John's, Master of Arts, the senior Esquire Bedel. As his will is proved Nov. 8, 1626, he must have died almost simultaneously with Gostlin. Both deaths were naturally topics of interest to the Cambridge Muses; and among the copies of verses written, and perhaps circulated, in connexion with them, were two by Milton. That on Gostlin is in Horatian stanzas, and is entitled *In Obitum Procancellarii Medici*; that on Ridding is in elegiacs, and is entitled *In Obitum Præconis Academici Cantabrigiensis*. Abstracts of them will be enough:—

On the Death of the Medical Vice-Chancellor.—Men of all conditions must submit to fate. Could strength and valour have given exemption from the general doom, Hercules and Hector would have escaped it. Could enchantments have stopped death, Circe and Medea had lived till now. Could the art of the physician and the knowledge of herbs have saved from mortality, neither Machaon, the son of Æsculapius, nor Chiron, the son of Philyra, should have died. Above all, had medicine been thus efficacious, the distinguished man whom the

gowned race are now mourning would still have been discharging his office with his old reputation. But Proserpina, seeing him, by his art and his potent juices, save so many from death, has snatched himself away in anger. May his body rest peacefully under the turf, and may roses and hyacinths grow above him! May the judgment of Æacus upon him be light, and may he wander with the happy souls on the Elysian plain!¹

On the Death of the Cambridge University-Bedel.—Death, the last beadle of all, has not spared even that fellow-officer of his who has so often, conspicuous with his shining staff, summoned the studious youth together. Though his locks were already white, he deserved to have lived for ever. How gracefully, how like one of the classic heralds in Homer, he stood, when performing his office of convening the gowned multitudes! Why does not death choose as its victims useless men who would not be missed? Let the whole University mourn for him, and let there be elegies on his death in all the schools!²

Within the same fortnight Milton, who appears to have // been in a verse-making humour, wrote a more elaborate poem in Latin hexameters on a political topic of annual interest. It was now one-and-twenty years since the Gunpowder Plot had filled the nation with horror; and regularly every year, as the 5th of November came round, there had been the usual prayers and thanksgivings on that day in all the churches, the usual bonfires in the streets, and the usual demonstrations of Protestant enthusiasm and virulence in sermons and verses. There were probably opportunities in the Colleges of Cambridge for the public reading of compositions on the subject by the more ambitious of the students.³ At all events, there are five distinct pieces "*On The Gunpowder Treason*," besides a cognate one on the Inventor of Firearms, among Milton's juvenile Latin poems. Four of them are short epigrams, hard and ferocious, of a few lines each. In one of these the poet blames Guy

¹ *Sylvarum Liber*, I. Milton, when he dates his poems, usually does so accurately, except that he gives himself the apparent advantage of a year by using the cardinal numbers instead of the ordinal. In the present instance, however, there is an error. The poem in the original copies is headed "*anno ætatis 16*," whereas, when Gostlin died, Milton had nearly completed his eighteenth year.

² *Elegiarum Liber*: "*Elegia Secunda*,

anno ætatis 17."

³ By a decree of the Vice-Chancellor and Heads, passed Oct. 20, 1606 (see Dyer's "*Privileges*," I. 310), it was ordered that on every following 5th of November for ever there should be a sermon in St. Mary's by one of the Heads in the morning, and in the afternoon an oration in King's College Chapel by the Public Orator or by some one appointed in his stead.

Fawkes for not having blown the priests of Rome and the other “cowled gentry” themselves to heaven, hinting that, but for some such physical explosion, there was little likelihood of their ever taking flight very far in that direction. These four epigrams are not dated; but they were probably written at Cambridge, as well as the fifth and much longer poem on the same subject, the date of the composition of which is fixed by the heading, *In Quintum Novembris : anno ætatis* 17, to have been the 5th November 1626. This piece, though one of the very cleverest and most poetical of all Milton’s youthful productions, and certainly one of the most characteristic, has remained totally unknown hitherto, except to the few who have read the Latin for themselves. The gentle spirit of Cowper, or his timid religious taste, did not permit him to include it among his translations or paraphrases of Milton’s Latin poems for English readers three generations ago. As we are bound to be less scrupulous here, and as any emphatic bit of Milton’s young mind may be left now to take its own chances of pleasing or irritating the public, no apology seems necessary for the following attempt at a complete and pretty close translation, unless it be perhaps an apology to the original it professes to render:—

ON THE FIFTH OF NOVEMBER.

Scarce had the pious James from his distant northern dominion
Come to be king of our Troy-sprung people and take as his birthright
Albion’s spreading possessions; scarce was there sealed this conjunction,

Ne’er to be severed again, of Scotia’s crown with the English;
Happy and wealthy he sat, a sovereign rarely pacific,
Here on his new-won throne, untroubled by foe or by treason:
When the fierce tyrant who reigns by Acheron’s fire-rolling river,
He, the fell Father of Furies, an exile from starry Olympus,
Chanced to be out on wing surveying the round of our Earth-Ball,
Counting his allies in guilt and the faithful slaves of his service,
Who at their death will share his kingdom infernal for ever.
Here in middle air he rouses the terrible tempests;
There mid friends of one mind he scatters the tares of disunion;
Nations unconquered as yet he arms for mutual gashing;
Realms over-waving with olives of peace he throws into tumult;
Whosoever he sees are lovers of truth and of virtue,

These he is fain to annex to his rule ; and, master of wiles, he
 Works to corrupt each heart that is yet untainted of evil,
 Setting his snares in the dark and silently stretching his meshes,
 So as to catch the unwary, just as the Caspian tiger
 Follows his prey in its pantings through the passageless desert
 Under the moonless night and twinklings of myriad star-points.
 Thus as he flies, this king of the damned, over nations and cities,
 Girt with whirlings of smoke and green-blue circles and flashings,
 Lo ! the fair fields of the land white-ringed with the sea-roaring
 ramparts

Burst into view, that land which is best beloved of the Sea-god,
 Once indeed taking its name from Neptune's primitive offspring,
 Breed of such mettle that even Amphitryon's terrible son they,
 Swimming the sea to the task, would challenge to murderous battle,
 Back in ages old ere Troy had seen her besiegers.

Soon as this land he beholds, all happy in peace and in riches,
 Field after field of fatness brave with the bounty of Ceres,
 Ay, and, what grieved him more, the populous throng of its natives
 Worshipping one true God, at the sight a tempest of sighings
 Broke from him, blazing of hell and shot with stench of sulphur,
 Such as, imprisoned by Jove deep down in Trinacrian Ætna,
 Breathes from his pest-breeding mouth the ghastly monster Typhœus.
 Glare his red-rolling eyes, and gratingly grinds he and gnashes
 Iron rows of teeth, with a clash as of lances on armour.

"Here in my range of the globe this single discomforting object

"Find I," he said, "and here the single race that is rebel,

"Spurning off my yoke and defying my art to subdue it :

"Yet shall it not, if aught exertion now can avail me,

"Long go unpunished so, or escape a visit of vengeance."

Thus much he said ; and on pinions of pitch through the air he floats
 onwards ;

Still, as he flies, great gusts of adverse winds go before him,
 Clouds grow thick and dark, and quick come the gleams of the
 lightning.

Now, his swift flight having crossed the chain of the Alps and their
 ice-peaks,

Italy lay in his gaze. Here, leftwise, stretched 'neath his vision
 Apennine's cloud-capped range and the ancient land of the Sabines ;
 There, on the right, Hetruria, sorcery-noted, and also
 Thee, O Tiber, he sees, in thy stealthy meanderings seawards.
 Swooping down, he alights on Mars's imperial city.

Fit was the hour. It was then that time of the year when at
 twilight

He of the three-crowned hat goes round the city to bless it,
 Bearing his bread-made gods and hoisted high on men's shoulders,
 Kings preceding his chair with patient flexure of hip-joint,
 Begging friars likewise in endless length of procession,

Candles of wax in their hands, the poor obfuscated mortals !
 Born in Cimmerian darkness, and dragging lives of confusion.
 Enter they now the temple, lit up with numerous torches
 (For 'twas the Eve of St. Peter's); and frequent thunders of singing
 Roll through the empty vaults and thrill the enormous inane.
 Such are the howlings of Bacchus and all the crew of his drunkards,
 Singing their orgies over Bœotian Mount Aracynthus,
 So that bewildered Asopus quakes in his clear-flowing river,
 And from afar in his cavern rings the response of Cithæron.

Ended at length these rites and all the solemn performance,
 Silently Night forsakes the embraces of Erebus aged.
 Hastes she her headlong steeds by the smart of the lash on their
 journey :

Typhlos the blind to lead, and with him the fierce Melanchætes,
 Torpid Siöpe next, whose sire was Acherontæus,
 Coupled with shaggy Phrix, whose mane flew cloudily round her.
 Meanwhile the Tamer of Kings, the heir of the sceptre infernal,
 Enters his couch (nor imagine the secret adulterer uscs
 Ever to spend his nights without a pretty companion).
 Scarcely, however, had sleep closed up his slumbering eyelids
 When the black lord of shadows, the ruler and head of the silent,
 Fell destroyer of men, disguised in a suitable likeness,
 Stood by his bed. A show of grey hair silvered his temples ;
 Down his breast flowed a beard ; an ash-grey garment depended,
 Sweeping the ground with its train ; a cowl was perched on his
 hind-head

Where it was shaven ; nay, that nought that was fit might be wanting,
 Round his lusty loins a hempen rope he had tightened,
 And, as he slowly walked, you could see that his sandals were
 bandaged.

Such, as tradition tells, was Francis, when in the desert
 Wandered he all alone amid lairs of the savagest creatures,
 Bearing words of salvation there to the folks of the forest,
 Graceless himself, and subduing the wolves and the Libyan lions.

Masked in such garb, however, the crafty serpent bent o'er him,
 Opening his lying mouth with these reproachful addresses :—

“Sleep'st thou, son of my heart ? and has drowsiness seized thee
 already,

“Mindless, for shame ! of the faith, and forgetting the care of thy
 cattle,

“Now when thy chair, your Holiness, yea and thy triple tiara,

“Serve as a jest in the north to all that barbarous nation,

“Now when thy Papal rights are the scorn of the well-weaponed
 Britons ?

“Rise and be stirring thee ! rise from thy sloth, thou god of the Latins,

“Thou at whose word fly unlocked the gates of the convex of heaven !

“Break their spirits of brag, and crush their obstinate worship,

"So that the wretches may know what power is in thy malediction,
 "What is the power of the keys in Apostolical keeping.
 "Seek for a way to avenge the scattered western Armada,
 "Wrecks of the Spanish galleons sunk in the depths of the ocean,
 "Deaths of saints who were hung in scores on the infamous gibbet
 "Through the recent reign of that Amazonian virgin.
 "Should it be still thy choice to loll in thy couch like a sluggard,
 "Losing what chance there may be to shatter the enemy's forces,
 "Then will that enemy fill the Tyrrhene sea with her soldiers,
 "Plant her emblazoned banners atop the hill Aventinus,
 "Break into pieces thy ancient relics, burn them in bonfires,
 "Set her impious feet on thy Pontifical neck, whose
 "Offered shoe-soles kings of the earth have been happy in kissing.
 "Neither is need to venture on open war and aggression :
 "Bootless a labour like that ; but try some fraudulent method :
 "Heretics being the game, all nets are equally lawful.
 "Listen.—Now their great king from all extremes of the country
 "Summons his nobles to council, and those that are next to the
 peerage,
 "Sages august with age and grey with the honours of office :
 "These, all limb from limb, thou canst blow at once to perdition,
 "Blast into ashes at once, by putting powder of nitre
 "Under the chamber floors whereon they hold their assembly.
 "Instantly therefore, thyself, all such as in England are faithful
 "Warn of the deed and purpose. Will any owning thy priesthood
 "Dare to refuse an act prescribed them by Papal commandment ?
 "Then, when stunned by the shock, and aghast with the sudden
 disaster,
 "See that the ruthless Gaul or the bloody Spaniard invade them :
 "Thus shall return among them at last the Marian times, and
 "Thou shalt govern again in the land of the valorous English.
 "Do not doubt of success : the gods and goddesses aid thee,
 "All on thy calendared list that are duly honoured with saints' days."
 These were the words ; and the Fiend, then doffing his friar-like
 vesture,

Fled to his doleful abode in the joyless stagnations of Lethe.

Rosy Tithonia meanwhile, opening the gates of the morning,
 Tinges the sombred earth with returning gold ; but, unable
 Yet to restrain her tears for the death of her swart-coloured offspring,
 Sprinkles the tops of the hills with drops of ambrosial moisture.
 Then the watch of the starry hall drove back from its doorway
 Sleep and nocturnal shapes and all the pleasures of dreamland.

Far there exists a place begirt with unchangeable night-gloom,
 Once the foundations vast of a dwelling crumbled to ruins,
 Now the den of pitiless Murder and double-tongued Treason,
 Which at one birth came forth as the issue of Termagant Discord.
 Here, mid rubbish-heaps and disrupted masses of stone-work,

Coffinless bones lie about and iron-spigoted corpses ;
 Here, with his in-screwed eyes, sits Stratagem moodily musing,
 Strife at his elbow close, and Calumny shooting her fangs out :
 Fury is there, and the sight of a thousand fashions of dying ;
 Fear is in hiding there, and pale-faced Horror keeps winging
 Round and over the spot ; and ceaselessly ghosts through the silence
 Howl of their woe ; and even the ground is stagnant with bloodshed.
 Here in the innermost cavern's recesses lie savagely lurking
 Murder and Treason themselves ; none else will adventure that cavern,—
 Cavern horrid and craggy and dark with hideous shadows,
 Shunned by the souls in guilt, who turn their eyes as they pass it.
 These, the two bullies of Rome, found faithful through ages of service,
 Calls to him Babylon's priest, and thus for his business bespeaks
 them :—

“ Islanded up in the west, where Europe ends in the surges,
 “ Dwells a race I detest, whom prudent Nature was careful
 “ Not to join altogether to this our world of the mainland.
 “ Thither, so I command, let your swiftest effort convey you ;
 “ There with the powder of hell be blown at once into fragments
 “ King and nobles alike, and the pride of the whole generation ;
 “ Whoso there are inflamed with zeal for the orthodox worship
 “ Take as the friends of your plot and the means for its instant
 enactment.”

Ended he thus, and amain were the twain on the move to obey him.

Meanwhile, deep-bending low the gracious archings of heaven,
 He from his glory looks down, the Lord of the skies and the thunder ;
 Laughs at the vain attempts of all the wrong-headed rabble,
 And will Himself defend the cause of the people who serve Him.

Rumour there is of a place where, severed from Asia's limits,
 Europe extends her skirts in sight of the waters of Egypt.
 Here stands proudly the Tower of Fame, the Titanian goddess,
 Brazen, and broad-built, and sounding, and nearer the tracks of the
 meteors

Than would be Athos or Pelion superimposed upon Ossa,
 Faced with a thousand doors, and slit with as many windows,
 So that the vastness within shines through in glimmering outline.
 Here from a thick-gathered throng ascends a hubbub of noises,
 Such as when armies of flies attack and cloud with their buzzings
 Pails on the dairy-floor or mats of rush in the sheep-pens,
 Deep in the summer's heat, when highest is climbing the dog-star.
 High-enshrined in the midst sits the goddess herself, who avenges
 Hope her mother, and raises a head in which ears by the hundred
 Catch every smallest whisper and airiest murmur that rises
 Over the farthest flats of the world extended beneath her ;
 Nay, nor even didst thou, false keeper of heifer-shaped Isis,
 Roll in thy cruel face more eyes than serve her to see with,
 Eyes that are never drowsy with any noddings of slumber,

Eyes that survey at once the earth's whole surface and circuit,
 Eyes that she often uses to pierce into places that never
 Light can reach and the rays of the sun are powerless to enter.
 What she thus hears and beholds she has thousands of tongues, too,
 to publish

Heedless to all that listen, and lyingly now will diminish
 What may be true, and again will swell it out with additions.
 Heartily *we* at least ought to raise a song in thy honour,
 Fame, for a service done to us true as ever was rendered ;
 Worthy thou of our song, nor need we grudge thee the longest
 Strain of thanks in our power, we English, saved from destruction
 All by a freak of thy kindness vouchsafed in the moment of danger.

Thee did the Lord who sways the eternal fires in their orbits
 Thus, with lightning before him, and earth all trembling, admonish :—
 “Fame, art thou silent? or how has this hideous business escaped thee,
 “This great plot of the Papists, conspired against me and my Britons,
 “This new slaughter intended for James that carries their sceptre.”
 More was not said; for at once, on the spur of the Thunderer's
 mandate,

Swift though she was, she put on two whizzing wings to be swifter,
 Covered her slender shape with feathers of various plumage,
 Took in her right her trumpet of sounding brass Temesæan,
 Sped on her errand, her pinions beating the rush of the breezes,
 Clouds flying past in her course as she cleaves their successive
 resistance.

Now, having left behind her the winds and the steeds of the sun-god,
 First, in her usual way, throughout the cities of England
 Scatters she doubtful words and sounds of ambiguous import ;
 Then, more pointedly, blazons all the damnable story,
 How the treason was hatched, and what its horrible purpose ;
 Names its authors plainly, and even hints of the cellars
 Stuffed with the devilish fuel. Aghast at the dreadful relation,
 Young men and maidens alike are seized with a general shudder,
 Old men not the less ; and the sense of the boundless disaster
 Lies like a heavy weight on every age and condition.
 Yet hath the Heavenly Father, regarding His folk with compassion,
 Baulked the design meanwhile, and foiled at the critical instant
 Papist bloodthirstiness : sharp and quick the doom of the guilty :
 Then to the Deity rises the incense of thanks and of homage ;
 Hundreds of streets are ablaze with the joy and the smoke of their
 bonfires ;

Boys are dancing in rings ; and still in the round of the twelvemonth
 No day returns more marked than this same Fifth of November.

On this ferocious piece of poetical ultra-Protestantism,
 concocted doubtless for the customary celebration of Guy
 Fawkes's day at the University, the undergraduate of

Christ's College had evidently bestowed much pains. It is full of elaborate classicism, as well as of ingenious invention; and, besides the proofs of abundant readings of the classic sort, one notes the familiarity shown in it with Chaucer's *House of Fame*. One guesses also that the author, when he had successfully begun, and found himself in the full flow of his subject, intended a longer composition, but was obliged, for some reason or another, to become more rapid after he had brought *Fame* to Britain, and so to huddle up the close. As it was, what with the Protestant pungency of the sentiment, what with the power of the poetic invention, what with the Latinity, young Milton's *In Quintum Novembris* may well have been very popular in the little community of Christ's, if it did not even circulate with applause among the other Colleges.

Not a syllable respecting Milton or his verses, however, have we from Meade. On the 25th of November he writes to Stuteville of the sudden death of Dr. Hills, Master of Catharine Hall; and on the 2nd of December, after announcing that Dr. Sibbes has been elected to the vacant Mastership, he mentions a matter of pecuniary interest to himself. "I am troubled," he says, "with Mr. Higham's backwardness; who is £10 in my debt, besides this quarter; which will make it near £15. Neither he nor Mr. Tracey are so good paymasters as I had hoped for." On the 9th of the same month he speaks of young Stuteville as having been more than usually negligent of his studies, but adds that he is "about a declamation, and must have pardon till it be over." And thus, so far as Meade enlightens us, ended the Michaelmas Term.

His letters during the Lent Term are of considerably more interest. On the 27th of January 1626-7 he writes complaining that he has still heard nothing from Mr. Higham; on the 3rd of February he speaks of some new arrangements he has been making respecting young Stuteville's room in College; on the 10th of the same month he sends Sir Martin a copy of "old Geoffrey Chaucer," price

13s. 4d.; and on the 17th, in reply to an application which Sir Martin has sent, that he would receive as a pupil his nephew, the son of Sir John Isham, of Lamport, Northamptonshire, he writes as follows:—

“I am not only willing, but in some respects desirous, to accept Sir John Isham’s son under my tuition, if I can provide a fit chamber for him; but whether I shall do or not I know not. Our Master here hath the absolute disposal of chambers and studies: howsoever the statute limits his power by discretion to dispose according to quality, desert, and conveniency, yet, himself being the only judge, that limitation is to no purpose. And—to tell tales forth of school—our present Master is so addicted to his kindred that, where they may have a benefit, there is no persuasion, whosoever hath the injury The plot is first to get the chambers that are convenient out of the possession of others, and then to appropriate them to his kinsmen-fellows, so to allure gentlemen to choose *their* tuition, as stored with rooms to place them. . . . I have not yet spoken to our Master, because it is a little hell for me to go about it; but I shall take the fittest opportunity, though I know not how it will prove.”

The important business of procuring a chamber for Sir John Isham’s son was not settled when the whole University was roused from its routine by the arrival of the Duke of Buckingham, with a large retinue of bishops and courtiers, to go through the ceremony of his installation as Chancellor. He arrived on the 3rd of March 1626-7; on which day Meade writes to Stuteville:¹—

“The Duke is coming to our town; which puts us all into a commotion. The bells ring; the posts wind their horns in every street. Every man puts up his cap and hood, ready for the Congregation; whither, they suppose, his Grace will come. He dines, they say, at Trinity College: shall have a banquet at Clare Hall. I am afraid somebody [Bainbrigge?] will scarce worship any other god as long as he is in town. For mine own part, I am not like to stir; but hope to hear all when they come home.”

On the following Friday (March 10) Meade forwards to his correspondent some more particulars of the Duke’s visit, which had lasted two days:—

“Our Chancellor on Saturday sat in the Regent House in a Master of Arts’ gown, habit, cap, and hood: spoke two words of Latin—*Placet* and *Admittatur*. Bishop Laud was incorporated. The E. of Denbigh, Lo. Imbrecourt, Lo. Rochefort (Miles de Malta), Mr. Edw.

¹ This and some other letters of Meade’s have been misplaced by a whole year in the binding of the MS. volumes in the British Museum.

Somerset, nephew to the Earl of Worcester, Mr. Craven, and Mr. Walter Montague, were made Masters of Arts. His Grace dined at Trinity College; had banquets at various other Colleges,—King's, St. John's, Clare Hall, &c. He was on the top of King's College Chapel, but refused to have his foot imprinted there [*i.e.* to have the impression of his foot cut on the leaden roof] as too high for him. He was wonderful courteous to all scholars of any condition, both in the Regent House, where every one that came in had his Grace's congie, and in the town, as he walked. If a man did but stir his hat, he should not lose his labour . . . Dr. Paske, out of his familiarity, must needs carry him to see a new library they are building in Clare Hall, notwithstanding it was not yet furnished with books. But, by good chance, being an open room, two women were gotten in thither to see his Grace out at the windows; but, when the Duke came thither, were unexpectedly surprised. 'Mr. Doctor,' quoth the Duke, when he saw them, 'you have here a fair library; but here are two books not very well bound.'

In the same letter Meade returns to the subject of Sir John Isham's son. The "business," he says, "makes him almost sick"; but, as Bainbrigg is away from home, it is not yet concluded. There is also a postscript referring to Higham and his unpaid bills:—"Mr. Higham was here on Saturday with his son's bills; where I found him (the son) to have purposely altered and falsified them to conceal from his father some expenses, which yet he was most impatient at any time to have denied. He had left out some 17*s.* in the particulars since Midsummer, and altered the general sums according unto it; and, to do this, he took the pains not to send the bills that he wrote out at my chambers, or that I gave him with my own hand, but to make them over anew in his study." The consequence was that Meade resolved to get rid of young Higham. He intimates this in a letter to Stuteville on the 17th of March, the last day of the term:—

"I have moved our master in behalf of Mr. Justinian Isham, and, having no hope otherwise to prevail, I offered an unreasonable bargain,—to yield a chamber of 4 studies and of the best, to be put in actual possession of a chamber having but 2, and those also mine *de jure* by former assignation and payment for them. Upon this offer, being to be very beneficial to one of his kinsmen-fellows, he says he will do what he can; and I am sure he may do something if he will,—which is but to remove a couple of lawless people whom most of the fellows would give consent to be expelled, and unfit they should keep in that manner. If I may obtain this, my purpose is Mr. Justinian and your son shall keep together. For this his chamber I must take a surren-

der of two others: whereof Mr. Higham is one I mean to cashier; and the fourth to provide for himself. Is not this a slaughtering bargain?"¹

The admission of Mr. Justinian Isham was managed one way or another; for on the 21st of April, or some time after the beginning of the Easter term, Meade writes to Stuteville that Isham has arrived. On the 5th of May he writes, "Mr. Isham is well, and, as I think, will prove a sober, discreet, and understanding gent." The following letter will show what bad blood there might be among those reverend seniors of Christ's College whom Milton was required to respect as his superiors and instructors. Meade evidently writes under great provocation.²

May 19th, 1627.—"I should have picked up some more news for you last night, but that my thoughts were troubled not a little with a deep perplexity at the very instant by a scurvy, villainous and pandar-like letter which Mr. Power [the Senior Fellow of Christ's] sent to your cousin Isham. I account it a special sign of Divine favour that by mere chance it fell into my hands before it came to his. Nevertheless it took my stomach quite from my supper, and hindered my sleep this night: not so much for fear in the gent's behalf (in whose discretion and understanding I have as much confidence as ever I had in any of his years), but in respect to that son of Belial, whose fury in this villainous attempt I saw so lively and wickedly expressed,—nay, I may say, blasphemously. For one of his passages towards the close was this, that 'if he durst not express his affection and do him that sweet favour by day, for fear of the Pharisees, yet that he would be a good Nicodemus and visit him by night.' You may guess the rest of the contents by this. I was but newly come into my chamber and had some occasion to send for Mr. Justinian; and, looking to espy somebody in the court to send, I saw his man going, and a sizar before him, as I had thought, towards the butteries or back, but, in the event, up Mr. Power's stairs; for he [Mr. Power] had sent a sizar for his [Mr. Justinian's] man to betrust him with a letter to his master. I sent a scholar to bid him [the man] come to me; but he

¹ The revelations contained in this letter, and in others of Meade's, respecting the internal state of Christ's College, and the relations of the Fellows to the Master and to each other, are such as to throw some additional light, I think, on the tradition of Milton's quarrel with the College authorities. Observe particularly Bainbrigge's and Meade's plan for securing accommodation for the knight's son,—“removing a couple of lawless students” not in favour with any of the Fellows. Had it been in the preceding year, I should have been tempted to connect Milton's

temporary rustication, or whatever it was, with the affair of this letter. I may add that I have seen MS. letters of Bainbrigge on College business in the State Paper Office which bear out Meade's character of him.

² As some of the extracts from Meade's letters may modify for the worse the account left us of Meade's character, it is right to state that his letters altogether make one like him, and give, if not so high a notion of his ability as might be expected from his reputation, a pleasant impression, at least, of his integrity and punctuality.

was gone upstairs before he overtook him. Yet, as soon as he had his errand there, he came to me for mine : which was then changed,—for I asked him what he did with Mr. Power and what he said to him. He told me he [Mr. Power] said little to purpose, but gave him *that* to carry to his master ; and showed me the letter. Which, when I had read, I sent him back to deliver, and bid his master come to me. I acquainted Sir John Isham with this danger before my pupil came, and with much passion entreated him to send both him and his man fortified with a direct charge, &c. ; which letter he gave them both to read. I confess I love the gent. upon this short experience with some degree more than a tutor's affection ; but so much greater and stronger is my jealousy,—which, if it should be occasioned to continue upon like cause to this, would oppress me, and I could not bear it. I find so much that I have suffered already. But I am somewhat easy, now I have told you."

The explanation of this letter and of Meade's discomposure seems to be that Power (who was not only senior Fellow of Christ's, but also Margaret preacher in the University) was suspected of being a Jesuit in disguise, and was in any case a malicious, if not a dissolute, old person, who, having no pupils himself, employed his time in stirring up feuds against those who had, and especially against Meade. So much we gather from subsequent passages in Meade's letters, in which he calls Power an "old fool," and relates new instances of his spite against himself and his endeavours to win the confidence of his pupils, and make them "little better than *fili Gehennæ*." That Power had the reputation in the University of being a concealed Papist is proved by other accounts of him.¹ No further harm, however, came at this time of his attempts to make mischief; the Easter Term passed without any incidents of particular note ; and before the close of that term Meade was gratified by an invitation to spend part of the long vacation at Sir John Isham's place in Northamptonshire. He went there in July, and was received with all imaginable kindness.

To the long vacation of 1627 belongs a Latin metrical epistle from Milton to his old tutor, Thomas Young. It is

¹ On the overhauling of the University in 1643 by the Puritan party, Power was not only ejected from his fellowship, but pursued in the streets, as he was going to preach, by a mob of soldiers and others, who cried out, "A

Pope, a Pope," and would not suffer him to go into the pulpit. See "Carter's History of the University of Cambridge, 1753"; also Walker's "Sufferings of the Clergy."

headed "*To Thomas Young, his preceptor, discharging the office of Pastor among the English merchants trading at Hamburg.*" Parts of this epistle have already been quoted; but an abstract of the rest may be given:—

"In what circumstances will this epistle find you in the German city? Will it find you sitting by your sweet wife, with your children on your knee, or turning over large tomes of the Fathers, or the Bible itself, or instructing the minds of your charge in Divine truth? It is long since we have exchanged letters; and what now induces me to write is the report that Hamburg and its neighbourhood have been visited by the horrors of war. One has heard much lately of battles there between the German Protestant League and the Imperialists under Tilly. How precariously must you be situated in such a state of things, a foreigner unknown and poor in a strange land, seeking there that livelihood which your own country has not afforded you! Hard-hearted country, thus to exile her worthiest sons, and that too on account of their faithfulness in religion! But the Tishbite had to live a while in the desert; Paul had to flee for his life; and Christ himself left the country of the Gergesenes. Take courage. God will protect you in the midst of danger; and once more you will return to the joys of your native land."¹

The prediction was very soon fulfilled. Before many months were over, Young did return to England; and on the 27th of March 1628 he was instituted to the united vicarages of St. Peter and St. Mary in Stowmarket, Suffolk. The living was worth about 300*l.* a year, which was a very good benefice in those days. Young was indebted for it to a "Mr. John Howe, a gentleman then residing in Stowmarket, whose ancestors had been great cloth-manufacturers in the neighbourhood"; but in what way Howe had become acquainted with Young, so as to form such an opinion of his deserts as the presentation implies, is not known. Stowmarket is the ancient county town of Suffolk. It is about eighty-one miles distant from London, and about forty from Cambridge. The parish church, called the Church of Stowmarket St. Peter, which served also for the adjacent parish of Stow Upland, was built in the reign of Henry VIII. Under a marble slab in the chancel lie the bones of Richard Pernham, B.D., Young's predecessor in the vicarage.

¹ *Elegiarum Liber*: "Elegia Quarta, anno ætatis 18."

Young was to be connected with Stowmarket during the whole remainder of his life, and was also to leave his bones in the church, and his memory in the traditions of the place.¹

ACADEMIC YEAR 1627-8.

MILTON *ætat.* 19.

Vice-Chancellor, Dr. THOMAS BAINBRIGGE, Master of Christ's College.
Proctors, THOMAS LOVE of Peterhouse, and EDWARD LLOYD of St. John's.

MICHAELMAS TERM . October 10, 1627, to December 16, 1627.

LENT TERM January 13, 1627-8, to April 4th, 1628.

EASTER TERM April 23, 1628, to July 4th, 1628.

Among the newly-admitted students whom Milton found on his return to College was one whose admission is thus recorded in the entry-book:—

"*September 4, 1627.*—John Cleveland, native of Loughborough in Leicestershire, son of Thomas, instructed in letters at Hinckley under Mr. Vines, aged fifteen years, was admitted a lesser pensioner under Mr. Siddall."²

This was Cleveland or Clieveland, afterwards so celebrated as a satirist. His father was vicar of the parish in Leicestershire in which he had been born (June 1613), and he was the second of eleven children, and the eldest son. Of all Milton's college-fellows at Christ's none attained to greater reputation during his life. It may be well, therefore, to keep in mind the fact that he and Milton were college-fellows, and must have known each other very familiarly.

The Michaelmas Term of the session passed by, so far as Meade's letters inform us, without any incident of note. The Lent Term was more eventful. On the 17th of January

¹ "Supplement to the Suffolk Traveller; or Topographical and Genealogical Collections concerning that County. By Augustine Page. Ipswich and London, 1844," pp. 549—552. See also "The History of Stowmarket, the ancient County Town of Suffolk. By the Rev. A. G. H. Hollingsworth, M.A., Rural Dean, and Vicar of Stowmarket:

Ipswich and London, 1844." This work contains a sketch of Young's life (pp. 187--194), incorrect in some points, but supplying the most authentic particulars of his connexion with Stowmarket.

² Extract furnished me by Mr. Wolstenholme, Fellow of Christ's College.

1627-8 Meade writes to Sir Martin that one of the fellowships of Christ's, vacant by the resignation of Mr. Simpson, has been filled up by the election of a Mr. Fenwicke. His letters of the following month speak of "two comedies" in preparation for performance at Trinity College at Shrovetide, and also of an approaching event of more than ordinary interest,—to wit, a visit of his Majesty to Cambridge. The Court was then at the royal hunting-station of Newmarket, about thirteen miles from Cambridge, so that the visit could easily be made. The royal intention was talked of in the end of February; but, as the visit was to be somewhat of a private nature, Meade, writing to Stuteville on the 24th of that month, is unable to say when it will take place. He mentions, however, another honour which the University had received from his Majesty,—an invitation to the leading doctors to preach, in turn, that season, the usual Lent sermons at Court. Dr. Bainbrigge, as Vice-Chancellor, was to preach first, greatly to the chagrin of Wren, Master of Peterhouse, who intrigued for the honour. What with this visit to Court at the head of a retinue of Doctors, and what with the return visit of the king to Cambridge some time before the 29th of April,¹ Dr. Bainbrigge was unusually fortunate. A royal visit to the University did not happen often; and the Head in whose Vice-Chancellorship such an event occurred might hope for something from it.

The courtesies of the King to the University were not without a motive. Driven to desperation by the resistance to his attempts to raise supplies, Charles, by the advice of Buckingham, had resolved on a third Parliament. This Parliament,—the first in which Oliver Cromwell sat,—met on the 17th of March 1627-8. The discontent of the country found vent through it. First, there was the famous *Petition of Right*. Then, the king hesitating, there was the memorable resolution of the Commons that "supplies and grievances" should go together. Then, through April and

¹ On this day Mr. Cooper (*Annals*, III. 200) finds certain entries in the corporation-books of sums repaid to the mayor for expenses incurred in receiv-

ing the king. Among the expenses are 10s. "payed unto the jester," and other sums to "ushers," "pages," "grooms," "trumpeters," &c.

May, there were threats of the King and counter-messages of the Parliament, with a mutual trial of firmness. The struggle lasted till the end of the first week in June, when, the Commons becoming terrible in their excitement, the King found it necessary to yield. He did so, it was thought, most handsomely, pronouncing, on the 7th of June, as his fully considered answer to the Petition of Right, the regal formula, *Soit fait comme il est désiré*. All having been thus settled, subsidies were voted, and on the 26th of June Parliament was prorogued till the 20th of October.

Though it was term-time, Milton was, for some reason or another, a good deal in London during that month of May 1628 in which the strife between the Parliament and the King was hottest. This is proved by two documents under his own hand. One is his seventh Latin Elegy, dated 1628, and referring, in poetic language, to an incident which befell him in London on the 1st or 2nd of May in that year; the other is a Latin prose Epistle to the younger Gill, dated "London, May 20, 1628." We take the documents in the order of time.

Every one has heard the romantic story which tells how a young foreign lady, passing in a carriage, with her elder companion, the spot near Cambridge where Milton lay asleep under a tree, was so struck with his beauty that, after alighting to look at him, she wrote in pencil some Italian lines, and placed them, unperceived as she thought (but there were laughing students near), in the sleeper's hand, and how Milton, when he awoke, read the lines, and, on learning how they came there, conceived such a passion for the fair unknown that he went afterwards to Italy in quest of her, and thought of her to the end of his days as his Lost Paradise. The story is a pure myth, and belongs to the lives of various poets besides Milton.¹ But, in compensation for the loss of it, the reader may have, on Milton's

¹ Todd's Life of Milton: Edit. 1809, pp. 26-7. I am informed that at Rome they have the same myth about Milton,

but make the scene of the adventure the suburbs of Rome, and the time Milton's visit to that city.

own testimony in the above-named Elegy, an incident not dissimilar, and, if less romantic, at least authentic as to place and date.¹ The following is a version of the Elegy, literal in the more important passages:—

“Not yet, O genial Amathusia, had I known thy laws, and my breast was free from the Paphian fire. Often I scorned the arrows of Cupid as but boyish darts, and derided his great deity. ‘Child,’ I said, ‘pierce timid doves: that kind of soft warfare befits so tender a warrior. Or win triumphs, young one, over sparrows: these are the worthy trophies of thy valour. Against brave men thou canst do ‘nothing.’ The Cyprian boy could not bear this; nor is any god more prompt to anger than he. It was Spring, and the light, raying along the topmost roofs of the town, had brought to thee, O May, thy first day; but my eyes yet sought the flying night and could not endure the morning beam. Love stands by my bed, active Love with painted wings. The motion of his quiver betrayed the present god; his face also betrayed him, and his sweetly threatening eyes, and whatever else was comely in a boy and in Love. [Here a farther description of him.] ‘Better,’ he said, ‘hadst thou been wise by the example of others; now thou shalt thyself be a witness what my right hand ‘can do.’ [Cupid then enumerates some of his victories over the heroes of antiquity.] He said, and, shaking at me a gold-pointed arrow, flew off to the warm bosom of his Cyprian mother. I was on the point of laughing at his threats, nor was I at all in fear of the boy. Anon I am taking my pleasure, now in those places in the city where our citizens walk (*‘qua nostri spatiantur in urbe Quirites’*), and now in the rural neighbourhood of the hamlets round. A frequent crowd—in appearance, as it might seem, a crowd of goddesses—is going and coming splendidly along the middle of the ways; and the growing day shines with twofold brightness. I do not austere-ly shun those agreeable sights, but am whirled along wherever my youthful impulse carries me. Too imprudent, I let *my* eyes meet *their* eyes, and am unable to master them. One by chance I noted as pre-eminent over the rest, and that glance was the beginning of my malady. She looked as Venus herself would wish to appear to mortals, as the Queen of the Gods was to be seen of old. This fair one mischievous Cupid, remembering his threat, had thrown in my way; he alone wove the snare for me. Not far off lurked the sly god himself, with many arrows and the great weight of his torch hanging from his back. And without delay he clings first to the maiden’s eyebrows and then to her mouth; now he nestles in her lips and then he settles on her cheeks; and, whatever parts the nimble archer wanders over, he wounds my

¹ The Elegy bears no title, as the others do, but is headed simply,—“Seventh Elegy, in the author’s nineteenth year” (*Elegia Septima, anno*

ætatis undevigesimo). This fixes the year as 1628; the Elegy itself gives the month and day, and also, I think, the place.

unarmed heart, alas! in a thousand places. Immediately unaccustomed pains were felt in my heart. Being in love, I inly burn, and am all one flame. Meanwhile she who alone pleased me was snatched away from my eyes, never to return. I walk on silently, full of complaint and desponding, and often in hesitation I wish to retrace my steps. I am divided into two; one part remains, and the other follows the object of love; and it is my solace to weep for the joys so suddenly reft from me. What shall I, unfortunate, do? Overcome with grief, I can neither desist from my begun love nor follow it out. O, would it were given me once again to behold the beloved countenance, and to speak a sad word or two in her presence! Perchance she is not made of adamant; perchance she might not be deaf to my prayers. Believe me, no one ever burned so unhappily; I may be set up as the first and only instance of a chance so hard. Spare me, I pray, thou winged god of love; let not thine acts contradict thine office. Now truly is thy bow formidable to me, O goddess-born, and its darts nothing less powerful than fire. Thy altars shall smoke with our gifts, and thou alone amongst the celestials shalt be supreme with me. But take away, at length, and yet take not away, my pains: I know not why, but every lover is sweetly miserable. But do thou kindly grant that, if any one is to be mine hereafter, one arrow may transfix us both and make us lovers."

If this is to be literally interpreted, it is a statement by Milton that in the month of May 1628 he was, for the first time in his life, conscious of love's wound, his conqueress being some beauty whom he had seen by chance in a public place in London on the 1st or 2d of that month, and was never likely to see again. Have there not been such things in other centuries than the seventeenth as the disturbing vision of a lovely face thus shot everlastingly, even from the streets and highways, into the current of a young man's dreams? ¹

In the letter to Gill, dated the 20th of the same month, when the recollection of the vanished fair one must have been still vivid, Milton says nothing of the incident, but is rough and rational enough:—

"TO ALEXANDER GILL.

"I received your letter, and, what wonderfully delighted me, your truly great verses, breathing everywhere a genuine poetical majesty

¹ I do not think that, consistently with the language of the Elegy, the incident can be referred to Cambridge;

but the place is more vaguely indicated than the date, and Cambridge might contest the point.

and a Virgilian genius. I knew, indeed, how impossible it would be for you and your genius to keep away from poetry and rid the depths of your breast of those heaven-inspired furies and that sacred and ethereal fire, since *et tua*, as Claudian said of his, '*totum spirent præcordia Phœbum*.' Therefore, if you have broken the promises made to yourself, I here praise your (as you call it) inconstancy; I praise the sin, if there be any; and that I should have been made by you the judge of so excellent a poem I no less glory in and regard as an honour than if the contending musical gods themselves had come to me for judgment, as they fable happened of old to Tmolus, the popular god of the Lydian mountain. I know not truly whether I should more congratulate Henry of Nassau on the capture of the city or on your verses; for I think the victory he has obtained nothing more illustrious or more celebrated than this poetical tribute of yours. But, as we hear you sing the prosperous successes of the Allies in so sonorous and triumphal a strain, how great a poet we shall hope to have in you if by chance our own affairs, turning at last more fortunate, should demand your congratulatory muses! Farewell, learned Sir, and believe that you have my best thanks for your verses.

"*London, May 20, 1628.*"²

There is something like an allusion here to the state of public affairs at the time. The letter, indeed, was written at the very crisis of the controversy between Parliament and the King, when the eyes of all Englishmen were turned towards London in expectation of the issue.

Meade, who seldom came to London, was attracted thither by the unusual interest of what was going on; and, if Milton remained in town over May, he and Meade may have been there together. Meade, at any rate, was in London on Thursday the 5th of June, the most memorable day of the whole year, and a day still memorable in the annals of England. The following is a letter of his written to Stuteville, on the 15th, after his return to Cambridge.

"I know you have heard of that black and doleful Thursday, the day I arrived in London. Which was by degrees occasioned first by

¹ Epist. Fam. II. The poem referred to was probably a set of Latin Hexameters on a recent victory of Prince Frederick-Henry of Nassau, who had succeeded his brother Maurice as Stadtholder of Holland in 1625, and was keeping up the military reputation of his family in the war against the Spaniards. It is not among the pieces

reprinted in Gill's *Poetici Conatus* (1632). If it was no better, however, than some of the pieces there, Milton must have exaggerated his praises. But Gill was a noisy man, with some force over those about him; and Milton was but one of many who thought highly of his talents.

his Majesty's unsatisfactory answer on Monday, increased by a message delivered afterward, that his Majesty was resolved neither to add to nor alter the answer he had given them [*i.e.* given the Commons respecting their Petition of Right]. Hereupon they fall to recount the miscarriages of our Government, and the disasters of all our designs these later years; representing everything to the life, but the first day glancing only at the Duke, not naming him. On Wednesday they proceed farther to the naming of him, Sir Edward Coke breaking the ice and the rest following. So that on Thursday, they growing more vehement and ready to fall right upon him, a message was sent from his Majesty absolutely forbidding them to meddle with the government or any of his ministers, but, if they meant to have this a session, forthwith to finish what they had begun; otherwise his Majesty would dismiss them. Then appeared such a spectacle of passions as the like hath seldom been seen in any assembly: some weeping; some expostulating; some prophesying of the fatal ruin of our kingdom; some playing the divines in confessing their own and their country's sins, which drew these judgments upon us; some finding, as it were, fault with them that wept, and expressing their bold and courageous resolutions against the enemies of the King and Kingdom. I have been told by Parliament-men that there were above an hundred weeping eyes, many who offered to speak being interrupted and silenced with their own passions. But they stayed not here; but, as grieved men are wont, all this doleful distemper showered down upon the Duke of Buckingham, as the cause and author of all their misery,—in the midst of these their pangs crying out most bitterly against him as the abuser of the King and enemy of the Kingdom. At which time the Speaker, not able, as he seemed, any longer to behold so woful a spectacle in so grave a senate, with tears flowing in his eyes, besought them to grant him leave to go out for half-an-hour; which being granted him, he went presently to his Majesty, and informed him what state the House was in, and came presently back with a message to dismiss the House and all Committees from proceeding until next morning, when they should know his Majesty's pleasure further. The like was sent to the Lords' House, and not there entertained without some tears,—both Houses accepting it as a preparation to a dissolution, which they expected would be the next morning. But this is observable (I heard it from a Parliament Knight) that, had not the Speaker returned at that moment, they had voted the Duke to be an arch-traitor and arch-enemy to King and Kingdom, with a worse appendix therein, if some say true. They were then calling to the question when the Speaker came in; but they delayed, to hear his message."

As we have seen, matters did not end so badly as the Houses that day anticipated. The next day, Friday, June 6, Meade was himself in Westminster Hall when the Lords sent to ask the Commons to join them in petitioning the King once more for a satisfactory answer to the Petition of Right. The day after, Saturday, June 7, the King appeared in person, and, having thought better of the risk he was running, drew down a joyous burst of acclamation by his

Soit fait comme il est désiré. As the news spread through the city, bonfires were lighted, the bells were set ringing, and the mob persuaded themselves that before night the detested Duke would be in the Tower.

As usual, three days before the close of the academic year, *i. e.* on Tuesday, the 1st of July, 1628, there was held at Cambridge the great public ceremony of the "Commencement."¹ As Dr. Bainbrigge was to preside at this Commencement, it must naturally have had more interest for Milton than any preceding one at which he had been present. Apart from this circumstance, and for a reason more personal to himself, he *was* interested in it, and very considerably. This we learn from the following letter of his written the very day after the ceremony. As before, we translate from the Latin:—

"TO ALEXANDER GILL.

"In my former letter I did not so much reply to you as stave off my turn of replying. I silently promised with myself, therefore, that another letter should soon follow, in which I should answer somewhat more at large to your most friendly challenge; but, even if I had not promised this, it must be confessed on the highest grounds of right to be your due, inasmuch as I consider that each single letter of yours cannot be balanced by less than two of mine,—nay, if the account were more strict, not by even a hundred of mine. The matter respecting which I wrote to you rather obscurely you will find contained and expanded in the accompanying sheets. I was labouring upon it with all my might when your letter came, being straitened by the shortness of the time allowed me: for a certain Fellow of our College who had to act as Respondent in the philosophical disputation in this Commencement chanced to entrust to my puerility the composition of the verses which annual custom requires to be written on the questions in dispute, being himself already long past the age for trifles of that sort, and more intent on serious things. The result, committed to type, I have sent to you, as to one whom I know to be a very severe judge in poetical matters, and a very candid critic of my productions. If you shall deign to let me have a sight of your verses in return, there will

¹ The name "Commencement," as applied to the *final* academic ceremony of the year, is somewhat confusing. It arose from the fact that on this day the

new Doctors and Masters of Arts were said to "commence" (*incipere*) their respective degrees.

assuredly be no one who will more delight in them, though there may be, I admit, who will more rightly judge of them according to their worth. Indeed, every time I recollect your almost constant conversations with me (which even in this Athens, the University itself, I long after and miss), I think immediately, and not without grief, what a quantity of benefit my absence from you has cheated me of,—me, who never left your company without a manifest increase and ἐπίδοσις of literary knowledge, just as if I had been to some emporium of learning. Truly, amongst us here, as far as I know, there are hardly one or two that do not fly off unfeathered to Theology while all but rude and uninitiated in either Philology or Philosophy,—content also with the slightest possible touch of Theology itself, just as much as may suffice for sticking together a little sermon anyhow, and stitching it over with worn patches obtained promiscuously: a fact giving reason for the dread that by degrees there may break in among our clergy the priestly ignorance of a former age. For myself, finding almost no real companions in study here, I should certainly be looking straight back to London, were I not meditating a retirement during this summer vacation into a deeply literary leisure, and a period of hiding, so to speak, in the bowers of the Muses. But, as this is your own daily practice, I think it almost a crime to interrupt you longer with my din at present. Farewell.

“*Cambridge, July 2, 1628.*”

To explain this letter, it may be well to describe here the ceremonial of those annual Cambridge “Commencements,” of which Milton, in the course of his academic career, must have witnessed seven in all. Not till the last of the seven, the Commencement of 1632, when he took his full M.A. degree, could he be present in any other capacity than that of a mere looker-on; and the fact that, while only an undergraduate, he had some little share by proxy in the Commencement of 1628 is in itself a small item in his biography.

The Eve of the Commencement and the Commencement itself, the *Vespericæ Comitiorum* and the *Dies Comitiorum*, were the gala-days of the University, the days on which Cambridge put forth all her strength and all her hospitality. The town was full of visitors, and there were feasts in all the Colleges. The real business was the conferring, on the second of the two days, of the higher degrees of the year: the degree of M.A., for which the candidates were generally between two and three hundred; the degree of D.D., for which the candidates were sometimes as few as two or three,

and sometimes as many as twelve or fifteen; and the still rarer degrees of M.D., LL.D., and Mus. D.¹ The entertainment, however, consisted in the disputations and displays of oratory which accompanied the conferring of these degrees. From morning till late in the afternoon on both days there were disputations in Latin before crowded assemblies: *theological* disputations to represent the faculty of Theology; *philosophical* disputations to represent the faculty of Arts; and generally also disputations in *Civil Law*, *Medicine*, and *Music*. The conduct of these disputations, more especially on the second day, was regulated by special statutes.

All the preparations for the ceremonial had been made beforehand. The *Inceptors* in the various faculties had provided themselves with the gowns and other badges which denoted the new academic grade they were that day to attain. It had also been settled who were to be the *Moderators*, or presidents in the disputations in each faculty, and who were to be the *Fathers* who should introduce the candidates in each and go through the forms of their creation. In the Faculty of Arts the Father was, when possible, one of the Proctors, chosen by the Inceptors. More important, however, than the choice of the Moderators and Fathers in each faculty was the choice of the *Disputants*: viz. the "Respondent," who should open the debate in each, and the "Opponents," who should argue against him. In the Faculties of Law, Medicine, and Music, there was not much difficulty, the new men in those faculties not being so numerous as to cause hesitation. For this very reason, however, the disputations in these faculties excited less interest than the disputations in Theology and Philosophy. It was upon these that the brilliancy of the day

¹ Only the *full* degrees in each faculty, it will be observed,—viz. those of M.A., D.D., M.D., LL.D., and Mus. D.,—were conferred at the *Magna Comitia* in July. The "profession" of those who had attained the *minor* or *Bachelors'* degrees in each faculty—viz. those of B.A., B.D., M.B., LL.B., and

Mus. B.—took place, not at the *Magna Comitia* in July, but in a more ordinary way, between Ash Wednesday and the Thursday before Palm Sunday every year (Stat. cap. II.). As regards the B.A. degree, this has been already explained (*ante*, pp. 141, 142).

depended, and it was in preparing for these that the Proctors and Heads took most trouble.—(1.) There were usually two *theological* disputations at the Comitia. One was for the senior Divines, the Respondent in which was usually one of the three or six or twelve commencing Doctors of the year; and the other was for the junior Divines, the Respondent in which was usually one of the ten or twenty or thirty who had been last admitted to the degree of B.D. Opponents were supplied in sufficient number from among the rest of the Doctors and Bachelors present. (2.) As the number of the Inceptors in Arts every year exceeded two hundred, it could not have been difficult, one would think, for the Proctors to find among them some able and willing to act as “Respondent” and “Opponents” in the *philosophical* discussion. It had been provided, however, by a decree in 1582, that, “whenever fit men should not be found” among the Inceptors, then the Vice-Chancellor should be entitled to choose ‘the Disputants from among the Masters of Arts of not more than four years’ standing. In some similar way, but seemingly by a kind of popular election, was chosen another functionary connected immediately with the *philosophical* disputation, but deemed an important figure in the Commencement as a whole. This was the “Prævaricator,” or “Varier,” the licensed humourist or jester of the occasion, whose business ✓ it was to enliven the proceedings with witticisms in Latin and hits at the Dons. He seems to have existed rather by right of custom than by statutory recognition; but his pranks were so much relished, especially by the younger men, that the Commencement would have been thought a ✓ tame affair without him.¹

The preparations for the *Comitia* having all been made, the Bedels began, about seven o’clock in the morning, to muster the various orders in the University for the cere-

¹ The various regulations respecting the Great Comitia are contained in Chap. xxxii. of the Statutes, and in the following modifying Graces and Decrees:—Decree of 1575 (Dyer I. 307);

Grace of 1582 (Dyer I. 286); Grace of 1608 (Dyer I. 228-231); Grace of 1624 (Dyer I. 236); and Decree of 1626 (Dyer I. 293-4).

monial of the day. The procession, when completed, moved on to St. Mary's church, where the Vice-Chancellor, the Doctors of his faculty, and the Father in Divinity and his sons, took their places at the west end; the other Fathers with their sons distributing themselves in other assigned parts of the church. The remaining space was filled with spectators, the more distinguished visitors in the best places. By the time that all were seated it was about eight o'clock. The assembly was then opened by a prayer and a short speech by the Moderator in Divinity; after which came the business of the day, as follows:—I. THE DIVINITY ACT AND GRADUATIONS. The Father in Divinity introduces this part of the business by a short speech, and, on being desired by the Proctor, calls up the Respondent in Divinity. The Respondent, after a prayer, reads the positions or theses which he has undertaken to maintain; and, while he is doing so, "the Bedels deliver verses and groats to all Doctors present, as well strangers as gremials,"—the distribution of such Latin verses on the subjects in debate, and also of small coins, being, it seems, an old academic custom. The Respondent, having stated and expounded his theses, was then tackled by a series of Opponents, each of whom, after a short preliminary speech, propounded a series of arguments in rigid syllogistic form, which the Respondent had to answer on the spot one by one in the same form, but with a little more liberty of rhetoric. It was the business of the Moderator all the while to keep the debaters to the point; and no speaker was to exceed half an hour continuously. When the last of the Opponents had been "taken off," the Moderator made a suitable compliment to the Respondent, and the Act was ended. The second Divinity Act then followed, if two distinct Divinity Acts had been arranged for. The disputations seem to have been over between eleven and twelve o'clock, when it was time to proceed to the ceremony of graduation. Accordingly, beginning with the senior Inceptor, and passing on to the rest, the senior Proctor went through the necessary formalities. Each Inceptor, placing his right hand in the right hand of the Father,

pledged his faith respecting his past and his future observation of the statutes, privileges, and approved customs of the University; then, placing his hand on the Book, he swore that he would continue his Regency for two years, and also that he would not commence in any faculty, or resume his lectures, in any other University than Oxford, or acknowledge as a Doctor in his faculty any one graduating in it anywhere else in England, except Cambridge; and, finally, he read from a printed copy a solemn profession of his faith in the Canonical Scriptures and in the Holy Apostolic Church as their lawful interpreter. These ceremonies, applied to each Inceptor, with certain forms with a cap, a ring, &c., and certain words spoken by the Vice-Chancellor, completed the creation of the Doctors in Divinity. II. THE PHILOSOPHICAL ACT AND GRADUATIONS IN ARTS. Of this part of the proceedings, which usually began between twelve and one o'clock, the following is a succinct official account:—"The Proctor, presently after he hath sworn the Inceptors "in Divinity, begins his speech; which ended, the Father in "Philosophy, having his eldest Son on his left hand, beginneth *his* speech, and, at the end thereof, creates his Son by "putting on his cap, &c. Then the Varier or Prævaricator "maketh *his* oration. Then the Son maketh a short speech "and disputeth upon him. Then the Answerer (Respondent) "in Philosophy is called forth, and, *whilst he is reading his "position, the Bedels distribute his verses, &c.* When the "position is ended, the eldest Son and two Masters of Arts "reply upon him. The senior Master of Arts usually makes "a speech before he replieth; but the second Opponent doth "not." By the time the Act was ended, and the Moderator had dismissed the Respondent with a compliment, it was usually between two and three o'clock. The ceremonies of graduation immediately followed. With some alterations in the words of the oaths and the other forms, they resembled those of the graduation of the Doctors. The Inceptors of King's College were graduated first, to the number of about ten or twelve; after which, in order to save time, the Proctor stood up and said, "*Reliqui expectabunt creationem*

in Scholis Philosophicis." ("The rest will wait their creation in the Philosophical Schools.") Accordingly, the remaining two hundred or so adjourned immediately from the church to the public schools, accompanied by the Father, the Proctor, and one of the Bedels; and there they were "knocked off" more rapidly.—III. The LAW ACT and the creation of the Law Doctors followed next, and then the PHYSIC ACT (if there was one) and the creation of the Doctors of Physic. About an hour each was deemed sufficient for these Acts; after which, and a speech from the Proctor, apologising for any omissions and defects, came the closing MUSIC ACT, in the shape of a hymn. By this time it was near five o'clock, and all were well tired.¹

Such, sketched generally, was the order of the proceedings at those annually recurring "Commencements," recollections of which lived afterwards pleasantly in the memories of Cambridge men when much else was forgotten. In order to fill up the sketch, the reader must imagine the variations of the proceedings according to time and circumstance, the bustle and flutter of the gowned assembly, the goings out and comings in during the nine hours of the ceremonies, the gesticulations of the speakers, the applause when a syllogism was well delivered, the bursts of laughter when the Prævaricator made a hit, and, above all, the havoc of food and wine with which the fatigue of the day was assuaged while it lasted and appeased when it was over.

The Commencement of 1628 seems to have been nowise extraordinary, except for the single fact, then hardly noted, that Milton of Christ's had something to do with it. Eleven new Doctors of Divinity were created, two new Doctors of Law, and three of Medicine; and the number of those who graduated M.A. was 216. There were two Divinity Disputations, in one of which the Respondent was Dr. Belton of Queens', in the other Mr. Chase, B.D., of Sidney Sussex

¹ The above account has been derived partly from the Statutes and Graces already referred to, and partly from a contemporary official code of the ceremonies of the University, left in MS. by

John Buck, one of the Esquire Bedels, and printed as Appendix B. to Dean Peacock's "Observations on the Statutes." Buck was Bedel as late as 1665.

College. Belton's theses were these :—"1. *Auctoritas Sacræ Scripturæ non pendet ab Ecclesia*. 2. *Defectus gratiæ non tollit dominium temporale*" ("1. The authority of the Sacred Scriptures does not depend on the Church. 2. Defect of grace does not take away the right of temporal dominion"); Chase's theses were these :—"1. *Secessio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ a Romanâ non est schismatica*; 2. *Fides justificans præsupponit veri nominis poenitentiam*" ("1. The secession of the English from the Roman Church is not schismatic; 2. Justifying faith presupposes true repentance"). It was not, however, for either Belton or Chase, but for the Respondent in the Philosophical Act, that Milton performed the poetic service to which he refers in his letter to Gill. Unfortunately, the authority from which we learn the names of the Theological Respondents and the subjects on which they debated,¹ gives us no similar information respecting the Philosophical Act. Milton's own letter, however, distinctly states that the Respondent on the occasion was one of the Fellows of Christ's College. I conjecture that he was Alsop, or Sandelands, or Fenwicke.

Whoever the Respondent was, we know the subject of the debate. In the preceding year (1627) there had been published by the University press of Oxford a book which still holds its place in libraries as of some speculative merit,—the Rev. Dr. George Hakewill's "*Apologie of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World; or an Examination and Censure of the Common Errour touching Nature's perpetuall and Universal Decay*." Hakewill was Archdeacon of Surrey. He had published several theological treatises before this *Apologie*. The tenor of that work is indicated by the title, and by the text of Scripture placed on the title-page (*Eccl.* vii. 10):—"Say not thou, What is the cause that the former days were better than these? for thou dost not enquire wisely concerning this."

¹ Harl. MS. (one of Baker's) No. 7038. This MS. gives brief annals of the University year by year, usually mentioning, *inter alia*, the names of the Theological Respondents at the Great

Comitia, &c.; but it seldom notices the accompanying Philosophical Acts. On inquiry I found that no records of these are kept among the University archives.

Proceeding from this text, the author combats, in four successive books, the notion so common then with poets and rhetoricians, and even with a certain class of philosophers and divines, that Nature is subject to a law of gradual degeneracy, discernible on a sufficient comparison of the present state of the world with its state in former times.

The work produced a more than ordinary sensation.¹ It was talked of at Cambridge as well as at Oxford. The question which it discussed was well adapted for debate, being, in fact, that question between belief in human progress and belief in no such thing which has lasted almost to our own days. The theologians of the old school found heresy in Hakewill; but the younger and less ponderous spirits seem to have ranged themselves on his side. Little wonder then that the doctrine of his book had been selected as a thesis for the Philosophical Disputation at the Cambridge Commencement of 1628. That *some* form of that doctrine had been selected for the purpose appears from the title and strain of the verses which Milton wrote for the Respondent, and printed copies of which were distributed by the Bedels in St. Mary's during the debate. The verses are Latin Hexameters, entitled "*Naturam non pati senium*," and may be rendered thus:—

THAT NATURE IS NOT LIABLE TO OLD AGE.

AH! how, wearied by endless fallacies, totters and staggers
Man's misdirected mind, and, immersed in deepest of darkness,
Hugs herself close in a midnight worse than Œdipus groped in,
Daring now, as she does, by her own small actions to measure
Deeds of the gods, and laws adamantine eternally graven
Liken to laws of her own, and bind what Time cannot swerve from,
Fate's determined plan, to the paltry hours that are passing.

Is it really so that, seamed with furrowing wrinkles,
Nature's face is to shrivel, and she, the mother of all things,
Barren with age, is to shrink the womb of her potent conceiving?
Must she own herself old, and walk with footsteps uncertain,
Tremulous up to her starry head? Shall Eld, with its foulness,
Ceaseless rust, and hunger and thirst of years in their sequence,
Tell on the steadfast stars; and shall Time, the sateless devourer,

¹ A second edition of it was published in 1630; a third in 1635. Dugald

Stewart, if I remember rightly, praises the book.

Eat up Heaven itself and engorge the Father he sprang from ?
 Ah ! could not near-sighted Jove have armed his towers at their
 building

'Gainst such spite as this, and from all such temporal mischief
 Made them safe from the first, and conferred everlasting endurance ? .
 Hence shall it come that some day, collapsing in horrible thunder,
 Down shall tumble the scaffolded dome, and, meeting the ruin,
 Creak shall the great world's axle, and sheer from his mansions
 Olympic

Fall shall the Ruler, and Pallas, her Gorgon glaring, fall with him,
 Like as on Lemnos Ægean the unwelcome offspring of Juno
 Fell that day he was flung from the sacred celestial ramparts ?
 Thou too, Phoebus, shalt copy thy son's once fatal disaster
 High on thy headlong car, and be hurried in swift-rushing ruin
 Downwards, till Nereus old shall smoke with thy torch's extinction,
 Sounding the hiss of thy fate over all the amazement-struck waters.
 Then too, his roots of rock upturn, shall air-soaring Hæmus
 Burst asunder atop, while, sinking down into hell's depths,
 Those Ceraunian hills shall fright the Stygian Pluto
 Erst which he used in his warfare against his brother-immortals.

No ! For the Father Almighty, far firmer founding the star-vaults,
 Cared for the sum of things, and equipoised with exactness
 Destiny's fatal scales, and, all in order consummate,
 Ruled that whatever exists should hold its tenure for ever.
 Hence does the world's prime wheel roll round in motion diurnal,
 Whirling the ambient heavens in common dizziness with it.
 Never more slow than his wont moves Saturn, and fierce as of yore yet
 Flashes the red light of Mars, the hairy-helmeted planet.
 Always in youth's first freshness glows the unwearying Sun-God ;
 Nor by abrupt inclines does he warm Earth's chilly expanses,
 Bending down his team ; but, for ever genial-beaming,
 Runs his mighty career the same through the signs in succession :
 Equally fair he rises from perfumed India's ether,
 Who on the snowy Olympus gathers the flocks of the welkin,
 Calling them home at morning and driving them late to their pastures,
 Parting different realms by double colours and seasons.
 Ay, and the soft-shining moon alternates duly her crescents,
 Clasping the kindled blue with equal sickles of silver.
 Likewise the elements break not their faith ; and with crash keen as
 ever

Rattle the lightning-shafts on the rocks they shiver in fragments.
 Not o'er the deep, when it blows, is the West-Wind's murmuring
 gentler ;

Ruthlessly still as of old does the North-Wind's churlishness torture
 Scythia's war-hordes, breathing of ice and rolling its mist-wreaths.
 Still as he used, full strength, at the bases of Sicily's headlands
 Batters the sea-king old, and Ocean's trumpeter round him

Roars his hoarse shell; nor less in bulk does the Giant Ægæon
 Rest up-borne on the spines of sunk Balearican monsters.
 Nay, nor to thee, O Earth, is the pith of the age of thy springtide
 Wanting as yet: Narcissus has still his primitive fragrance;
 This bright boy and that other are graceful as ever to look at,
 Thine, O Phœbus, and thine too, O Venus; richlier never
 Down in the caves of the hills held Earth her golden temptation,
 Down in the sea-caves her gems. And so for ages to come yet
 On shall all things march in their well-adjusted procession,
 Till that the final flame shall envelope the sphere of existence,
 Tonguing round the poles and up the copings of heaven,
 One vast funeral fire consuming the frame of the world.

From the close of the letter to Gill it appears that Milton did not mean to return home during the long vacation, but to spend at least a good part of it in hard and recluse study at College. Accordingly, his next letter, dated the 21st of July, is also from Cambridge. It is addressed to Thomas Young at Stowmarket:—

“TO THOMAS YOUNG.

“On looking at your letter, most excellent preceptor, this alone struck me as superfluous, that you excused your slowness in writing; for, though nothing could be more welcome to me than your letters, how could I or ought I to hope that you should have so much leisure from serious and more sacred affairs as to have time always to answer me, especially as that is a matter entirely of kindness, and not at all of duty? That I should suspect that you had forgotten me, however, your so many recent kindnesses to me by no means allow. I do not see, either, how you could dismiss into oblivion one laden with so great benefits by you. Having been invited to your part of the country, as soon as spring is a little advanced, I will gladly come, to enjoy the delights of the season, and not less of your conversation, and will withdraw myself from the din of town for a while to your Stoa of the Iceni [*Stoam Icenorum*, a pun for *Stowmarket* in Suffolk, the Iceni having been the inhabitants of the parts of Roman Britain corresponding to Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, &c.], as to that most celebrated Porch of Zeno or the Tusculan Villa of Cicero, where you, with moderate means but regal spirit, like some Serranus or Curius, placidly reign in your little farm, and, contemning fortune, hold as it were a triumph over riches, ambition, pomp, luxury, and whatever the herd of men admire and are amazed by. But, as you have deprecated the blame of slowness, you will also in turn, I hope, pardon me the fault of haste; for, having put off this letter to the last, I have

preferred writing little, and that in a rather slovenly manner, to not writing at all. Farewell, much to be respected Sir.

*"Cambridge: July 21, 1628."*¹

The University vacation during which Milton's letter to Young was written (July 4—Oct. 10, 1628) was not the least eventful portion of an already eventful year. Since the declaration of the war with France in July 1626 the efforts of Britain in carrying it on had been confined to an occasional attempt to send naval assistance to the city of Rochelle, which, as the chief stronghold of the French Calvinists, Richelieu was then besieging with vigour. In June 1627 Buckingham had set out with a fleet for Rochelle; but the expedition had proved a total failure. Another expedition, in April 1628, under Lord Denbigh, had been equally unsuccessful. To repair these disasters, which had been made grounds for the Duke's impeachment, a third expedition was resolved upon as soon as the King obtained his subsidies from Parliament. The Duke, commanding it in person, was to retrieve his credit with his countrymen,

¹ Epist. Fam. 4.—If the tradition still current in the town of Stowmarket is to be believed, Milton not only did pay the visit to Young which he here promises, but was also a frequent visitor at Young's vicarage during the rest of his incumbency (1628-1655). Tradition has, of course, improved wonderfully on the recorded fact. An old mulberry-tree which stood in 1844, with its trunk much decayed, but its branches in vigorous bearing, "a few yards distant from the oldest part of the vicarage-house, and opposite the windows of an upstairs double room which was formerly the sitting-parlour of the vicar," had been converted by the local imagination into a relic of Milton's visits to his old tutor. No fact in universal biography is better attested than that future great men, wherever they go in their youth, plant mulberry-trees! The late vicar of Stowmarket, Mr. Hollingsworth, who records the tradition, furnishes (*History of Stowmarket*, pp. 187—194) some interesting information respecting Young's doings in the parish. "His attachment to Presbyterianism," says Mr. Hollingsworth, "was so determined that before its supposed rights he

"willingly assisted in sacrificing the peace, order, stability, and well-being of the Throne and Church." This is Mr. Hollingsworth's opinion respecting a portion of Young's career which is still to come. He is more purely historical when he tells us that Young regularly presided at the audit of the annual accounts of the parish, and that a portrait of him had been preserved in the vicarage. "It possesses," he says, "the solemn faded yellowness of a man given to much austere meditation; yet there is sufficient energy in the eye and mouth to show, as he is preaching in Geneva gown and bands, with a little Testament in his hand, that he is a man who could both speak and think with great vigour." The portrait was taken after he and the people of Stowmarket were better acquainted. In 1628 he, his wife Rebecca, and their children, were new to the vicarage.—A photozinocograph of the portrait is prefixed to the late Mr. David Laing's *Biographical Notices of Thomas Young*, printed in 1870. Though much blurred, it represents a rather comely face, of the full and soft type, with abundant hair, parted in the middle and flowing to the shoulders.

and to save the Huguenots of Rochelle at their last extremity.

The intended departure of the Duke from England was heard of at Cambridge with mixed feelings. Since his appointment to the Chancellorship two years before, he had been a friend to the University. He had promised to build them a new library; and they were at this moment depending on his influence in a dispute which had arisen between the University and the London Stationers as to the right of the University Press to the exclusive printing of certain books. In these circumstances the Vice-Chancellor and Senate addressed a letter to him, July 7, in a somewhat melancholy strain. "While we may behold you," writes Bainbrigge as Vice-Chancellor, "while we may lay hold "upon your knees, we little esteem the rage of mortals, "and, being hid in our recesses, may safely employ our "honours in learning. Now your Highness doth prepare a "new warfare,—which God Almighty grant may be glorious "to your name, prosperous to the Christian Religion, happy "to us all,—to what dangers are we exposed! Some will "seek to dry up our river, even that fountain from which "perhaps themselves have drawn their waters; others will "seek to take away again the faculty of printing. Most "illustrious Prince, our goods are but few, our household "little, the circuit of our Athens narrow; yet no riches of "Croesus or of Midas are sought after more vehemently by "the snares of lewd men than this unarmed and naked "poverty of ours."¹ The Duke replied very graciously, July 30, assuring the Vice-Chancellor and Heads that he "has most humbly recommended them to the justice of his "Royal Master," and "to the bosoms of some friends where "they shall meet with mediation and protection, to what "part of the world soever my master or the State's service "shall call me."² He must have had in his mind here Laud more particularly, who in that very month, just after the rising of Parliament, had been promoted from the

¹ The quotation in the text is from a contemporary translation: see Cooper's

Annals, III. 203.

² Cooper's Annals, III. 204.

bishopric of Bath and Wells to that of London, and who was thenceforward to be the second minister about the King after the Duke, and the first and most confidential minister in the Duke's absence. But the Duke himself was not to go very far. He was at Portsmouth, superintending the outfit of the expedition for Rochelle, when Felton's knife removed him from the world at the age of thirty-six, Aug. 23, 1628. Such was the end of a man who, for ten years or more, had been the supreme English minister, and whose personality during that time had been more widely and more floridly dashed over public affairs than that of any other subject. Some faint image of his vast and yet very evanescent magnificence still survives in our histories; but it is necessary to turn over the documents of the period, and to see his name in every page of them, to realize the intensity of varied feeling with which, in the first years of Charles's reign, all Englishmen, from bishop to beggar, thought of "The Duke." A year before he died this had been a popular epigram:—

"Now Rex and Grex are both of one sound,
But Dux doth both Rex and Grex confound;
O Rex, thy Grex doth much complain
That Dux bears Crux and Crux not Dux again.
If Crux of Dux might have her fill,
Then Rex of Grex might have his will;
Three subsidies to five would turn,
And Grex would laugh, which now doth mourn."¹

Felton's assassination of the great Duke became immediately the subject of universal conversation throughout England. The tide of popular sympathy ran strongly in favour of the assassin. Fanatic or not, had he not done a splendid service to his country by ridding her of the one man whose life stood in the way of her prosperity and liberties? The manifestations of this feeling came from all quarters, and in most extraordinary forms. "God bless thee, little David," called out one old woman, as they were bringing Felton through the town of Kingston on Thames, on his way from Portsmouth to the Tower to wait his trial

¹ MS. Letter of Meade's, May 11, 1627.

and doom, the small stature of the hero reminding her of the Hebrew who had brought down Goliath; "Lord comfort thee," and the like, were the exclamations from the crowds in the boats as he passed up the river, till the Tower received him; and the passion for drinking Felton's health spread from London through other towns like an epidemic. Of all this the Government, bent at any rate on ascertaining whether Felton had acted alone or was only the instrument of a conspiracy, could not fail to take uneasy note; and in certain cases they were able to lay hands on specially flagrant examples of the general Felton-worship. The case of greatest notoriety by far was one that came very close to Milton, the person implicated being no other than that friend and late teacher of his, Alexander Gill the younger, to whom he had so recently sent two letters of such elaborate compliment, the second enclosing a copy of his printed Latin verses distributed at the late Cambridge Commencement. The story was an odd one at the time, and deserves to be told with some minuteness.

The blustering, loud-tongued, usher of St. Paul's school, it appears, was in the habit of running down to Oxford as often as his duties at the school under his father would permit. On such occasions Trinity College, and the old College friends whom he had left there as still resident fellows or graduates, naturally saw most of him; and he seems to have taken pleasure, more particularly, in the society of one of them, a certain William Pickering, M.A., whom he used as a butt for his witticisms and practical jokes, and with whom he kept up a scurrilous and sometimes mystifying correspondence from London. It was in the last days of August or the very first of September, just after the assassination of the Duke, that Gill was on one of those visits. On a Monday morning, at all events, he and his friend "Pick," or "Don Pickering," as he called him, were dawdling about Trinity College and the streets adjacent, now in the grove of the College, now in the buttery or cellar there, now in Pickering's rooms, not without suspicion of adjournment once or twice to a tavern outside

for more wine than they had already had within the College. Of "divers others," that joined them and went about with them, or sat with them, for part of the time at least, three are conspicuously mentioned. There was a Mr. Powell of Hart Hall; and there were two additional men of Trinity College itself, one named Craven, and the other no less a person than William Chillingworth, M.A., then six-and-twenty years of age, and admitted to his distinguished fellowship in the college not three months before. Gill, who had been the principal talker all along, and who had become more and more uproarious and reckless as the wine got into his head, astounded them at last. From Felton and the assassination of the Duke he passed to the King himself and his government. "We have a fine wise king: he has wit "enough to be a shopkeeper, to ask *What do you lack?* and "that is all": such is one report of his outburst, corroborated by another, which gives the words thus: "Fitter to stand "in a Cheapside shop, with an apron before him, and say "*What do you lack?* than to govern a kingdom." Then he would have them drink Felton's health, protesting "he "was sorry Felton had deprived him of the honour of doing "that brave act," or asserting, as the words are otherwise given, "that he had oftentimes had a mind to do the same "thing upon the Duke, but for fear of hanging." Worse and worse, "If there was a hell, or a devil in hell, the Duke "was with him," varied in another report into "The Duke "was gone to hell to meet James there." Something was also said of the familiarity either of his late Majesty or his present Majesty with the Duke, shown in the habit of calling him *Steenie*, with an addition to the effect that there was some profound mystery in that affair, "that cannot be "fathomed." The especial scene of this tirade seems to have been the buttery or cellar of the college; but Gill, in his excitement, seems to have favoured his auditors with repetitions of it, the rather because the audience swelled a little as he went on, Chillingworth attaching himself to the group among the latest, or re-attaching himself after he had left it. While some of the auditors sympathized, others

took Gill to task. "He deserves hanging," one of them said, after his speech about the King; and, though some drank Felton's health with him, others refused, Pickering among them, so that Gill, turning round upon him, asked jeeringly, "What? is Pick a Dukist too?" The impression among those who were afterwards interrogated as to Gill's condition at the climax of his outbreak was that "he was not absolutely drunk, for it was early in the morning," but was certainly far from sober.

Interrogation came quickly enough. Gill had returned to London, and was in his place among the boys in St. Paul's school on the afternoon of Friday, September 4, when, to the consternation of the school and of his old father, two pursuivants entered and dragged him out. They had been sent by Bishop Laud's orders; and Gill was taken first to the Bishop's lodgings, which were then in Westminster. After having been questioned there by the Bishop and Attorney-General Heath, he was committed to the Gatehouse in Westminster, "so close prisoner that neither father, mother, nor friend can speak to him." Next day, Sunday, September 6, Laud informed the King himself of the capture and of the reasons for it. "I here present your Majesty," he wrote, "with the examination of one Alexander Gill. I am heartily sorry I must tell your Majesty he is a *divine*, since he is void of all *humanity*. This is but his first examination, and not upon oath. When the information came to me against him, as I could not in duty but take present care of the business, so I thought it was fit to examine him as privately as I might, because the speeches are so foul against religion, allegiance, your Majesty's person, and my dear lord by execrable hands laid in the dust." Enclosed in this letter were the minutes of the examination of Gill before the Bishop, relating to the King the whole story of the escapade at Oxford, Gill's insolent words about the King himself included, as originally received by Laud from private information and as now confirmed substantially by Gill's confession. There was a memorandum also for his

Majesty of the names of the three most important witnesses of the enormity, Chillingworth designated vaguely as "one Mr. Shillingworth." His Majesty had probably never heard of that young Oxonian before, Laud's godson though he was, and one of his clients and correspondents.

The arrest and imprisonment of Gill made a great stir in London, and there was much talk among his friends and acquaintances as to the possible consequences, not only for Gill himself, but also for some of the others concerned, especially Pickering. On the 10th of September, a certain Samuel Fisher, seemingly an Oxonian of Trinity College who chanced then to be in London, wrote to Pickering at Oxford, telling him what had happened to Gill. "Chillingworth is thought to be his accuser," proceeds Fisher in this letter, "and I fear had no other business to London. "One of our house for certain is the man. Chillingworth left me at the turning to Westminster and made speed thither; which makes me believe so." From the sequel of the letter it appears that the information had been first sent from Oxford in a letter, so that the arrival of Chillingworth personally in London on the business had been a subsequent affair. The writer also expresses his own fear and that of others that Pickering may find himself in trouble, and adds, "Sir Morly and Mr. Deodat "are of my mind that Chillingworth is the man." The "Mr. Deodat" here mentioned is, of course, Milton's friend, Charles Diodati, for whom the affair would have a double interest, as affecting not only his and Milton's old teacher, but also the credit of the Oxford College to which he himself belonged and which he had but recently left with the degree of M.A. Nor were the fears for Pickering groundless. There is still extant the letter of Dr. Accepted Frewen, then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, to the Privy Council, dated September 14, in which he informs the Council that he and Mr. Laurence Whittaker, one of the Clerks of the Council, sent down for the purpose, have obeyed the directions of their lordships by searching the chamber, study, and pockets of William Pickering, M.A.,

of Trinity College, and examining him as to his relations with Gill, and that the result, in the shape of "divers libels" and letters, written by Alexander Gill and others, all of "them touching on the late Duke of Buckingham," is herewith sent to their lordships,—the head of Trinity College having been instructed to see that Pickering himself should remain forthcoming. The packet of papers so sent up to the Privy Council included that very letter which Pickering had just received from Fisher, and in which Diodati is mentioned. But it included a great deal more. It included various letters that had been sent by Gill to Pickering in past months, containing rambling remarks about the King, the Duke, Bishops, and other public persons and things, as well as about his own and Pickering's affairs. In one of these, dated as far back as April 28, 1626, Gill, after mentioning that his brother George had "preached last Sunday in Mr. Skinner's church," and that a Jack Woodford, known to him and Pickering, was in doubts as to taking his degree, had proceeded, "The Duke, as they say of him, *morbo comitali laborat*: I would his business were off or on; for "he is like Davus, *perturbat otia*." Besides these letters in Gill's own name, however, there were several anonymous, or semi-anonymous, letters and papers of a still more scurrilous and personal character. Some of these were traced to a William Grinkin, M.A., of Jesus College, Oxford, who seems to have taken pleasure in acting as Gill's accomplice in a mischievous side-correspondence for the purpose of annoying and mystifying Pickering, and to have occasionally copied out communications which really came from Gill. One of these contained a poem on the King, with Gill's name put upon it, of which this was a portion:—

"And now, great God, I humbly pray
That thou wilt take that slime away
That keeps my sovereign's eyes from viewing
The things that will be our undoing.
Then let him hear, good God, the sounds
As well of men as of his hounds:
Give him a taste, and timely too,
Of what his subjects undergo;

Give him a feeling of their woes ;
 And then no doubt his royal nose
 Will quickly smell those rascals' savours
 Whose blacky deeds eclipse his favours.
 Though found and scourged for their offences,
 Heavens bless my king and all his senses !"

Altogether, Gill's original offence taking on a darker hue, if possible, from these discovered papers, there was matter enough for a very serious case in the Star-Chamber. Pickering, indeed, who had meanwhile been brought to London, and who was examined on the 26th of September by Attorney-General Heath, both as to his general connection with Gill and as to the late scene in Trinity College, cleared himself so far. Not only had he refused to drink Felton's health on the late dreadful occasion; but he could plead that "Mr. Chillingworth can witness for him that, before "any questioning of these things, he did warn the said "Gill." It seems to have been thought enough, therefore, to dismiss Pickering with an admonition. Grinkin, though he professed himself heartily ashamed of his part in the affair, could not be dismissed so. He was kept in custody, for trial in the Star-Chamber along with Gill. As the punishment might be very severe, there continued to be nearly as much interest in the suspended case of Gill and Grinkin, prisoners in the Gatehouse, as in that of Felton himself, prisoner in the Tower.¹

Milton's interest in the issue must have been peculiarly keen. It was even possible that his own two recent Latin letters to Gill might have been in Gill's pocket-book when he was arrested by Laud's pursuivants. Meanwhile, though it was the long vacation, Milton does not seem to have left

¹ The narrative in the text is from documents of the given dates, and of July, 1628, in the State Paper Office, either as read there by myself long ago and partly transcribed, or as cited in abstract in the published Calendar of Domestic Papers for 1628-9, but with help from mentions of the case in Meade's correspondence with Stuteville, and with reference to Aubrey's memoir of Chillingworth in his *Lives*. Aubrey there says that Chillingworth was in the habit, in his younger days at

Oxford, of sending Laud "weekly intelligence of what passed in the University," and adds that he had been positively informed by Sir William Davenant, who was very intimate with Chillingworth, that it was Chillingworth, "notwithstanding his great reason," that informed against Gill. Probably Chillingworth, with his political and ecclesiastical notions at the time, felt himself obliged, in the interests of Church and State, to do as he did.

Cambridge. The probability is that he had remained there in that deep literary retirement, all by himself, of which he had advertised Gill in the second of his letters.

ACADEMIC YEAR 1628-9.

MILTON ætat. 20.

Vice-Chancellor, DR. MATTHEW WREN, Master of Peterhouse.

Proctors, RICHARD LOVE of Clare Hall, and MICHAEL HONEYWOOD of Christ's.

MICHAELMAS TERM. October 10, 1628, to December 16, 1628.

LENT TERM January 13, 1628-9, to March 27, 1629.

EASTER TERM . . . April 15, 1629, to July 10, 1629.

At the beginning of this session there was a good deal of bustle among the chiefs of the University in connexion with the installation of the new Chancellor, Lord Holland, who had been elected, at the King's request, to succeed the Duke. The ceremony did not take place at Cambridge, but in London, on the 29th of October.

Parliament, it may be remembered, had been prorogued till the 20th of October. By a farther prorogation, however, the time of reassembling was postponed till the 20th of January following. The postponement was not satisfactory. Although the King and the Parliament had parted in June last in comparatively good humour, various things had occurred in the interval to disturb equanimity. The assassination of the Duke had provoked a feeling of revenge in the Court, which took the shape of renewed antagonism to the Commons. In spite of the assent to the Petition of Right, the King had clung to his privilege of raising "tonnage and poundage" by his own authority; and several merchants who had resisted the claim had suffered seizure of their goods or had been imprisoned. Moreover, since the rising of Parliament, the royal favour had been extended in a very marked way to some of the men whom Parliament had stigmatized and censured. Dr. Mainwaring,

the King's chaplain, who had been prosecuted and fined for sermons in defence of arbitrary power, had received remission of his fine, and had been presented by the Crown to the rich living of Stamford-Rivers in Essex, the insult to the Parliament having been rendered more glaring by the promotion of the former holder of that living, Dr. Richard Montague, to the Bishopric of Chichester, notwithstanding that since 1626 he also had been under Parliamentary censure. Laud himself, who, next to Buckingham, had been the man most under the ban of the Commons, and whose recent promotion to the Bishopric of London had been regarded as another omen of evil, was now almost ostensibly the Vizier in Buckingham's place. All these things rankled in the public heart, and it was clear that, when Parliament reassembled, there would be a storm.

It was in November 1628, while the storm was gathering, that the Star-Chamber decision respecting Gill and Grinkin was made public. Alexander Gill, "Bachelor of Divinity, and Usher in St. Paul's School," having been brought before the Star-Chamber on Friday the 6th of that month, and his words concerning the assassination of the Duke having been read in open Court, but not those concerning his Majesty, "his censure was to be degraded both from his ministry "and degrees taken in the University, to lose one ear at "London and the other at Oxford, and to be fined £2000." The sentence on Grinkin was similar. This was terrible news to reach Milton at Cambridge; and it must have been a great relief when, later in the course of the same month, the intelligence came:—"Gill and Grinkin are degraded; "but, for their fines and corporal punishment, there is obtained a mitigation of the first and a full remission of the "latter, upon old Mr. Gill the father's petition to his Majesty, "which my Lord of London seconded, for his coat's sake and "love to the father." On the 29th of the same month, when Felton was hanged at Tyburn, the excitement over the Duke's assassination and the incidents connected with it had fairly run its course. Gill and Grinkin, however, were not yet set at large. They remained prisoners for about two

years, or till November 1630, old Mr. Gill contriving all that while to carry on St. Paul's school with the assistance of some substitute in the ushership for his unfortunate and vexatious son.¹

Parliament met, according to prorogation, on the 20th of January, 1628-9. Immediately they "fell upon their grievances." These grievances were of two kinds. There was the "tonnage and poundage" question, as part of the general question of the right of the Crown to raise money without consent of Parliament; and there was the great question of the state of religion, in connexion with the alleged spread of Arminian and Popish doctrines, and with the promotions of men holding these doctrines to high places in the Church. The first place was given to the religious question. In order thoroughly to consider this great subject, the House of Commons resolved itself into a Committee of Religion. "It was in this Committee of Religion, on "the 11th day of February, 1628-9," says Mr. Carlyle, "that "Mr. Cromwell, member for Huntingdon" [then in his "thirtieth year] "stood up and made his first speech, a "fragment of which has found its way into history, and is "now known to all mankind. He said: 'He had heard by "'relation from one Dr. Beard (his old schoolmaster at Huntingdon) that Dr. Alabaster' [prebendary of St. Paul's and "rector of a parish in Herts] 'had preached flat Popery at "'Paul's Cross; and that the Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Neile) "'had commanded him, as his Diocesan, he should preach "'nothing to the contrary. Mainwaring, so justly censured "'in this House for his sermons, was by the same Bishop's "'means preferred to a rich living. If these are the steps to "'Church-preferment, what are we to expect?'" Cromwell's facts on this occasion were but two out of many which were

¹ Letters of Meade to Stuteville of dates Nov. 15 and Nov. 22, 1628, with entries in Calendar of Domestic State Papers under dates Oct. 18 and Nov. 30, 1630.—Of old Mr. Gill's anxiety about his son while his fate was in suspense there is touching proof in the preserved minute, as it had been sent by Laud to the King, of the first

examination and confession of the younger Gill the day after his arrest (ante, p. 209). Besides the attesting signatures of Laud, Heath, and Finch, and the younger Gill's own signature in subscription to his confession, there is a second signature, "Alex. Gil," evidently that of the father, permitted to be present with a heavy heart.

brought under the attention of the House. The Committee of Religion were proceeding to great lengths with their inquisitions, when, there being no other means of checking them, Parliament was dissolved. The circumstances of this dissolution are sufficiently memorable :—A Remonstrance to the King had been drawn up in a bolder strain than any that had preceded ; Speaker Finch had refused to put this Remonstrance to the vote ; twice the House had adjourned ; and, at last, on the 2d of March, the Speaker still refusing to put the question, he was held down by main force in his chair by Denzil Holles and other members, and, the doors having been locked, three resolutions were hastily passed by acclamation, to the effect that whosoever should encourage Popery or Arminianism, or should advise the levying of tonnage and poundage by the King on his own authority, or should pay the same so levied, should be accounted an enemy to the kingdom and state of England. The result was decisive. Indictments in Star Chamber were ordered against Sir John Eliot, Denzil Holles, John Selden, Benjamin Valentine, William Longe, William Coriton, William Strode, Sir Miles Hobart, and Sir Peter Hayman, as the leaders in the recent proceedings ; they were committed to the Tower ; and on the 10th of March the Parliament was dissolved with words of unusual contumely. It was the last Parliament in England for more than eleven years. It was to be penal even to speak of the assembling of another.

Coincident in time with this crisis were two events of considerable passing interest. One was the birth of the King's first child, who survived only long enough to be baptized by the name of Charles James (March 18, 1628-9) ; and the other was the proclamation of a peace between England and France, ending the foolishly begun and foolishly conducted war between the two countries (May 29, 1629).

While the country at large was thus occupied, Milton, sharing more or less in the interest universally excited, was busy in a matter of some private importance. The Lent

term of the current academic year was the twelfth term of his residence in his College. It was, therefore, the term in which his *quadriennium* of undergraduateship closed, and in which he was ready for his B.A. degree. Accordingly, having, as we must suppose, regularly performed all the previous exercises required by his College and the University, he was one of those who, in the beginning of this term, were admitted *ad respondendum questioni*, and who, having in the course of the same term duly gone through the remaining formalities, were pronounced by the Proctor, on the 26th of March, 1629, to be full Bachelors of Arts, and were allowed, according to the academic reckoning, to date their admission into that degree from January 1628-9.

The most important formality connected with the graduation was the subscription of the names of the graduates by their own hands in the University books, in the presence of the Registrar, under the three Articles of Religion enjoined, as the indispensable test of sound English faith, by the 36th of the Ecclesiastical Canons of 1603-4. Here is the complete formula of subscription :—

“That the King’s Majesty, under God, is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other his Highness’s dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within his Majesty’s said realms, dominions, and countries.

“That the Book of Common Prayer, and of Ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons containeth in it nothing contrary to the Word of God, and that it may lawfully so be used.

“That we allow the Book of Articles of Religion agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both provinces and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden in London in the year of our Lord 1562, and acknowledge all and every the Articles therein contained, being in number Nine-and-Thirty, besides the Ratification, to be agreeable to the Word of God.

“We whose names are here underwritten do willingly and *ex animo* subscribe to the three Articles above-mentioned and to all things in them contained.”¹

¹ It was only since 1623 that subscription to the three Articles was required at the graduation of Bachelors or Masters of Arts. Before that time

the test had been required only in Divinity graduations and the like; but King James had insisted on the extension.

The total number of students admitted at Cambridge in the year 1628-9, out of all the sixteen Colleges, to the degree of B.A. by the subscription of the above formula, was 259. Of these 30 were of Christ's College.¹ We give their names :—

Edward Dogge.
 Nicolas Cudworth.
 Peter Pury.
 Richard Garthe.
 Samuel Viccars.
 Roger Rutley.
 William Wildman.
 Daniel Proctor.
 Thomas Carr.
 Robert Seppens.
 Edmund Barwell.
 George Sleigh.
 Thomas Baldwin.
 Richard Buckenham.
 John Welbey.

John Milton.
 Philip Smith.
 Samuel Clethoro.
 John Boutflower.
 Philip Bennett.
 John Hieron.
 William Jackson.
 John Harvey.
 William Finch.
 Samuel Boulton.
 Robert Cooper.
 William Dun.
 John Browne.
 Robert Pory.
 Thomas Chote.²

Our first trace of Milton after he had taken his B.A. degree is in a Latin poem, "*In Adventum Veris*" ("On the Approach of Spring"), printed as the fifth of his Elegies.

¹ Of the total 259, however, thirty-three graduated irregularly, *i.e.* not in the Lent Term, but at other times of the year. Such graduations were dated collectively not from January, but from the "Feast of the Baptist." Only two of the thirty graduations from Christ's were of this kind.

² The list is from Add. MS. Brit. Mns. 5885 (one of Cole's MSS.), containing a catalogue year by year, of those who graduated B.A. at Cambridge from 1500 to 1735. By the courtesy of Mr. Romilly, late Registrar of the University, I was enabled to compare the list with that in the graduation-book, and to correct some mistakes. The arrangement of the names in the graduation-book is somewhat different from what it is in the MS., but there also Milton's name comes almost exactly in the middle. It is written in Latin, "Joannes Milton," in a very neat clear hand. Of the other signatures some are in Latin and some in English. The order in which the names occur has no academic significance. The custom of graduating with honours, as distinct from ordinary graduation, had not then been introduced at the University; and, whatever superiority some students

might have acquired during the graduation-exercises, no record of it was kept as now in the Registers. It is more important to observe that of Milton's nine-and-twenty College-fellows mentioned in the list as having graduated in the same year with him (twenty-seven of whom were admitted along with him at the regular time in January 1628-9), *six*—to wit, Roger Rutley, Thomas Baldwin, Philip Smith, William Jackson, Robert Pory, and Thomas Chote—are already known to us as having been admitted into Christ's College contemporaneously with Milton, in February or March 1624-5. The majority of the others, we have also the means of knowing, dated their *matriculation* in the University from the same term as Milton, — *i.e.* the Easter term of 1625. The inference from these facts is that any punishment to which Milton may have been subjected during his residence at the University *cannot have involved the loss of even one term*. He took his B.A. degree in the fourth Lent term following the date of his matriculation, precisely at the time when his coevals at Christ's did, his old schoolfellow Pory included.

Its tenor and the appended date, "*Anno ætatis* 20," prove it to have been composed in April 1629; but whether at Cambridge or in London there is nothing to show. The following, in translation, is the opening of the poem:—

"Time, revolving in his ceaseless round, now again calls forth, by the warmth of Spring, the fresh Zephyrs; and the reinvigorated Earth puts on a short youth; and the ground, released from frost, grows sweetly green. Am I mistaken; or does strength also return to our verses, and is my genius with me by the gift of Spring? It is with me by the gift of Spring, and by this means (who would think it?) is reinforced, and already is demanding for itself some exercise. Castalia and the cleft hill flit before my eyes, and my nightly dreams bring Pirene to my vision. My breast burns, stirred by secret commotion, and the sacred rage and tumult of sound possess me inwardly. Apollo himself comes! I see his locks enwreathed with Thessalian laurel; Apollo himself comes!"

After this prelude, the poet goes on to celebrate the effects of Spring's return on the pulses of universal nature, from the hard frame of the Earth outwards and upwards to the thoughts of its animated creatures, and even of the frolicsome fauns as they patter in the woods after the coy evading nymphs. Altogether the poem is a pleasant indication that, in becoming a Bachelor of Arts, Milton had not ceased to be a Bachelor of Nature.

Milton can hardly have failed to be present at the Commencement of this year on the 7th of July. There were but three creations of Doctors of Divinity, and three of Doctors of Laws; but the number of those admitted to the M.A. degree was 226. Among the incorporations in the M.A. degree at the same Commencement the most interesting to Milton must have been that of his friend Charles Diodati. As he had graduated M.A. in his own University of Oxford only in the previous July, his incorporation in the sister University was unusually early. The opportunity of being with Milton for a few days may have been an inducement.¹

¹ The fact of Diodati's incorporation at Cambridge at this date I derive from an alphabetical list of Incorporations at Cambridge, transcribed by

Cole (Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 5884). The date of his graduation as M.A. at Oxford was July 8, 1628 (Wood MS. Ashm. Mus. 8507).

There was virtually a second Commencement in this year, occasioned by a visit paid to the University during the long vacation by the Chancellor, Lord Holland, in company with M. de Chateauneuf, the French Ambassador Extraordinary. Among those admitted to the honorary degree of M.A. on that occasion was no less celebrated a person than Peter Paul Rubens, the painter, then fifty-two years of age, and residing in England. He had doubtless come in the train of the Ambassador, the incidents of whose visit are described in a letter from Meade to Stuteville, dated Sept. 26 :—

“The French Ambassador came hither on Wednesday, about 3 o’clock, and our Chancellor with him ; was lodged at Trinity College. That night came also my Lord of Warwick with very many horse, &c. On Thursday morning they had an Act at the schools well performed ; went thence to our Regent House to be incorporated, when the Orator entertained him with a speech ; then dined at Trinity College, where were great provisions sent in before by our Chancellor, and a gentleman of his also with them to order that part of the entertainment. At 3 o’clock they went to the Comedy, which was ‘*Fraus Honesta*,’ acted some seven years since. The actors now were not all so perfect as might have been wished, yet came off handsomely ; the music was not so well supplied as heretofore, said those who have skill that way. On Friday morning they visited many of the Colleges, where they were entertained with speeches and banquets,—and, amongst the rest, at ours and Emanuel. From thence they went to Peterhouse, the Vice-Chancellor’s College, where was also a banquet, and where the Orator made the farewell speech. All this was so early done that they went home to London that night.”

The Orator who figured so much on this occasion was not the poet Herbert, who had vacated that office in 1627, but his successor, the Scotchman Creighton. In the Act or public disputation, which, according to custom, formed so great a part of the entertainment, the theses were these :— (1.) “*Productio animæ rationalis est nova creatio ;*” (2.) “*Origo fontium est a mari ;*” (3.) “*Regimen monarchicum hæreditarium præstat electivo.*” (1. “The production of a rational soul is a new creation ;” 2. “Streams have their origin from the sea ;” 3. “Hereditary monarchical government is better than elective.”) The Proctor, Mr. Love, moderated ; the Respondent was a Mr. Wright of Emanuel, and his three Opponents were Hall of Trinity, Booth of

Corpus Christi, and Green of Magdalen.¹ But, however well the Disputation in the morning came off, it was, of course, poor amusement as compared with the Comedy in the afternoon.

The custom of performing plays at public schools and the Universities was at its height in the great dramatic age of James I. and Charles I. At the Universities, whenever there was a visit from Royalty or from some other great personage, the entertainment always included dramatic performances, preceding or following banquets. The plays, though sometimes in English, were more frequently in Latin, and were either taken from a small stock already on hand or prepared for the occasion. Of these University-plays, as distinct from the plays of the ordinary professional dramatists, one or two had obtained considerable reputation.² At Cambridge, among four plays acted on four successive nights during the first visit of King James to the University in March 1614-15, one had been so decidedly successful that all England heard of it. This was the celebrated Latin comedy of *Ignoramus*, written by George Ruggle, M.A., then one of the Fellows of Clare Hall. Notwithstanding the extreme length of the play, which occupied six hours in the acting, the King was so pleased with it that he made a second visit to Cambridge to see it again. Ruggle, who lived till 1622, never published the play; but copies of it had been taken, and from one of these it was to be given to the press in 1630.

The success of Ruggle's *Ignoramus* had induced other University men to try their hands in Latin comedies. Among these, Philip Stubbe, Fellow of Trinity College, produced a play under the title of "*Fraus Honesta*" ("Honest Fraud"), which was acted at that College in the year 1616. This is the play mentioned by Meade as having been revived for the entertainment of Lord Holland and the French Ambassador. It was published in London, in a small duodecimo,

¹ From Harl. MS. 7038. This MS. gives only the topics of debate; but in the State Paper Office I have seen a copy of the Proctor's speech in opening

the Act, and two copies of the speech of the University Orator, Creighton.

² See article on University Plays, Retrospective Review, vol. XII.

in 1632, and we are able, therefore, to give some account of it. The *dramatis personæ* were as follows :—

Cleomachus, otherwise Charilaus, the father of Callidamus.

Diodorus, otherwise Theodosia in man's clothes, the wife of Charilaus.

Callidamus, a young man, the lover of Callanthia.

Ergasilus, a waggish servant of Callidamus.

Perillus, otherwise Floretta in man's clothes, the true daughter of Onobarus and Nitella.

Chrysophilus, an old miser.

Cuculus, the son of Chrysophilus.

Onobarus, an uxorious person.

Nitella, a shrewish wife.

Floretta, the supposed daughter of Onobarus, in reality the daughter of Fabricius.

Misogamus, a dealer in pithy maxims.

Canidia Sanctimonialis, otherwise Lupina, wife of Chrysophilus.

Three Watchmen.

Six boys.

Choruses of Singers.

Persons mentioned in the play :—Alphonsius and Albertus, Dukes of Florence, and Fabricius, father of Callanthia.

Out of these characters, and with Florence as the scene, a story is constructed answering to the title. Songs are interspersed; and there is a series of duets, ending in a chorus, at the close. By way of specimen of the dialogue, take the opening of the first scene, where Cleomachus makes his appearance, after a long absence, in one of the streets of Florence.

“*Cleo.* Auspicatò tandem ædes has reviso quondam mihi notas optime;

At, Dii boni, quàm ab his annis quindecim mutata jam videntur omnia!

Florentia non est Florentia; verùm omnia mortalium assolent. Hic ædes sunt Chrysophili, quocum ego abiens Callidamum reliqui filium.

O Dii Penates! hunc si mihi jam vivum servâstis reduci, Non me tot belli malis hucusque etiam superesse pœnitet.

Et certe, si bene memini, hic ipse est Chrysophilus quem exeuntem video.”

A sample of the broader humour of the piece is the opening of Act V. Scene 5, where Cuculus comes on the stage drunk, with six boys hallooing after him, and Ergasilus and Floretta following :—

“*Pueri.* Heigh, Cucule; whup, Cucule!

Cuc. Apagite, nequam pueri!

Ubi es, Floretta mea? quo fugis, scelerata?

- 1 *Puer*. Ego te ad Florettam
 Ducam modò.
 2 *Puer*. Ego modo potiùs.
 3 *Puer*. Hàc eas !
 4 *Puer*. Hàc, inquam !”

But the rubbish will do as well in English :—

- “ *Boys*. Heigh, Cuculus ; whup, Cuculus !
Cuc. Be off, you rascally boys !
 Where art thou, my Floretta ? whither dost flee, traitress ?
 1st *Boy*. I will lead you to Floretta presently.
 2d *Boy*. I'll do it better.
 3d *Boy*. This way.
 4th *Boy*. No ! this way, say I.
 5th *Boy*. That way, that way.
 6th *Boy*. No, go back.
Cuc. Let go, I say, let go. Faith, Heaven's lamps, the stars, are
 nearly out. Whup, whup, whuch ? You, my man in the moon
 up there, lend me your lantern, that I may seek for my Floretta.
 1st *Boy*. Speak up, speak up : Endymion, whom you are calling, is
 asleep.
Cuc. O that nose !
 2d *Boy*. By Jupiter, you have an excellent voice ; but call louder.
Cuc. O those ears !
All the Boys. Capital, capital !
Cuc. If I catch you, villains—
All. Here, I say, Cuculus.
 3d *Boy*. Here, you ass.
 4th *Boy*. After him now. (*Cuculus clasps a post.*)
Cuc. I'll hold you, rogue !
All. Hold him, hold him tight : good-bye, good-bye !
Ergas. O Cuculus, are you embracing another, and despising your
 Floretta ?
Cuc. Floretta ? Are you here, my dear ? How hugely I love you !
 I pray you now, *eamus cubitum*,” &c.

Such was the trash acted for the entertainment of the Earl of Holland, the French Ambassador, and the rest of the distinguished visitors at Cambridge, the painter Rubens among them, in September 1629. In all probability the actors were students of Trinity College, with one or two Masters of Arts from other colleges, and with Stubbe himself as manager. The place of performance was the great hall of Trinity, which, on such occasions, could be fitted up to accommodate 2,000 persons. The noble visitors and their ladies had, of course, the best seats near the stage or upon it ; the next best places were reserved for the Doctors and other dons ; and the body of the hall was filled with the

mass of the students, the bachelors of arts and undergraduates huddled together at the far end, where, despite the proctors, they whooped, whistled, threw pellets at each other, and even sent up now and then a whiff of tobacco-smoke. It was *they* that decided the fate of a play. If they liked it, they cheered and clapped; if they disliked it, they hissed without mercy. From Meade's account we infer that Stubbe's play was on the whole successful, but that there was some hissing, especially at the singing parts.

Among those who hissed, we can aver with some certainty, was Milton of Christ's. From the specimens we have given of the play this will not seem improbable; but there is something like proof in a pamphlet published by him in 1642 in answer to an anonymous tract which had appeared in confutation of one of his previous writings. The author of the anonymous tract (whom Milton supposed to be a prelate) had upbraided him with the fact that he, a Puritan, had made allusions in his writings to theatres and other worse places, showing that he was more familiar with them than beseemed his professions. After discussing the "worse places," and showing how any such acquaintance with them as he had exhibited might have been very innocently acquired, if only by reading dramas written by English clergymen, Milton refers to his supposed familiarity with playhouses and their furniture. "But, since there is such "necessity," he says, "to the hearsay of a tire, a periwig, or "a vizard, that plays must have been seen, what difficulty "was there in that, when, in the Colleges, so many of the "young divines, and those of next aptitude to Divinity, have "been seen so oft upon the stage, writhing and unboning "their clergy limbs to all the antic and dishonest gestures of "Trinculoes, buffoons, and bawds, prostituting the shame of "that Ministry which either they had or were nigh having to "the eyes of courtiers and court-ladies, with their grooms "and mademoiselles? There, while they acted and overacted, "among other young scholars, I was a spectator: they thought "themselves gallant men, and I thought them fools; they

“made sport, and I laughed; they mispronounced, and I “misliked; and, to make up the Atticism, they were out, and “I hissed.”¹ As is hinted in this passage, Milton had more opportunities than the present of seeing plays acted while he was at Cambridge. Except on one other occasion, however, to which we shall have to refer, the present was the only very notable performance of a play in the University in his time before courtly visitors; and the allusions in the passage seem to show that, if he had the performance of any one University play more in his mind than another, it was that of Stubbe’s *Fraus Honesta* before the French Ambassador in the first year of his Bachelorship. We have not now to consider particularly the question of Milton’s opinion concerning theatre-going in general. We have seen, however, that he did now and then, when in London, go to the regular theatres, though, to give his sarcasm more force in the foregoing passage, he avoids mentioning that fact; nor does the state of his mind, while he was at the University, seem to have been such as could lead him to refrain from seeing a comedy in Trinity, when there was one to be seen.

Among the Colleges which Lord Holland and the Ambassador visited on the day after the play, and at each of which they had “speeches and banquets,” one, as Meade informs us, was Christ’s. There was necessarily, according to the usual arrangements in such cases, a set Latin oration by one of the students. Probably it was according to custom to choose one of the youngest students in the College. At all events, the honour fell to Siddall’s pupil, young Jack Cleveland, who had then just finished his first year at the College, and was not over sixteen. The brief speech which the sprightly lad did deliver may be found among his works, as subsequently published.² Such is the splendour of the two august presences then in Christ’s College, he says, that, if one of the sun-worshipping Persians were there to look,

¹ Apology for Smectymnuus: Works, III. 267-8.

² “*Oratio habita ad Legatum quen-*
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dam Gallicum, et Hollandiæ Comitem,
tunc temporis Academiæ Cancellarium.”
Cleveland’s Works: Edit. 1677, p. 108.

he would think there were two suns in the heaven, and would divide his sacrifice! A few more such compliments complete the speech, the sense of which is poor enough, and the Latin none of the most classical. Milton, had the task been appointed to him, would have performed it far better.

ACADEMIC YEAR 1629-30.

MILTON ætat. 21.

Vice-Chancellor, HENRY BUTTS, D.D., Master of Benet or Corpus Christi College (in which office he had succeeded Dr. Walsall in 1626).

Proctors, THOMAS GOADE of Queen's College, and WILLIAM ROBERTS of Corpus Christi, who, dying in office, was succeeded by Robert King of Trinity Hall.

MICHAELMAS TERM . October 10, 1629, to December 16, 1629.

LENT TERM January 13, 1629-30, to March 19, 1629-30.

EASTER TERM April 7, 1630, to July 9, 1630.

Of the Michaelmas term of this year we have nothing to record. Milton seems to have duly fulfilled it, and then to have gone back to spend the Christmas vacation in town. Thence, some day after Christmas-day, he addressed another Latin Elegy to his friend Diodati. It is the Elegy which stands sixth in the printed series, and it is there headed as follows:—"To CHARLES DIODATI, MAKING A STAY IN THE
"COUNTRY: who, having written to the author on the 13th
"of December, and asked him to excuse his verses, if they
"were less good than usual, on the ground that, in the
"midst of the festivities with which he had been received
"by his friends, he was unable to give a sufficiently prosperous attention to the Muses, had the following reply." From this heading it is to be inferred that Diodati, after his incorporation at Cambridge in the preceding July, had again, before the end of the year, returned to some part of the country to which he was accustomed, whether in Cheshire or elsewhere, and had written a metrical epistle thence to Milton, telling him of his occupations and pleasures. An abstract of Milton's reply will suffice, with only parts trans-

lated fully, and one passage of peculiar importance thrown in rhythmically:—

You seem to be enjoying yourself rarely. How well you describe the feasts, and the merry December and preparations for Christmas, and the cups of French wine round the gay hearth! Why do you complain that poesy is absent from these festivities? Festivity and poetry are surely not incompatible. Song loves Bacchus, and Bacchus loves song. All antiquity and all mythology prove that wine and poetry go well together. The verses which Ovid sent home from his Gothic place of banishment were bad only because he had there no dainties and no wine. So also with Anaereon and Horace. Why should it be different with you? But, indeed, one sees the triple influence of Bacchus, Apollo, and Ceres in the verses you have sent me. And, then, have you not music,—the harp lightly touched by nimble hands, and the lute giving time to the fair ones as they dance in the old tapestried room? Believe me, where the ivory keys leap, and the accompanying dance goes round the perfumed hall, there will the Song-God be. But let me not go too far. Light Elegy is the care of many gods, and calls any one of them by turns to her assistance,—Bacchus, Erato, Ceres, Venus, and little Cupid besides. To poets of this order, therefore, conviviality is allowable; and they may often indulge in draughts of good old wine.

Ay, but whoso will tell of wars and the world at its grandest,
 Heroes of pious worth, demigod leaders of men,
 Singing now of the holy decrees of the great gods above us,
 Now of the realms deep down, guarded by bark of the dog.
 Sparely let such an one still, in the way of the Samian master,
 Live, and let homely herbs furnish his simple repast;
 Near him, in beechen bowl, be only the crystal-clear water;
 Sober drafts let him drink fetched from the innocent spring;
 Added to this be a youth of conduct chaste and reproachless,
 Morals rigidly strict, hands without sign of a stain:
 All as when thou, white-robed, and lustrous with waters of cleansing,
 Risest, augur, erect, facing the frown of the gods.
 All in this fashion, they tell us, after the loss of his eyesight,
 Sage Tiresias lived; Theban Linus the same;
 Calchas, the fugitive seer from the doom of his household; and aged
 Orpheus when all the beasts, lone in their eaves, had been tamed;
 Thus too, scanty of diet and drinking but water, did Homer
 Carry his Grecian man safe through the laboursome straits,
 Safe through the palace of Circe and all its monstrous bewitchments,
 Safe where siren-songs lure in the low-lying bays,
 Safe through the under-darkness, where by a bloody libation
 Thrall'd he is said to have held flocks of the shadowy ghosts:

For that the poet is dear to the gods and the priest of their service,
Heart and mouth alike breathing the indwelling Jove.

And now, if you will know what I am myself doing, or indeed think it of consequence to know that I am doing anything, here is the fact:—We are engaged in singing the heavenly birth of the King of Peace, and the happy age promised by the holy books, and the infant cries and cradling in a manger under a poor roof of that God who rules, with his Father, the kingdom of Heaven, and the sky with the new-sprung star in it, and the ethereal choirs of hymning angels, and the gods of the heathen suddenly flying to their endangered fanes. This is the gift which we have presented to Christ's natal day. On that very morning, at daybreak, it was first conceived. The verses, which are composed in the vernacular, await you in close keeping: you shall be my model critic to whom to recite them.

The English Poem here described by Milton so circumstantially as having been his occupation on and just after Christmas Day 1629 is his *Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity*. The Ode, now so classic, and which Hallam pronounced to be perhaps the most beautiful in the English language, accords exactly with the description of it sent to Diodati. The poet represents himself as waking before the dawn on Christmas morning, and thinking of the great memories associated with that month and day. Then the thought strikes him:—

Say, heavenly Muse, shall not thy sacred vein
Afford a present to the infant God?
Hast thou no verse, no hymn, or solemn strain,
To welcome Him to this his new abode,
Now while the heaven, by the sun's team untrod,
Hath took no print of the approaching light,
And all the spangled host keep watch in squadrons bright?

See how from far upon the eastern road
The star-led wizards haste with odours sweet!
O run; prevent them with thy humble ode,
And lay it lowly at his blessed feet:
Have thou the honour first thy Lord to greet,
And join thy voice unto the angel quire,
From out his secret altar touched with hallowed fire.

Accordingly, at this point, the form of the stanza is changed, and "*The Hymn*" begins:—

It was the winter wild
While the heaven-born child

All meanly wrapt in the rude manger lies ;
 Nature, in awe to Him,
 Had doffed her gaudy trim,
 With her great Master so to sympathise.
 It was no season then for her
 To wanton with the Sun, her lusty paramour.

Only with speeches fair
 She wooes the gentle air
 To hide her guilty front with innocent snow,
 And on her naked shame,
 Pollute with sinful blame,
 The saintly veil of maiden white to throw,
 Confounded that her Master's eyes
 Should look so near upon her foul deformities.

But He, her fears to cease,
 Sent down the meek-eyed Peace.

She, crowned with olive green, came softly sliding
 Down through the turning sphere,
 His ready harbinger,
 With turtle wing the amorous clouds dividing ;
 And, waving wide her myrtle wand,
 She strikes a universal peace through sea and land.

Then, after farther description of Nature waiting, and of the shepherds feeding their flocks, on that Syrian night and morning, the poet imagines the heathen gods amazed and confounded by the great event. Apollo's oracles are dumb ; the Nymphs and Genii forsake their haunts ; Peor and Baalim and mooned Ashtaroth feel that their reign is over ; nor is Egyptian Osiris at ease.

He feels from Juda's land
 The dreaded Infant's hand ;
 The rays of Bethlehem blind his dusky eyne ;
 Nor all the gods beside
 Longer dare abide,
 Not Typhon huge ending in snaky twine :
 Our Babe, to show his godhead true,
 Can in his swaddling bands control the damnèd crew.

So, when the sun, in bed
 Curtained with cloudy red,
 Pillows his chin upon an orient wave,
 The flocking shadows pale
 Troop to the infernal jail,
 Each fettered ghost slips to his several grave,

And the yellow-skirted fays
Fly after the night-steeds, leaving their moon-loved maze.

It has been supposed that this Ode was written as a College exercise for the Christmas season. There seems to be no good reason for that opinion, but rather that it was a voluntary composition, suddenly conceived by Milton and finished for his own pleasure. This is the more likely because, not long afterwards, he attempted a kind of continuation or companion piece. The fragment now printed among his poems under the title of *The Passion* may be regarded as the beginning of an anniversary ode intended for the Easter of 1630 (March 30), by way of sequel to the Ode on the Nativity written for the preceding Christmas-day. It links itself to that ode, in fact, both by similarity of stanza and by positive reference in the expression. Thus :—

Erewhile of music and ethereal mirth
Wherewith the stage of Air and Earth did ring,
And joyous news of heavenly Infant's birth,
My muse with Angels did divide to sing ;
But headlong joy is ever on the wing,
In wintry solstice like the shortened light
Soon swallowed up in dark and long outliving night.

For now to sorrow must I tune my song,
And set my harp to notes of saddest woe,
Which on our dearest Lord did seize ere long,
Dangers, and snares, and wrongs, and worse than so,
Which he for us did freely undergo :
Most perfect hero, tried in heaviest plight
Of labours huge and hard, too hard for human wight.

The author had projected a longish poem, the theme not to include the whole life of Christ on earth, but to be confined to the latest scenes of the agony and death at Jerusalem. He stopped short, however, at the eighth stanza ; after which, when the piece was published in 1645, the following note was inserted :—"This subject the author, finding to be "above the years he had when he wrote it, and nothing "satisfied with what was begun, left it unfinished." The

judgment was correct. No one can read the fragment called *The Passion* without feeling its inferiority to the *Ode on the Nativity*.

Before the later of those two pieces was written the Lent Term of the academic year had passed to a close. Of academic incidents of that term the only one of much importance had been a royal injunction addressed on the 4th of March to the authorities of the University, reflecting severely on some laxities of discipline which had been reported to the King. The chief matter of complaint was that of late years many students, forgetful of "their own birth and quality," had made contracts of marriage "with women of mean estate and of no good fame" in the town of Cambridge, greatly to the discontent of their parents and friends, and to the discredit of the University. To prevent such occurrences in future, the authorities were enjoined to be more strict in their supervision of the students. Should any innkeeper, victualler, or other inhabitant of the town, have a daughter or other girl about his house of too seductive manners, they were forthwith to order her out of town; and, should the family resist, they were to resort to imprisonment, and to delegation, if necessary, before the Privy Council.

If students were sometimes inveigled into marriages below their rank, the case was sometimes the contrary, and very idle students made very good matches. The reader may remember Meade's pupil, young Higham, the good-for-nothing fellow who falsified the bills which he sent home to his father, and of whom Meade got rid therefore as soon as possible. That was two years ago, and since then Meade had heard little of Higham, and was still out of the money due for his tuition. Early in March 1629-30, however, Meade hears to his surprise that the lucky scapegrace has married a young lady of fortune, a relative of Stuteville's, and is honeymooning with her in great style somewhere in the neighbourhood of Cambridge.

"*March 6.* I am now certainly informed that it is my pupil that married your kinswoman, and that they were married about Candlemas last. The country supposes he hath gotten a rich match. I hope therefore I shall not long stay for the debt due unto me since he was under my tuition. I have patiently waited for such a good time as this, and my confidence is beyond my expectation thus strengthened by the relation I have to Dalham; which interest will be as good as a solicitor in my behalf. The debt is £7. 8s. 8d.; in which sum I reckon nothing for tuition for the last three quarters his name continued in the College, because himself discontinued: yet the ordinary arrearages for the College could not be avoided, which are some 9s.

"*March 13.* On Thursday my sometime pupil and your new cousin, in the vagary which new-married men are wont to take, came hither to my chamber in his bravery; asked pardon for his long default; paid me my debt; would needs force a piece upon me in token of his love; then invited me to dinner, where he was so prodigal as if he had made a marriage-feast . . . I hear his younger brother, who was here also with him, shall marry the other sister, and so between them have your uncle's whole estate."

In the same letters, or in others written during the same month, are various references to matters of public gossip at the time, such as the King's growing obstinacy in raising money by monopolies, Sir John Eliot's imprisonment in the Tower, and the Queen's expected *accouchement*. In the midst of this miscellaneous gossip, here is one horrible little scrap from a letter of March 27:—"At Berkshire assizes "was a boy of nine years old condemned and executed for "example, for burning a house or two; who only said upon "the ladder, 'Forgive me this, and I'll do so no more.'" One's nerves do tingle at this; but may there not be facts in *our* civilisation that shall be equal tortures and incredibilities to the nerve of the future?

The University reassembled for the Easter term on the 7th of April 1630. It was destined, however, that that term should be brought prematurely to a close. Whoever has read the records of those times knows that an almost constant subject of alarm to England, as well as to other nations, was the Plague. Every ten or fifteen years there was either a visit of it or a rumour of its coming. The last visit had been in 1625-6; on which occasion, though it raged in London and other districts, Cambridge had escaped. Only five years had elapsed, and now again the Plague was

in the land. There were cases in London as early as March, during which month Meade, while sending to Stuteville other such general pieces of news as we have mentioned, sends him also abstracts of the weekly returns of deaths in London. "The last week," he writes on the 20th of March, "there died two of the plague in London, one in Shoreditch, "another in Whitechapel; and I saw by a letter yesterday "that there were four dead this week, and all in St. Giles's "parish." In subsequent letters we hear of the progress of the plague in the metropolis, and at length, on the 17th of April, 1630, or ten days after the beginning of the Easter term, we have the following:—

"There died this week of the plague at London 11 . . . Six parishes infected . . . I suppose you have heard of the like calamity begun and threatened us here in Cambridge. We have some 7 died: the first last week (suspected but not searched), a boy; on Monday and Tuesday, two, a boy and a woman, in the same house; and on Wednesday two women, one exceeding foul, in two houses. On Thursday, a man, one Holmes, dwelling in the midst between the two former houses. For all these stand together at Magdalen College end. It began at the further house, Forster's a shoemaker; supposed by lodging a soldier who had a sore upon him, in whose bed and sheets the nasty woman laid two of her sons, who are both dead, and a kinswoman. Some add for a cause a dunghill close by her house, in the hole of which the fool this Lent-time suffered some butchers, who killed meat by stealth, to kill it and to bury the garbage."

From the date of this letter the plague spread with fearful rapidity in Cambridge; and during the rest of the year that town seemed to be its favourite encampment. Thus, on the 24th of April, only a week after the preceding letter:—

"Our University is in a manner wholly dissolved, all meetings and exercises ceasing. In many colleges almost none left. In ours, of twenty-seven mess we have not five. Our gates strictly kept; none but Fellows to go forth, or any to be let in without the consent of the major part of our society, of which we have but seven at home at this instant [i. e. *seven* of the members of the foundation]; only a sizar may go out with his tutor's ticket upon an errand. Our butcher, baker, and chandler bring the provisions to the College-gates, where the steward and cook receive them. We have taken all our officers we need into the College, and none must stir out. If he doth, he is to come in no more. Yea, we have taken three women into our College, and appointed them a chamber to lie in together: two are bed-makers, one a laundress. We have turned out our porter, and appointed our barber both porter and barber, allowing him a chamber next the gates. Thus we live as close prisoners, and, I hope, without danger."

Before the end of the same month most of the Colleges were formally broken up, masters, fellows, and students flying from Cambridge as from a doomed place. All University exercises and meetings proper to the Easter term were adjourned to the following session. Accordingly, in the history of the University the remainder of this academic year is a mere blank. "*Grassante peste, nulla publica comitia,*" is the significant entry made by Baker under this year.¹

While the gowmsmen were able to consult their safety by flight, the poor townsmen were necessarily obliged to remain where they were. After all, the mortality in Cambridge was not so great as might have been expected. The entire number of deaths from plague from April 1630 to January 1630-1 was but 347, or somewhat more than one a day for the whole period. To understand the terror, however, one must imagine the state of the town during the summer months, when the cases were most numerous, the unusually deserted streets, the colleges all locked up, and, most fearful of all, the brown and white tents on the adjacent commons, whither the plague-patients were removed. Nor was the plague the only calamity. What with the shutting-up of the colleges, what with the interruption of communication with the rest of the country, business was at a stand-still; hundreds of poor persons who had lived by performing offices about the colleges were left destitute; and tradesmen who had been in tolerably good circumstances, but who depended on their receipts rather than their savings, were suddenly impoverished. As many as 2,800 persons, or 839 families, had to be supported by charity, while of the remainder of the population not more than 140 persons were in a condition to contribute to their relief. It became necessary to appeal to the country at large. Accordingly, a royal proclamation was issued, on the 25th of June 1630, in which, after setting forth the extraordinary "misery and decay" of Cambridge, his Majesty instructs the Bishops of London, Winchester, and

¹ Harl. MS. 7038.

Lincoln to take means for a general collection in their dioceses for the relief of the afflicted town. Some thousands of pounds were collected.¹

No man won such golden opinions, by his brave and humane conduct during the time of the plague, as the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Butts. While most of the other Heads had fled from the infection, he remained at his post, and, in conjunction with a few others, did whatever he could to maintain order and distribute relief. The following is an extract from a letter of his, sent in the course of the autumn to Lord Coventry, as High Steward of the Town:—

“The sickness is much scattered, but we follow your Lordship’s counsel to keep the sound from the sick; to which purpose we have built near forty booths in a remote place upon our commons, whither we forthwith remove those that are infected: where we have placed a German physician who visits them day and night; and he ministers to them. Besides constables, we have certain ambulatory officers who walk the streets night and day, to keep our people from needless conversing, and to bring us notice of all disorders. Through God’s mercy, the number of those who die weekly is not great to the total number of the inhabitants. Thirty-one hath been the highest number in a week, and that but once. This late tempestuous rainy weather hath scattered it into some places, and they die fast; so that I fear an increase this week. To give our neighbours in the country contentment, we hired certain horsemen this harvest-time to range and scour the fields of the towns adjoining, to keep our disorderly poor from annoying them. We keep great store of watch and ward in all fit places continually. We printed and published certain new orders for the better government of the people; which we see observed. We keep our court twice a-week and severely punish all delinquents. Your Lordship, I trust, will pardon the many words of men in misery. It is no little ease to pour out our painful passions and complaints into such a bosom. Myself am alone, a destitute and forsaken man: not a scholar with me in College; not a scholar seen by me without. God all-sufficient, I trust, is with me; to whose most holy protection I humbly commend your Lordship, with all belonging unto you.”²

Through this miserable summer and autumn Meade was at Dalham, whither his good friends, Sir Martin and Lady Stuteville, had invited him, and where he was so happy, smoking his pipe, talking with Sir Martin in his library, and going about the grounds, that, as we shall see, it was not without regret that he left the place when it became necessary to return to his College. Milton also was away

¹ Cooper, III. 223-225.

² Cooper, III. 227-8.

from Cambridge,—living, we may suppose, either in his father's house in London, or in some suburban seclusion, if indeed he did not at this time fulfil his promised visit to Young at Stowmarket. Wherever he was, it was probably in this summer or autumn, as it was certainly some time in this year 1630, that there came from his pen one of the most interesting of all his shorter scraps of English verse. It is his famous epitaph on Shakespeare, afterwards published and dated by himself as follows:—

ON SHAKESPEARE, 1630.

What needs my Shakespeare for his honoured bones
The labour of an age in piled stones,
Or that his hallowed relics should be hid
Under a star-ypointing pyramid?
Dear son of memory, great heir of fame,
What need'st thou such weak witness of thy name?
Thou in our wonder and astonishment
Hast built thyself a livelong monument;
For, whilst to the shame of slow-endeavouring art,
Thy easy numbers flow, and that each heart
Hath from the leaves of thy unvalued book
Those Delphic lines with deep impression took,
Then thou, our fancy of itself bereaving,
Dost make *us* marble with too much conceiving,
And so sepulchred in such pomp dost lie
That kings for such a tomb would wish to die.

These lines were probably written on the blank leaf of a copy of the Folio Shakespeare of 1623, the only edition of Shakespeare's collected Plays then in existence. The wording of the lines might almost suggest that there was some talk in the year 1630, as there has been so often since, of erecting a great national monument to Shakespeare, distinct from his local monument in Stratford Church, and that Milton thought the project superfluous. Very possibly, however, Milton had been reading the obituary verses to Shakespeare by Ben Jonson and Leonard Digges, prefixed to the First Folio, and only amplified in his own lines an idea already expressed in both those pieces.

ACADEMIC YEAR 1630-31.

MILTON ætat, 22.

Vice-Chancellor, Dr. HENRY BUTTS of Benet (re-elected for his eminent services in the preceding year).*Proctors*, PETER ASHTON of Trinity College, and ROGER HOCKCHESTER of Pembroke.

MICHAELMAS TERM . October 10, 1630, to December 16, 1630.

LENT TERM January 13, 1630-1, to April 1, 1631.

EASTER TERM April 20, 1631, to July 8, 1631.

Though the Plague had greatly abated at Cambridge by October, it had not quite gone, and it was not till late in November that the Colleges began again to be full. Meade seems to have been one of the first to return. On the 20th of October he writes to Stuteville, not from Cambridge, but from Balsham, a village near Cambridge, as follows:—

“Coming to the College, I found neither scholar nor fellow returned, but Mr. Tovey only, and he forced to dine and sup in chamber with Mr. Power and Mr. Siddall, unless he would be alone and have one of the three women to be his sizar, for there is but one scholar to attend upon them. I, being not willing to live in solitude, nor to be joined with such company, after some few hours’ stay in the College, turned aside to Balsham, hoping to have chatted this night with the Doctor [who ‘the Doctor’ was we do not know]; but, alas! I find him gone to Dalham, but hope he will return soon, and therefore stay here to expect him. I left order to have word sent me as soon as Mr. Chappell or Mr. Gell come home, and then I am for the College.”

The deaths during the preceding week had been but three, and were diminishing. On the 27th Meade again writes from the same place, saying he had been in Cambridge, partly “to furnish himself with warmer clothing,” partly to see if any of his College friends had come back. No more, however, had yet made their appearance, and Chappell had written to say that he should not return for a month. Meade is pining for society, and says his “heart is at Dalham.” It is not till the 27th of November that he finds himself once more in his element. On that day he writes:—

“I have been at the College ever since Monday at dinner; and yet never so well could I fancy myself to be at my old and wonted home as now when I take my pen on Saturday evening to write according

to my custom unto Dalham. Such is the force of so long a continued course, which is almost become a second nature to me. . . . All the play-houses in London are now again open. . . . I will add a list of our College officers and retainers who either have died or been endangered by the plague,—which I understood not well till now :—

1. Our second cook and some three of his house.
2. Our gardener and all his house.
3. Our porter's child ; and himself was at the green [*i. e.* among the sick on the common].
4. Our butcher and three of his children.
5. Our baker, who made our bread in Mr. Atkinson's bake-house, had two of his children died, but then at his own house, as having no employment at the bake-house.
6. Our manciple's daughter had three sores in her father's house ; but her father was then and is still in the College.
7. Our laundress (who is yet in the College) her maid died of the infection in her dame's house.
8. Add one of our bed-makers in the College, whose son was a prentice in an house in the parish whither the infection came also. . . . We keep all shut in the College still, and the same persons formerly entertained are still with us. We have not had this week company enough to be in commons in the hall, but on Sunday we hope we shall. It is not to be believed how slowly the University returneth : none almost but a few sophisters to keep their Acts. We are now eight Fellows : Benet College but four ; scholars not so many. The most in Trinity and St. John's, &c. The reassembling of the University for Acts and sermons is therefore again deferred to the 16th of December."

They *did* dine in hall in Christ's on Sunday the 28th of November ; and on the 5th of December Meade was able to report that there had been no case of plague during the past week. The students then rapidly returned ; but, for many years to come, there was a great falling off in the total numbers of the University, in consequence of the disaster of this fatal year.

When Milton returned to Cambridge, there was one change in Christ's College, not noted by Meade, which, if tradition is to be trusted, must have interested him in a peculiar manner. As a B.A. of two years' standing, and as an acknowledged ornament of his College, he was by this time entitled to suppose that, when a fellowship became vacant so as to be at the disposal of the College authorities, he had as good a claim to it as any other. That he had some expectation of this kind would be extremely probable, even if Baker, the Cambridge antiquary, had not handed down the tradition. But, if so, he was disappointed. Just about the time of the breaking-up of the College on account of the plague, it was known that Mr. Sandelands, one of the

younger fellows, was about to resign. The following document will show who was to be his successor. It is a royal mandate addressed to the Master and Fellows of Christ's:—

“CHARLES, R.—Trusty and well-beloved, We greet you well. “Whereas We are given to understand that the fellowship “of Mr. Andrew Sandelands of your College is shortly to be “made void, and being well ascertained both of the present “sufficiency and future hopes of a young scholar, Edward “King, now B.A., We, out of Our princely care that those “hopeful parts in him may receive cherishing and encourage- “ment, are graciously pleased so far to express Our royal “intention towards him as hereby to will and require you “that, when the same fellowship shall become void, you do “presently admit the said Edward King into the same, not- “withstanding any statute, ordinance, or constitution, to “the contrary. And for the doing thereof these shall be “both a sufficient warrant unto you, and We shall account “it an acceptable service.—Given under Our signet at Our “manor of St. James’s, June 10, 1630, in the sixth year of “Our reign.”¹ Such royal interferences with the exercise of College and University patronage were far from uncommon, and caused a good deal of complaint. It is not difficult to see how, in the case of a youth of such influential connexions as King, the favour should have been obtained. The missive must have reached the College when there were few Fellows there to act upon it; nor can we tell at what precise time it was carried into effect. By the time that Milton returned to the College, however, the fellowship of Sandelands *had* passed to King. Probably any feeling of disappointment that Milton may have had was by this time over; and King was really an amiable and accomplished youth, liked by all, and by Milton not least. It *was* rather hard, however, for Milton, now in his twenty-third year, to see a youth of eighteen seated above him at the Fellows’ table.²

Hardly had matters settled into their ordinary course in

¹ Copy by Baker (Harl. MS. 7036, p. 220) of “Some notes concerning Christ’s College, from a MS. Book of Mr. Michael Honeywood.”

² About a year after this date there was another Fellowship vacant in the College; on which occasion I find, from a letter of Bainbrigge’s in the State

Cambridge in the winter of 1630-31 when an incident occurred of some local note. This was the death of old Hobson the carrier, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. On the outbreak of the plague his journeys to and from London had been prohibited, as they had been for a similar reason in 1625. On this occasion, however, the interruption was for a longer period than on the previous one. From April or May, all through the summer and autumn, the old man had been obliged to remain in Cambridge, shut up, like the rest of the inhabitants, for fear of the infection. In his case the privation was unusually hard. "Heigh ho!" says the carrier in Shakespeare's *Henry IV.*, going into the inn-yard at Rochester early in the morning, with a lantern in his hand, to prepare for his journey,—“heigh ho! an't be “not four by the day, I'll be hanged: Charles's Wain is “over the new chimney.” *There* is the joy of a carrier's life, and Hobson now missed it. Tough old man as he was, the plague never came near him; but ennui took him off. Some time in November or December, just as the plague had abated and he had the prospect of mounting his wain again, he took to his bed; on the 24th of December he had his will drawn out; he added codicils to this will on the 27th and 31st of December and on the 1st of January; and on this last day he died. He was buried in the chancel of St. Benedict's Church. Both his wives had died before him, as well as his three sons and two of his daughters out of the family borne to him by his first wife. His eldest son, Thomas, however, had been married, and had left a family of six children; and to these six grandchildren and his two surviving daughters,—one of whom had married Sir Simon Clarke, a Warwickshire baronet,—was bequeathed the bulk of the carrier's property. Over and above the lands and

Paper Office (July 20, 1631), that the Secretary of State, Lord Dorchester, was pressing the election of young Shute (see p. 146), then just admitted B.A. Bainbrigge writes to Dorchester, professing his willingness to do all he could for Shute's interests at another time, but has evidently made up his mind in favour of some one else, and is much

perplexed lest his Lordship should be angry. “In all, I humbly beg,” he says, “your Honour's better thoughts to hold me an honest man.” From the glimpse such letters give of the intrigues in elections to Fellowships, I should imagine that Milton's chance was small throughout.

goods, in Cambridgeshire and elsewhere, distributed amongst them, there remained a considerable property in houses, land, and money, to be distributed among a sister-in-law, a godson, two cousins, and other kindred, and to furnish small bequests to his executors, and one or two acquaintances and servants. Nor had Hobson forgotten the town of his affections. During his life he had been a charitable and public-spirited man. As lately as 1628 he had made over to twelve trustees, on the part of the University and Town, a messuage and various tenements in the parish of St. Andrew, without Barnwell-gate, in order to the erection there of a workhouse, where poor people who had no trade might be taught some honest one, and where also stubborn rogues and beggars might be compelled to earn their livelihood by their own labours. To further this scheme he now left by his will 100*l.* more, for the purchase of land near the workhouse. But perhaps his most remarkable bequest to the town was one of a sanitary nature, which may have been suggested by the recent experience of what was needed,—to wit, “seven leys of pasture-land” for the perpetual maintenance of the conduit in Cambridge, together with a present sum of 10*l.* to be applied in raising the top of the conduit half a yard higher than it was.¹ The consequence is that now the visitor to Cambridge sees what is not to be seen perhaps in any other town in Great Britain, not only a handsome conduit in the middle of the town, but a rivulet of fresh clear water running along the main streets, in the place where in other towns there is usually only a kennel. At Cambridge Hobson is still, in a manner, the *genius loci*.

Milton’s two epitaphs on the celebrated carrier, though humorous in their form, have a certain kindliness in their spirit. As reminiscences of the poet’s Cambridge life, they are worth quoting:—

“On the University Carrier, who sickened in the time of the Vacancy, being forbid to go to London by reason of the Plague.”

Here lies old Hobson. Death hath broke his girt,
And here, alas ! hath laid him in the dirt ;

¹ Cooper’s Annals, III. 234-5.

Or else, the ways being foul, twenty to one
 He's here stuck in a slough, and overthrown.
 'Twas such a shifter that, if truth were known,
 Death was half glad when he had got him down
 For he had any time this ten years full
 Dodged with him betwixt Cambridge and *The Bull*
 And surely Death could never have prevailed
 Had not his weekly course of carriage failed;
 But, lately, finding him so long at home,
 And thinking now his journey's end was come,
 And that he had ta'en up his latest inn,
 In the kind office of a chamberlin
 Showed him his room where he must lodge that night,
 Pulled off his boots, and took away the light.
 If any ask for him, it shall be said,
 "Hobson has supped, and's newly gone to bed."

Another on the Same.

Here lieth one who did most truly prove
 That he could never die while he could move;
 So hung his destiny, never to rot
 While he might still jog on and keep his trot;
 Made of sphere-metal, never to decay
 Until his revolution was at stay.
 Time numbers motion, yet (without a crime
 'Gainst old truth) motion numbered out his time;
 And, like an engine moved with wheel and weight,
 His principles being ceased, he ended straight.
 Rest, that gives all men life, gave him his death,
 And too much breathing put him out of breath;
 Nor were it contradiction to affirm
 Too long *vacation* hastened on his *term*.
 Merely to drive the time away he sickened,
 Fainted, and died, nor would with ale be quickened.
 "Nay," quoth he, on his swooning bed outstretched,
 "If I mayn't carry, sure I'll ne'er be fetched,
 "But vow, though the cross doctors all stood hearers,
 "For one *carrier* put down to make six *bearers*."
 Ease was his chief disease; and, to judge right,
 He died for heaviness that his cart went light.
 His leisure told him that his time was come,
 And lack of load made his life burdensome,
 That even to his last breath (there be that say't),
 As he were pressed to death, he cried "More weight!
 But, had his doings lasted as they were,
 He had been an immortal carrier.

Obedient to the moon, he spent his date
 In course reciprocal, and had his fate
 Linked to the mutual flowing of the seas ;
 Yet, strange to think, his *wain* was his *increase*.
 His letters are delivered all and gone ;
 Only remains this superscription.

These verses *might* have been written in London, but they seem rather to have been written at Cambridge. At all events, Milton must have been at Cambridge on the 15th of the month following that of the carrier's death ; on which day the following entry was made in the admission-book of Christ's College :—

"*Feb.* 15, 1630-31.—Christopher Milton, Londoner, son of John, grounded in letters under Mr. Gill in Paul's public school, was admitted a lesser pensioner, in the 15th year of his age, under the charge of Mr. Tovey."

Thus, it seems, Milton's younger brother Christopher, after having been educated at the same school in London as himself, was sent to the same College in Cambridge, and there placed under the same tutor. The fact proves, at least, that, whatever fault Milton may have found with his first tutor Chappell, he was satisfied with Tovey. He was done with Tovey now himself, but could superintend his younger brother's behaviour under the tutorship of that gentleman. On April 4, 1631, or within two months after Christopher Milton's admission at Christ's, we may here note, there were matriculated in the University books two new students of such subsequent celebrity as was never to be Christopher's. These were Isaac Barrow, student of Peterhouse, and John Wallis, student of Emanuel.¹

From this point forward we have not the advantage of Meade's letters to Stuteville, the series closing in April 1631.² It is from other sources that we learn that, soon

¹ Extract from the admission-book of Christ's, furnished me by Mr. Wolstenholme ; and Harl. MS. 7041.

² The cause of this cessation of Meade's letters to Stuteville I find explained in the following passage in

the *Diary of John Rous, Incumbent of Santon-Downham, Suffolk, from 1625 to 1642*, edited by Mrs. Everett Green for the Camden Society :—"That day at night (June 13, 1631), Sir Martin Statvil of Dalham, coming from the

after Christopher Milton's admission at Christ's, he had the opportunity of seeing a Latin comedy in one of the Colleges. The College was Queens'; the title of the piece was *Senile Odium*; the actors were the young men of Queens'; and the author was Peter Hausted, M.A., of that society, afterwards a clergyman in Hertfordshire. The play was printed at Cambridge in 1633; on which occasion, among the commendatory Latin verses prefixed to it, were some Iambics by Edward King of Christ's.

To the same Easter Term of 1631 is to be referred the composition of another of Milton's minor English poems, that entitled *An Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester*. The lady thus honoured was Jane, one of the daughters of Viscount Savage of Rock-Savage, Cheshire, by his wife, Elizabeth Darcy, the eldest daughter of Earl Rivers. She had been married to John Paulet, fifth Marquis of Winchester, who had succeeded his father in that title in February 1628. Both before and after her marriage to this Catholic nobleman, afterwards distinguished for his loyalty in the Civil Wars, she was spoken of as one of the most beautiful and accomplished of the ladies of her time. Suddenly, on the 15th of April 1631, while she was yet in the bloom of early youth, she was cut off by a miserable accident. The circumstances are recorded in the following passage in a news-letter of the period:—"The lady Marquess of Winchester, daughter to the Lord Viscount Savage, had an imposthume upon her cheek lanced; the humour fell down into her throat and quickly dispatched her, being big with child: whose death is lamented as well in respect of other her virtues as that she was inclining to become a Protestant."¹ The incident seems to have caused general

"Sessions at Bury with George Le Hunt, went into the Angel, and there, being merry in a chair, either ready to take tobacco, or having newly done it, leaned backward with his head, and died immediately."

¹ Letter dated "London, April 21, 1631," sent from John Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart., of Priory,

Warwickshire, and quoted in *The Court and Times of Charles I.*, vol. II. p. 106. Pory, who had been member of Parliament and secretary to the Colony of Virginia, was a London correspondent of Meade and Puckering. He was perhaps an uncle or other relation of Milton's College-fellow, Pory.

and unusual regret. It forms the subject of one of the longest of Ben Jonson's elegies, printed in his *Underwoods* :—

“Stay, stay! I feel
 A horror in me; all my blood is steel;
 Stiff, stark, my joints 'gainst one another knock!
 Whose daughter?—Ha! great Savage of the Rock.
 He's good as great. I am almost a stone;
 And, ere I can ask more of her, she's gone!—

* * * *

Her sweetness, softness, her fair courtesy,
 Her wary guards, her wise simplicity,
 Were like a ring of virtues 'bout her set,
 And piety the centre where all met.
 A reverend state she had, an awful eye,
 A dazzling, yet inviting majesty:
 What Nature, Fortune, Institution, Fact
 Could sum to a perfection was her act.
 How did she leave the world! with what contempt!
 Just as she in it lived, and so exempt
 From all affection! When they urged the cure
 Of her disease, how did her soul assure
 Her sufferings, as the body had been away,
 And to the torturers, her doctors, say :—
 ‘Stick on your cupping-glasses; fear not; put
 ‘Your hottest caustics to; burn, lance, or cut:
 ‘’Tis but the body which you can torment,
 ‘And I into the world all soul was sent.’”

Davenant and others of the poets of the day also celebrated the melancholy event.¹ How it came to interest Milton's muse does not appear; but these lines of Milton on the Marchioness may have come into the hands of many who had seen Jonson's :—

This rich marble doth inter
 The honoured wife of Winchester,
 A Viscount's daughter, an Earl's heir,
 Besides what her virtues fair
 Added to her noble birth,
 More than she could own from Earth.

¹ In the poems of Sir John Beaumont, printed posthumously by his son in 1629, there are some lines on the death of “the truly noble and excellent Lady, the Lady Marquesse of Winchester.” The Marchioness whom Beaumont celebrates, however, was not the one celebrated by Jonson, Davenant, and Milton, but a preceeding Marchioness, who, had she lived, would have been the mother-in-law of this one. Lucy Cecil,

daughter of Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter, and grand-daughter of the great Cecil, was the wife of William Paulet, the fourth Marquis of Winchester, and was the mother of the fifth Marquis, the husband of Milton's Marchioness. She died as early as 1614; and Beaumont's lines must have been written in that year. This explanation is necessary, as the two ladies have been confounded by commentators on Milton.

Summers three times eight save one
 She had told ; alas ! too soon
 After so short time of breath,
 To house with darkness and with death !

* * *

Once had the early matrons run
 To greet her of a lovely son ;
 And now with second hope she goes,
 And calls Lucina to her throes ;
 But, whether by mischance or blame,
 Atropos for Lucina came,
 And with remorseless cruelty
 Spoiled at once both fruit and tree.

* * *

Gentle Lady, may thy grave
 Peace and quiet ever have !
 After this thy travail sore
 Sweet rest seize thee evermore,
 That, to give the world increase,
 Shortened hast thy own life's lease !
 Here, besides the sorrowing
 That thy noble house doth bring,
 Here be tears of perfect moan
 Wept for thee in Helicon ;
 And some flowers and some bays,
 For thy hearse to strew the ways,
 Sent thee from the banks of Came,
 Devoted to thy virtuous name.

There is some interest in comparing the grace of these lines by the young Cambridge student with the more ponderous tribute which the veteran laureate offered on the same occasion.¹

¹ There is an early manuscript copy of Milton's Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester in volume 1446 of the Ayscough MSS. in the British Museum. It contains pieces by Ben Jonson, William Stroud, and other poets of the time of Charles, transcribed by some private collector for his own satisfaction. Milton's poem occurs at pp. 72-74. It is headed, "On the Marchioness of Winchester, whoe died in childbedd: Ap. 15, 1631,"—a heading which has enabled me to insert in the text the exact date of the event, hitherto known but approximately ; and at the end is subscribed "*Jo. Milton*

of Chr. Coll. Cambr." It seems possible, therefore, that the poem appeared in some fugitive printed form before it caught the eye of this collector. The only important difference between this MS. copy and the poem as now printed occurs after line 14 ; where, for our present eleven lines 15—25, this MS. gives but seven, thus :—

"Seven times had the yearly star
 In every sign set up his car
 Since for her they did request
 The God that sits at marriage feast,
 When first the early matrons run
 To greet her of her lovely son ;
 And now with second hope," &c.

ACADEMIC YEAR 1631-2.

MILTON ætat. 23.

Vice-Chancellor, Dr. HENRY BUTTS of Benet (elected to the office for the third time, in unusual compliment to his zeal and efficiency).

Proctors, THOMAS TYRWHIT of St. John's, and LIONEL GATFIELD of Jesus.

MICHAELMAS TERM October 10, 1631, to December 16, 1631.

LENT TERM January 13, 1631-2, to March 23, 1631-2.

EASTER TERM April 11, 1632, to July 6, 1632.

This was to be Milton's last year at Cambridge; and, as it involved his preparations for his M.A. degree, it was necessarily the busiest of the three subsequent to his attaining the degree of Bachelor. During this session, accordingly, almost the only thing of a non-academical character we have from his pen is the famous English sonnet "*On his having arrived at the age of twenty-three.*" It will be best to defer farther notice of that Sonnet till it can be taken in connexion with an English letter of Milton's, of somewhat later date, with which it is associated biographically.

Late in 1631 there was published at Cambridge a volume of academical verses, to which Milton, if he had chosen, might have been a contributor. It was now eighteen months since a living heir to the throne had been born in young Prince Charles, afterwards Charles II.; but, as the event had happened when the University was broken up by the plague (May 29, 1630), Cambridge had not been able, like her more fortunate sister of Oxford, to collect her muses for the customary homage. The omission had lain heavily on her heart; and, the Queen having again (Nov. 4, 1631) presented the nation with a royal babe, the Princess Mary, afterwards Mary of Orange, and mother of William III., the University poets thought it best to celebrate this birth and the former together.¹ Among the contributors to the volume were Thomas Comber, Master of Trinity College, James Dupont of Trinity, Henry Ferne of Trinity, Thomas Randolph of Trinity (now a Fellow there), Peter Hausted of

¹ "Genethliacum Illustrissimorum Cantabrigiensibus celebratum: Cantab. Principum Caroli et Mariæ a Musis 1631."

Queens', Abraham Whelock of Clare Hall, Thomas Fuller of Sidney Sussex, and Edward King of Christ's. That Milton did not appear in such respectable company, and that his name does not occur in any of the similar collections of loyal verses published while he was connected with Cambridge, can hardly have been accidental. It was certainly from no defect of local or academic spirit; for we have seen that he was quite ready with his pen when a Bishop Andrewes, or a Dr. Gostlin, or a Senior Bedel, or any other worthy of Cambridge, even Hobson the carrier, died. Probably he liked to choose his own subjects, and found complimentary verses to royalty not in his way.

Among the students who joined the University in this, the last, year of Milton's Cambridge residence, there were one or two of considerable subsequent note. The matriculation of Richard Crawshaw, the poet, as a student of Pembroke, that of the famous Ralph Cudworth, as a student of Emanuel, that of his friend John Worthington, as a student of the same College, and that of John Pearson, afterwards Bishop of Chester and Expositor of the Creed, as a student of King's, all date from this year.¹ Among the new admissions at Christ's, besides a Ralph Widdrington, afterwards of some note as a physician, a Charles Hotham, and others whose subsequent history might be traced, there was one youth at whom Milton, had he foreseen what he was to be, would certainly have looked with more than common attention. This was a tall thin stripling, of clear olive complexion, and a mild and rapt expression, whose admission into the College is recorded in the entry-book thus:—

"December 31, 1631.—Henry More, son of Alexander, born at Grantham in the County of Lincoln, grounded in letters at Eton by Mr. Harrison, was admitted, in the 17th year of his age, a lesser pensioner under Mr. Gell."²

This new student, whose connexion with Christ's thus began just as that of Milton was drawing to a close, was the Henry More afterwards so famous as the Cambridge Platonist, and so memorable in the history of the College.

¹ Baker, Harl. MS. 7041.

² Copy furnished me by Mr. Wolstenholme of Christ's College.

Already, at the time of his coming to Christ's from Eton, there were the germs in him of the future mystic. The following is a sketch by himself of his life to this point, introduced in the preface to his Philosophical Works, by way of a popular illustration of his cardinal Platonic tenet, that the human mind is not, as philosophers of the opposite school say, a mere *abrasa tabula*, or blank sheet, waiting to be written on, but has certain "innate sensations or notions" in it, of *à priori* origin:—

"Concerning which matter I am the more assured, in that the sensations of my own mind are so far from being owing to education that they are directly contrary to it,—I being bred up to the almost 14th year of my age under parents and a master that were great Calvinists (but withal very pious and good ones). At which time, by the order of my parents, persuaded to it by my uncle, I immediately went to Eton School; not to learn any new precepts and institutes of Religion, but for the perfecting of the Greek and Latin tongues. But neither there nor anywhere else could I ever swallow down that hard doctrine concerning Fate. On the contrary, I remember that I did, with my eldest brother (who then, as it happened, had accompanied my uncle thither), very stoutly and earnestly for my years dispute against this Fate, or Calvinistic Predestination, as it is usually called; and that my uncle, when he came to know it, chid me severely, adding menaces withal of correction and a rod for my immature frowardness in philosophising concerning such matters: moreover, that I had such a deep aversion in my temper to this opinion, and so firm and unshaken a persuasion of the Divine justice and goodness, that, on a certain day, in a ground belonging to Eton College, where the boys used to play and exercise themselves, musing concerning these things with myself, and recalling to my mind this doctrine of Calvin, I did thus seriously and deliberately conclude within myself, viz.: 'If I am one of those that are predestined unto 'Hell, where all things are full of nothing but cursing and blasphemy, 'yet will I behave myself there patiently and submissively towards 'God, and, if there be any one thing more than another that is acceptable to Him, that will I set myself to do with a sincere heart and to 'the utmost of my power'; being certainly persuaded that, if I thus demeaned myself, He would hardly keep me long in that place. Which meditation of mine is as firmly fixed in my memory, and the very place where I stood, as if the thing had been transacted but a day or two ago. And, as to what concerns the existence of God,—though on that ground mentioned, walking, as my manner was, slowly and with my head on one side, and kicking now and then the stones with my feet, I was wont sometimes, with a sort of inusical and melancholy murmur, to repeat, or rather hum, to myself these verses of Claudian,

' Oft hath my anxious mind divided stood
Whether the gods did mind this lower world,
Or whether no such ruler wise and good
We had, and all things here by chance were hurled,'

—yet, that exceeding hale and entire sense of God which Nature herself had planted deeply in me very easily silenced all such slight and poetical dubitations as those. Yea, even in my first childhood, an inward sense of the Divine presence was so strong upon my mind that I did then believe there could be no deed, word, or thought hidden from Him; nor was I by any others that were older than myself to be otherwise persuaded. . . . Endued as I was with these principles, . . . having spent about three years at Eton, I went to Cambridge, recommended to the care of a person both learned and pious, and (what I was not a little solicitous about) not at all a Calvinist, but a tutor most skilful and vigilant [*i. e.* Gell]. Who, presently after the first salutations and discourse with me, asked me whether I had ‘a discernment of things good and evil.’ To which, answering in somewhat a low voice, I said, ‘I hope I have’; when at the same time I was conscious to myself that I had from my very soul a most strong sense and savoury discrimination as to all those matters. Notwithstanding, the meanwhile, a mighty and almost immoderate thirst after knowledge possessed me throughout,—especially for that which was natural, and, above all others, that which was said to dive into the deepest cause of things, and Aristotle calls the first and highest philosophy or wisdom. After which, when my prudent and pious tutor observed my mind to be inflamed and carried with so eager and vehement a career, he asked me on a certain time, ‘Why I was so above measure intent upon my studies?’ that is to say, for what end I was so; suspecting, as I suppose, that there was only at the bottom a certain itch or hunt after vain-glory, and to become by this means some famous philosopher amongst those of my own standing. But I answered briefly, and that from my very heart, ‘That I may know.’ ‘But, young man, what is the reason,’ saith he again, ‘that you so earnestly desire to know things?’ To which I instantly returned, ‘I desire, I say, so earnestly to know, that I may know.’ For even at that time the knowledge of natural and divine things seemed to me the highest pleasure and felicity imaginable. . . . Thus, then, persuaded and esteeming it what was highly fit, I immerse myself over head and ears in the study of philosophy, promising myself a most wonderful happiness in it. Aristotle, therefore, Cardan, Julius Scaliger, and other philosophers of the greatest note, I very diligently peruse; in which, &c.”¹

He goes on to say that he found this philosophy unsatisfactory, and to describe how the light of a better dawned upon him and gave him peace. Without following him thus far, we have quoted enough to show that Mr. Gell’s new pupil was by no means a commonplace youth. Cleveland and King had hitherto been perhaps the most notable students of Christ’s after Milton; but neither of these was to confer such credit on the college as Henry More. His bones now rest, with those of Meade, in Christ’s College Chapel.

¹ Quoted in the *Life of More* by the Rev. Richard Ward, 1710, pp. 6—10.

In the Lent Term of this year Cambridge had the honour of another visit from Royalty. The King and Queen this time came together. They came from Newmarket, where the Court then was, on the 19th of March, and seem to have spent more than one day in or about Cambridge. Great preparations had been made for their reception. The whole University was drawn up in the streets to cheer them in Latin as they drove in; there was much speech-making and banqueting, chiefly in Trinity College; nor was theatrical entertainment wanting. Among the regulations issued by the Vice-Chancellor and Heads in anticipation of the visit was this:—"Item: That no tobacco be taken in the Hall
 "nor anywhere else publicly, and that neither at their
 "standing in the streets, nor before the comedy begin, nor
 "all the time there, any rude or immodest exclamations
 "be made; nor any humming, hawking, whistling, hissing
 "or laughing be used, or any stamping or knocking, nor
 "any such other uncivil or unscholarlike or boyish demeanour, upon any occasion; nor that any clapping of
 "hands be had until the *Plaudite* at the end of the Comedy,
 "except his Majesty, the Queen, or others of the best
 "quality here, do apparently begin the same." Although here "the comedy" is spoken of in the singular number, there were, in reality, two comedies, both in English, and both published immediately afterwards. One was *The Rival Friends*, by Peter Hausted of Queens',¹ already known to us as the author of the Latin play of "*Senile Odium*," acted in the preceding year; the other was *The Jealous Lovers*, by Thomas Randolph of Trinity.² Both had been prepared expressly for the occasion; and before the arrival of their Majesties there seems to have been a controversy among the

¹ "*The Rivall Friends*: a Comœdie; as it was acted before the King and Queen's Majesties, when out of their princely favour they were pleased to visit their Universitie of Cambridge, upon the 19th of March, 1631: London, 1632." I have seen a copy in the British Museum, with the names of the actors added in MS.,—none known to me

except Hausted's own.²

² "*The Jealous Lovers*, presented to their gracious Majesties at Cambridge by the students of Trinity College; written by Thomas Randolph, M.A., and Fellow of the House: printed by the Printers to the University of Cambridge, A.D. 1632."

Heads as to which should have the precedence. The Trinity men backed their own man, Randolph, whose popularity as a wit and a good fellow was already established throughout the University;¹ the men of Queens', on the other hand, together with a sprinkling of the more steady and perhaps of the more crotchety men in other Colleges, stood by Hausted. It was a case of rivalry, partly between the two authors, and partly between the two Colleges.

Chiefly, it would appear, through the influence of the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Butts, Hausted's play was acted first. It was performed, on the 19th of March, by Hausted himself and a band of his fellow-collegians of Queens', Hausted undertaking two parts. Alas! in spite of the care spent on the preparation, and in spite of the peremptory order above quoted, it was unmistakeably damned,—damned under the eyes of Royalty, and with no power and no effort of Royalty to save it. We learn as much from Hausted's own words when he gave himself the poor consolation of publishing it. "Cried down by boys, faction, envy, and confident ignorance, "approved by the judicious, and now exposed to the public "censure," are among the words on the title-page; and prefixed to the play is a tetchy and desponding preface, in which, after speaking of "this poor neglected piece of "mine," "black-mouthed calumny," "base aspersions and "unchristianlike slanders," &c., the author adds, "How it "was accepted of their Majesties, whom it was intended to "please, we know and had gracious signs; how the rest of "the Court was affected we know too; as for those who "came with starched faces and resolutions to dislike," &c. There is also a hint about "the claps of the young ones let in to make a noise." Unfortunately, we know from other quarters that the King and Court were as little pleased with the piece as the "young ones" whose noise ruined it; and the piece itself remains to convince us that, though the

¹ In proof of Randolph's early popularity at Cambridge, there is in the State Paper Office a letter of date August 11, 1629, addressed by Mawe, who had then just left the Mastership

of Trinity for the Bishopric of Bath and Wells, recommending Randolph to Lord Holland, the Chancellor, for a living, and expressing a desire that the King would do something for him.

Trinity men and Randolph's admirers may have mustered with fell intentions, the catastrophe was owing chiefly to the author's want of tact in the subject and the composition. The so-called comedy is a satire against simony and other scandals of ecclesiastical patronage, supported by a crowd of no fewer than thirty characters—"Sacrilege Hooke, a simoniacal patron"; "Pandora, his fair daughter"; "Anteros (acted by Hausted himself), an humorous mad fellow that could not endure women"; "Placenta, a midwife"; "Hammer-skin, a Bachelor of Arts" (also by Hausted); "Zealous Knowlitt, a box-maker"; "Hugo Obligation, a precise Scrivener," &c. As every one knows, such plays with a moral, and especially a political moral, blazoned in their forefront, are seldom popular; and, if Ben Jonson himself used to find this to his cost before an audience of London citizens, what hope was there for Hausted before his more difficult assembly? He had, of course, his "judicious" friends, who consoled him as well as they could in his great disaster; and among them was Edward King of Christ's.

Hausted's failure must have been all the more galling to him that Randolph's comedy, which followed, was a complete success. The play had probably cost its ready author far less trouble than Hausted bestowed upon his, there being but some eighteen parts in it, and these of the old and approved kind that had done service since the days of Plautus: There was "Tyndarus, son of Demetrius, and supposed brother to Pamphilus, enamoured of Evadne"; there was "Pamphilus, supposed son to Demetrius, but son indeed to Chremylus"; there was "Evadne, supposed daughter of Chremylus"; there was "Simo, an old doting father"; there was "Asotus, his profligate son"; there was "Ballio, a pandar and tutor to Asotus"; and there was "Phryne, a courtesan." But Randolph was a humorist who knew what he was about; and, where Hausted had hisses, he had nothing but applause. When the piece was published, it was dedicated to the Rev. Dr. Comber, Master of Trinity; and among the laudatory verses prefixed are some by the eminent Grecian, James Duport. In these lines there is a

hit at Hausted's contemporary publication and its snappish preface :—

“Thou hadst th' applause of all: King, Queen, and Court,
And University, all liked thy sport.
No blunt preamble in a cynic humour
Need quarrel at dislike, and, spite of rumour,
Force a more candid censure and extort
An approbation maugre all the Court.
Such rude and snarling prefaces suit not thee :
They are superfluous ; for thy comedy,
Backed with its own worth and the author's name,
Will find sufficient welcome, credit, fame.”

From comedy to tragedy is frequent enough, and there was an instance now. The man who did the honours of the University during the royal visit, and sat conspicuous among the crowd of gowns in his coloured robes, beside or opposite the King and Queen, during the performance of the comedies, was the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Butts. It is ghastly now to imagine what, amidst the flutter over which he presided, must have been in that man's mind.

Their Majesties have left Cambridge ; all the bustle of the visit is over ; and the Heads and Doctors compose themselves after it for the solemnities of Passion Week and Easter, then close at hand. Passion Week passes ; and Easter Day arrives, Sunday, the 1st of April 1632. The Sunday morning breaks ; the bells ring their Easter peal ; and the people assemble in the churches. Dr. Butts, as Vice-Chancellor, was to have preached the Easter sermon before the University ; but it was known that he had not been quite himself since the King's visit, and was unable for the duty. There was no surprise, therefore, when another filled his place. Hardly, however, had the congregation dispersed from the morning service when news spread through the town the like of which had never been heard there on an Easter morning before. Dr. Butts had been found hanging dead in his chamber in Corpus Christi College, the deed done by his own hand. The day, the office held by the suicide, the peculiarity of his antecedents in the office, all added to the horror. Some mystery still hangs over the cause of the act, the circumstances having

been apparently hushed up at the time, so as not to be easily recoverable afterwards. But the verdict was *Felo de se*; and the tradition handed down by Baker and other chroniclers is that the cause of the act was his having, at the time of the King's visit, been "unexpectedly called upon to a reckoning how he had disbursed certain sums of money gathered for the relief of the poor in the time of the sickness." The man so charged, be it remembered, was the man of whom it stands recorded that, "when the plague was in Cambridge, the rest of the Heads removing, he remained alone," braving infection and labouring with the strength of ten. The reader may turn back to his own words at the time: "Alone, a destitute and forsaken man; not a scholar with me in the College, not a scholar seen by me without: God, all-sufficient, I trust, is with me."

It is never too late to do justice; and the following contemporary letter, while it explains more clearly than hitherto an event still recollected among the traditions of Cambridge, seems at the same time to explain why the matter was kept in mystery, by showing that it was connected, too unpleasantly for much public comment at the time, with the recent incidents of the Royal visit, and even with the trivial circumstance of the rivalry between the two University comedies and the failure of Hausted's. The original of the letter is in the State Paper Office, endorsed *Relation of the manner of the death of Dr. Butts, Vicech. of Cambridge*. The writer, who was clearly a member of Corpus Christi, does not append his name; nor is the person named to whom the letter was sent. It was evidently communicated by the receiver to some state official, and it may have been seen by the King:—

"It is more fitting for you to desire than for me to relate the history of our Vice-Chancellor's death; yet, because we may all make good use of it, and I hope you will not ill, and will burn your intelligence when you have perused it, and be sparing in relating, I will somewhat satisfy your desire.

"He was a man of great kindred and alliance, in Norfolk and Suffolk, with the best of the gentry; was rich both in money and inheritance; had a parsonage in Essex and this Mastership. He got this about five years since, by the lesser part of the Fellows making

or finding a flaw in the greater's proceedings for another. A speech he then braggingly uttered hath ever since stuck in my mind, imprinted there by mine aversion [at the time], and now renewed by this event. He boasted against his opponent beforehand that he never entered into business with any but prevailed; intimating a fancy that the elevation of his genius was high, and a governing power went with his attempts. He seemed likewise to have had an high esteem of his merit in government the two last years; and, because the King and Court gave him thanks and countenanced him in regard of his diligence in the plague-time, he (according to that "*Quæ expectamus facile credimus*") began to hope for great matters. To consummate these, he desired to be Vice-Chancellor the third time, because of the King's coming.

"He hath been observed somewhat to droop upon occasion of missing a prebend of Westminster, which he would have had (as he said) and the Mastership of Trinity. But his vexation began when the King's coming approached and Dr. Comber and he fell foul of each other about the precedency of Queens' and Trinity comedy,—he engaging himself for the former. But the killing blow was a dislike of that comedy and a check of the Chancellor [Lord Holland], who is said to have told him that the King and himself had more confidence in his discretion than they found cause, in that he thought such a comedy fitting, &c. In the nick of this came on the protestation of some of both Houses against his admission of the Doctors, and bitter expostulation, and the staying of the distribution for the Doctors' month's continuance, and denying their testimony of the degree, and all because he would not be content to admit some known to deserve well, but, by slanderous instigation, ill. He said then, '*Regis est mandare et in mandatis dare; nostrum est obsequi et obedire*.' But it came from him *guttatim*, and so as made them wonder who read not the cause in his countenance.

"As he came from the Congregation, they say he said, 'I perceive all mine actions are misinterpreted, and therefore I will go home and die.' Soon after (some say the next day) he would have made away with himself with a knife, but was hindered. Another time, his wife urging him to eat, and telling him he had enough and none to provide for, &c., he bade her hold her peace, lest he laid violent hands upon her, and that she knew not what the frown of a king was. On Thursday last they got him into a coach to carry him to his sister's son at Barton Mills; but he would needs return after he had gone a little way. On Friday again they got him out, and thither he went, but would needs return on Saturday betimes. His nephew following to attend him to Cambridge, he leapt out of the coach, sat on the ground, and said he would not stir thence till he was gone. Mr. Sterne, going several times to visit him, once had speech with him, who said 'that the day of mercy was past: God had deserted him,' &c., but would not hear him reply. He was another time as it were poisoning his body on the top of the stairs, as if he was devising how to pitch so as to break his neck; but was prevented.

"On that happy morning of exaltation to others, but his downfall, he lay in bed till church-time; said he was well and cheerful; bade his wife go to church; when she was gone, charged his servants to go down for half an hour, he would take his rest, &c. Then arose in his shirt, bolted the door, took the kercher about his head and tied it about his neck with the knot under his chin; then put an handkerchief under it, and tied the handkerchief about the superliminare of the

portal (the next panel to it being a little broken), which was so low that a man could not go through without stooping; and so wilfully with the weight of his body strangled himself, his knees almost touching the floor. By his servants coming up by another way he was found too late. *Quis talia fando temperet a lacrymis?*

"April the 4th, 1632."¹

The successor of Dr. Butts in the Vice-Chancellorship was his rival, Dr. Comber of Trinity; and it was during his first term of office,—the Easter or Midsummer Term of 1632,—that Milton completed his career at the University. Having fulfilled his studies and his exercises during that term, he was one of 207 Bachelors, from all the Colleges, who graduated as Masters of Arts at the Commencement held on July 3, 1632. On that occasion only two were admitted to the degree of D.D. The Respondent in the first Divinity Act was Dr. Gilbert, whose theses were as follows:—"1. *Sola Scriptura est regula fidei*; 2. *Reliquiae peccati manent in renatis etiam post baptismum*" ("1. Scripture alone is the rule of faith; 2. The dregs of sin remain in the regenerate even after baptism"). The Respondent in the second Divinity Act was Mr. Breton, of Emanuel College; and his questions were:—"1. *In optimis renatorum operibus datur culpabilis defectus*; 2. *Nudus assensus divinitus revelatis non est fides justificans*" ("1. In the best works of the regenerate there is a culpable defect; 2. Bare assent to what is divinely revealed is not justifying faith"). The subjects of the Philosophy Act, and the name of the Respondent, are unknown.

In taking his M.A. degree, Milton had again to subscribe to the Three Articles mentioned in the 36th of the ecclesiastical canons of 1603-4, or, in other words, to acknowledge the Royal Supremacy in all matters, the Church Liturgy,

¹ There are in the State Paper Office several letters of Butts's own, while he was Vice-Chancellor, on University business, written in a large, hurried hand. So far as I know, the only literary relic of him is a curious little 12mo. volume, published in 1599, with the following title: "Dyet's Dry Dinner, consisting of eight severall courses, —1. Fruites; 2. Hearbes; 3. Flesh; 4.

Fish; 5. Whitmeats; 6. Spice; 7. Sauce; 8. Tobacco: by Henry Butts, M.A., and Fellow of C. C. College, in Cambridge: printed in London, by Thomas Crecde, for William Warde." It is a kind of culinary manual, with medical notes and anecdotes for table talk. The author advertises a companion volume on Drinks; but it never appeared.

and the Doctrinal Standards of the Church of England. The subscription, like that on taking the B.A. degree, was formally entered in the graduation-book in presence of the Registrar. The following is the list of the names from Christ's College, in the exact form and order in which they are still to be seen in the graduation-book.

Joannes Milton.	John Welbye.
Robertus Pory.	Petrus Pury.
John Hieron.	Samuel Boulton.
Samuel Viccars.	Thomas Carre.
Daniel Proctor.	Robert Cooper.
William Dun.	William Finch.
Robert Seppens.	Philip Smith.
John Boutflower.	Roger Rutley.
Thomas Baldwyne.	Bernard Smith.
John Browne.	William Wildman.
Rycard. Garthe.	John Cragge.
Edmund Barwell.	Gulielmus Shotton.
Richard Buckenham.	Richard Pegge. ¹
Johannes Newmann.	

Milton, therefore, took his M.A. degree along with twenty-six others from his College, one-and-twenty of whom had taken the prior degree of B.A. along with him three years before. Is the circumstance that his name stands first purely accidental; or are we to suppose that, when the twenty-seven graduates from Christ's appeared before the Registrar, Milton was, by common consent, called on to sign first? Pory, it will be noted, comes next. He seems to adhere to Milton like a Boswell.

Among the oaths on taking the Master's degree was that of continued Regency in the University for five years more; but in practice, as we have seen, this oath was now next to meaningless. In July 1632 Milton's effective connexion with the University ceased.

¹ Copied from the original by the permission of Mr. Romilly, the University Registrar.

CHAPTER III.

ACADEMIC STUDIES AND RESULTS: MILTON'S *PROLUSIONES ORATORIÆ*.

IN the main what has preceded has been an *external* history of Milton's life in connexion with the annals of the seven years which he passed at the University. In his letters and in his poems through this period we have had glimpses, indeed, of the history of his *mind* during the same period, or, at all events, information respecting the manner in which the circumstances of the time and the place affected him, and respecting the nature of his contemporary musings and occupations. To complete the view thus obtained, however, it is necessary now to make some farther inquiries and to use some materials that have been kept in reserve.

The system of study at Cambridge in Milton's time was very different from what it is at present. The avatar of Mathematics had not begun. Newton was not born till ten years after Milton had left Cambridge; nor was there then, nor for thirty years afterwards, any public chair of Mathematics in the University. Milton's connexion with Cambridge, therefore, belongs to the closing age of an older system of education, the aim of which was to turn out *scholars*, according to the meaning of that term once general over Europe. This system had been founded very much on the mediæval notion of what constituted the *totum scibile*. According to this notion there were "Seven Liberal Arts," apart from and subordinate to Philosophy proper and Theology. Grammar, Logie, and Rhetoric formed together what was called the *Trivium*; after which came Arithmetic,

Geometry, Astronomy, and Music, forming together what was called the *Quadrivium*. Assuming some rudiments of these arts as having been acquired in school, the Universities undertook the rest, paying most attention, however, to the studies of the *Trivium*, and to Philosophy as their sequel.

By the Elizabethan Statutes of 1561, the following was the septennium of study prescribed at Cambridge before admission to the degree of Master of Arts:—

1. *The Quadriennium of Undergraduateship*:—First year, *Rhetoric*; second and third, *Logic*; fourth, *Philosophy*;—these studies to be carried on both in College and by attendance on the University lectures (*domi forisque*); and the proficiency of the student to be tested by two disputations in the public schools and two responsions in his own College.¹

2. *The Triennium of Bachelorship*:—Attendance during the whole time on the public lectures in *Philosophy* as before, and also on those in *Astronomy*, *Perspective*, and *Greek*; together with a continuance of the private or College studies, so as to complete what had been begun;—moreover, a regular attendance at all the disputations of the Masters of Arts for the purpose of general improvement, three personal responsions in the public schools to a Master of Arts opposing, two College exercises of the same kind, and one College declamation.²

There had, of course, been modifications in this scheme of studies before Milton's time. Studies formerly reserved for the *Triennium* were now included in the business of the *Quadriennium*. Thus Greek was now regularly taught from the first year of a student's course. So also with arithmetic and such a smattering of geometry and physical science as had formerly been comprehended under the heads of Astronomy and Perspective. But, besides these modifications, there had been a further modification, arising from the changed relations of the Colleges to the University. In the scheme of the statutes it is presumed that the instruction in the various studies enumerated is to be received *domi forisque*, or equally in the Colleges of the students under their tutors and in the Public Schools under the University lecturers or professors. Since then, however, the process had been going on which has raised the

¹ Statutes, Cap. VI. "Dyer's Privileges," I. 164.

² Statutes, Cap. VII. Dyer, I. 164.

importance of the Colleges at the expense of the University and all but entirely superseded the teaching function of the public professors. The professors still lectured, and their lectures were in certain cases attended. But, in the main, the work of instruction was now carried on in the separate Colleges, both by the private tutors among whom the students were distributed, and by those persons, selected from among the tutors, who, under the name of College lecturers, were appointed, annually or otherwise, to hold classes on particular subjects. Save in so far as the students thus trained in the several Colleges met to compete with each other in the disputations in the public schools, there was no means of ascertaining how they stood among themselves for ability and proficiency as members of the entire University. That system of examinations had not yet been devised which, by annually comparing the best men of all the Colleges and classifying them as Wranglers, &c., has in some degree revived the prerogative, if not the teaching function, of the University, and knit the Colleges together.

In Trinity College the arrangements for the collegiate education of the pupils seem to have been very complete. Under one head-lecturer, or general superintendent, there were eight special lecturers or teachers, each of whom taught and examined an hour or an hour and a half daily—the *Lector Humanitatis, sive Linguae Latinae*, who also gave weekly lectures on Rhetoric; the *Lector Græcæ Grammaticæ*; the *Lector Linguae Græcæ*; the *Lector Mathematicus*; and four *Sublectores*, under whom the students advanced gradually from elementary Logic to the higher parts of Logic and to Metaphysics.¹ In St. John's College, the next in magnitude after Trinity, the instruction—if we may judge from the accounts given by Sir Simonds D'Ewes of his studies there in 1618 and 1619—does not seem to have been so systematic. For this reason, it may be taken as the standard of what was usual in other colleges, such as Christ's.

¹ Dean Peacock's Observations on the Cambridge Statutes.

D'Ewes, being a pious youth, was in the habit, of his own accord and while he was yet but a freshman, of attending at the Divinity Professor's lectures, and also at the Divinity Acts in the Schools. He also attended the public lectures of old Downes in Greek (the *De Coronâ* of Demosthenes being the subject) and those of the poet Herbert in Rhetoric. This was voluntary work, however, undertaken all the more readily because the lectures were gratis; and, when Downes, who was a fellow of St. John's, offered to form a private Greek class for the benefit of D'Ewes and a few others, D'Ewes was alarmed and sheered off. "My small stipend my father allowed me," he says, "affording me no sufficient remuneration to bestow on him, I excused myself from it, telling him," &c., and keeping out of his way afterwards as much as possible. All the education which D'Ewes received in his *College* during the two years he was there consisted (1) in attendance on the problems, sophisms, disputations, declamations, catechizings, and other exercises which were regularly held in the College chapel; (2) in the daily lessons he received in Logic, Latin, and everything else, from his tutor, Mr. Holdsworth; and (3) in his additional readings in his own room, suggested by his tutor or undertaken by himself. Here, in his own words, under each of these heads, is an exact inventory of his two years' work:—

(1.) *Public Exercises in the Chapel, &c.* "Mine own exercises, performed during my stay here, were very few:—replying only twice in two Philosophical Acts: the one upon Mr. Richard Saltonstall in the Public Schools, it being his Bachelor's Act; the other upon Mr. Nevill, a fellow-commoner and prime student of St. John's College, in the Chapel. My declamations also were very rarely performed,—the first in my tutor's chamber, and the other in the College-chapel." (2.) *Readings with his Tutor.* "Mr. Richard Holdsworth, my tutor, read with me but one year and a half of that time [*i. e.* of the whole two years]; in which he went over all Seton's Logic¹ exactly, and

¹ "Dialectica Joannis Setoni, Cantabrigiensis, annotationibus Petri Carteri, ut clarissimis, ita brevissimis, explicata. Huic accessit, ob artium ingenuarum inter se cognationem, Gulielmi Bucklei Arithmetica: Londini, 1611." There were editions of this work, with exactly the same title, as early as 1572, from

which time it seems to have been the favourite elementary text-book in logic at Cambridge. The appended "Arithmetic" of Bucklaus (Buckley) is a series of rules in addition, subtraction, &c., in memorial Latin verse,—a curiosity in its way.

part of Keckermann¹ and Molinaeus.² Of Ethics or Moral Philosophy he read to me Golius and part of Piccolomineus³; of Physics, part of Magirus⁴; and of History, part of Florus." (3.) *Private Readings and Exercises*. "Which [*i. e.* Florus] I afterwards finished, transcribing historical abbreviations out of it in mine own private study; in which also I perused most of the other authors [*i. e.* of those mentioned as read with his tutor], and read over Gellius' Attic Nights and part of Macrobius' Saturnals. . . . My frequent Latin letters and more frequent English, being sometimes very elaborate, did much help to amend and perfect my style in either tongue; which letters I sent to several friends, and was often a considerable gainer by their answers, —especially by my father's writing to me, whose English style was very sententious and lofty. . . . I spent the next month (April, 1619) very laboriously, very busied in the perusal of Aristotle's Physics, Ethics, and Politics [in Latin translations, we presume]; and I read Logic out of several authors. I gathered notes out of Florus' Roman History. At night also, for my recreation, I read [Henry] Stephens' Apology for Herodotus, and Spenser's Faerie Queen, being both of them in English. I had translated also some odes of Horace into English verse, and was now Englishing his book *De Arte Poetica*. Nay, I began already to consider of employing my talents for the public good, not doubting, if God sent me life, but to leave somewhat to posterity. I penned, therefore, divers imperfect essays; began to gather collections and conjectures in imitation of Aulus Gellius, Fronto, and Casellius Vindex, with divers other materials for other writings. All which I left imperfect."

The names of the books mentioned by D'Ewes bear witness to the fact, otherwise known, that this was an age of transition at Cambridge out of the rigid scholastic discipline of the previous century into something different. The time of modern Mathematics, as superior co-regnant with Philology in the system of study, had not yet come; and that which reigned along with Philology, or held that place of supremacy by the side of Philology which Mathematics has since occupied, was ancient Logic or Dialectics.⁵ *Ancient Logic*, we say; for Aristotle was still

¹ "Keckermanni Barthol. Systema Logicæ. Svo. Hanov. 1600." Keckermann was also author of "Præcognita Logica: Hanov. 1606," and of other works.

² Molinaeus is Peter du Moulin, one of whose numerous works was an "Elementary Logic."

³ Theophilus Golius was the author of an "Epitome Doctrinæ Moralis ex libris Ethicorum Aristotelis," published at Strasburg in 1592, among the subsequent editions of which is one at Oxford as late as 1825. Piccolomineus was, doubtless, Francis Piccolomini-

us of Sienna (ob. 1604), whose "Universa Philosophia de Moribus," published first at Venice, was a widely-read book.—For this correction of a note in the first edition I am indebted to Professor Flint.

⁴ Joannes Magirus was author of "Anthropologia, hoc est Comment. in P. Melanethonis Libellum de Animâ: Franc. 1603;" also of "Physiologia Peripatetica: 1611."

⁵ Speaking generally, one may say that the old system at Cambridge was Philology in conjunction with Logic, and that the later system has been

in great authority in this hemisphere, or rather two-thirds of the sphere, of the academic world. Not only were his logical treatises and those of his commentators and expositors used as text-books, but the main part of the active intellectual discipline of the students consisted in the incessant practice, on all kinds of metaphysical and moral questions, of that art of dialectical disputation which, under the name of the Aristotelian method, had been set up by the schoolmen as the means to universal truth. Already, however, there were symptoms of decided rebellion:— (1.) Although the blow struck at Aristotle by Luther, and by some of the other Reformers of the preceding century, in the express interest of Protestant doctrine, had been but partial in its effects, and Melancthon himself had tried to make peace between the Stagirite and the Reformed Theology, the supremacy of Aristotle had been otherwise shaken. In his own realm of Logic he had been assailed, and assailed furiously, by the Frenchman Ramus (1515—1572); and, though the Logic of Ramus, which he offered as a substitute for that of Aristotle, was not less scholastic, nor even essentially different, yet such had been the effect of the attack that Ramism and Aristotelianism now divided Europe. In Protestant countries Ramus had more followers than in Roman Catholic countries, but in almost every University his Logic was known and studied. Introduced into Scotland by Andrew Melville, it became a text-book in the Universities of that country. In Oxford it made little way; but there is good evidence that in Cambridge, in the early part of the seventeenth century, Ramus

Philology in conjunction with Mathematics. Philology, or at least Classic Philology, has been the permanent element; the others have alternated in power, as if the one must be *out* if the other was *in*. On this mutual jealousy of Logic and Mathematics hitherto, and their apparent inability to co-exist in one centre of knowledge, whether a university or the brain of an individual thinker, see some fine and humorously comprehensive remarks by the late Professor De Morgan, in his paper "On the Syllogism, and on Logic in general," in

the Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society, 1858. Noticing the fact of the recent revival of logical studies, Mr. De Morgan speculated as to the possibility that the time had arrived when the incompatibility would begin to cease, and logic and mathematics would sulkily shake hands. That there were then (1858) a few who, already, with Mr. De Morgan himself to lead them, united the characters of the logician and the mathematician, was a notable symptom.

had his adherents.¹ (2.) A still more momentous influence was at work, however, tending to modify the studies of the place, or at least the respect of the junior men for the studies enforced by the seniors. Bacon, indeed, had died as recently as 1626; and it can hardly be supposed that the influence of his works in England was yet wide or deep. It was already felt, however; more particularly in Cambridge, where he himself had been educated, with which he had been intimately and officially connected during his life, and in the University library of which he had deposited, shortly before his death, a splendidly-bound copy of his *Instauratio Magna*, with a glorious dedication in his own hand. Descartes, still alive, and not yet forty years of age, can have been little more than heard of. But the new spirit, of which these men were the exponents, already existed by implication in the tendencies of the time, as exemplified in the prior scientific labours of such men as Cardan, Kepler, and Galileo. How fast the new spirit worked, after Bacon and Descartes had given it systematic expression, may be inferred from the fact that within the next quarter of a century there was a powerful movement in England for reforming the entire system of University studies on principles thoroughly and professedly Baconian, and in the spirit of the utmost modern Utilitarianism. In one very remarkable treatise in aid of this movement, Webster's *Academiarum Examen*, which appeared in 1653, the author quotes Bacon throughout; he attacks the Universities for their slavishness to antiquity, and their hesitations between Aristotle and Ramus, as if either were of the slightest consequence; he argues for the use of English instead of Latin as the vehicle of instruction; and he presses for the introduction of more Mathematics, more Physics, and more of what he calls the "sublime and never-sufficiently praised

¹ "The Logic of Ramus," says Professor De Morgan (paper above cited), "was adopted by the University of Cambridge, probably in the sixteenth century. George Downname, or Downam, who died Bishop of Derry in 1634, was praelector of logic at Cam-

"bridge in 1590. His 'Commentarii in P. Rami Dialecticam (Frankfort, 1616),' is an excellent work." As Seton's text-book is not a Ramist book, Mr. De Morgan supposes that Downam was the Cambridge apostle of this doctrine.

science of Pyrotechny or Chymistry," into the course of academic learning. "If we narrowly take a survey," he says, "of the whole body of their scholastic theology, what "is there else but a confused chaos of needless, frivolous, "fruitless, trivial, vain, curious, impertinent, knotty, un- "godly, irreligious, thorny, and hell-hated disputes, "alterations, doubts, questions, and endless janglings, "multiplied and spawned forth even to monstrosity and "nauseousness?"¹ This was not written till twenty years after Milton had left Cambridge; but even while Milton was there, as we shall see, something of the same feeling was already operative in the University.

Mutatis mutandis, the course of Milton's actual education at Cambridge may be inferred from that of D'Ewes. In passing from D'Ewes to Milton, however, the *mutanda* are, of course, considerable. In the first place, Milton had come to College unusually well prepared by his prior training. Chappell and Tovey, we should fancy, received in him a pupil whose previous acquisitions might be rather troublesome. There need be no doubt, however, that they did their duty by him. Chappell, to whose charge he was first committed, must have read Latin and Greek with him; and in Logic, Rhetoric, and Philosophy, where Chappell was greatest, Milton must have been more at his mercy. Tovey also moved very much in the logical and scholastic line, as may be inferred from the fact of his having filled the office of College lecturer in Logic in 1621. Under him, we should fancy, Latin and Greek for Milton would be very much *ad libitum*, and the formal lessons in these tongues would be subservient to Logic. Whatever arrangements there were in Christ's for collegiate instruction, as distinct from the instruction of the students under their respective tutors, of these also Milton would avail himself to the utmost. He was probably assiduous in his attendance at the "problems, catechisings, disputations, &c." in the Chapel. There, as well as in casual intercourse, he would come in contact with

¹ "Academiarum Examen; or the Examination of Academies, &c., by

John Webster: London, 1653." It was dedicated to Major-General Lambert.

Meade, Honeywood, Gell, and the other fellows, and with Bainbriggo himself; nor, after a little while, would there be an unfriendly distance between Chappell and his former pupil. Altogether, Milton's education *domi*, or within the walls of his own College, must have been very miscellaneous. There still remains to be taken into account, however, the contemporary education *foris*, or in the University Schools. Of what of this consisted in the statutory attendance at acts, disputations, &c., Milton had, of course, his full share. Seeing, however, that his father did not grudge expense, as D'Ewes's father had done, we may assume that from the very first, and more particularly during the *triennium*, he attended various courses of instruction out of his College. He may have added to his Greek under Downes's successor, Creighton of Trinity. If there were any public lectures on Rhetoric, they were probably also by Creighton, who had succeeded Herbert as Public Orator in 1627. Bacon's intention at his death of founding a Natural Philosophy professorship had not taken effect; but there must have been some means about the University of acquiring a little mathematics. A very little served; for, more than twenty years later, Seth Ward, when he betook himself in earnest to mathematics, had to start in that study on his own account, with a mere pocketful of College geometry to begin with.¹ In Hebrew the University was better off, a Hebrew Professorship having existed for nearly eighty years. It was now held by Metcalfe, of St. John's, whose lectures Milton may have attended. Had not Whelock's Arabic Lecture been founded only just as Milton was leaving Cambridge, he might have been tempted into that other oriental tongue. Davenant, the Margaret professor of Divinity, had been a Bishop since 1621; but excellent lectures were to be heard, if Milton chose, from Davenant's successor, Dr. Samuel Ward, as well as from the Regius professor of Divinity, Dr. Collins, Provost of King's. Lastly, to make a leap to the other extreme, we know it for a fact that Milton could fence, and, in his own opinion,

¹ Powell's History of Natural Philosophy.

fence well.¹ It is probable that he took his first lessons in this accomplishment at Cambridge. If so, they were not taken from Chappell or Tovey.

Of the *results* of all these opportunities of instruction we have already had means of judging. There was not in the whole University, I believe, a more expert, a more cultured, or a nobler Latinist than Milton, whether in prose or in verse. His knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew tongues cannot at present be so directly tested; but there is evidence of his acquaintance with Greek authors, and of his having more than ventured on Hebrew.² That in Logic and Philosophy he had done all that was expected of an assiduous student might be taken for granted, even were some proofs wanting that we shall presently adduce. It seems not improbable that the crude material which served him, long afterwards, for his published Latin summary of the Logic of Ramus, entitled *Artis Logicæ Plenior Institutio*, already lay by him at Cambridge in the form of a student's notes and abstracts. In the matter of miscellaneous private readings, at all events, we can hardly exaggerate what Milton must have achieved during his seven academic years. Aulus Gellius, Macrobius, Stephens's Apology for Herodotus, and Spenser's Faerie Queene, are the chief authors on D'Ewes's list; but what a list of authors, English, Latin, and Italian, we should have before us if there survived an exact register of Milton's voluntary readings in his chamber through his seven years at Christ's College! One has to imagine the piles of ephemeral, or now obsolete, books and pamphlets in these tongues, over and above Shakespeare, Spenser, Homer, Virgil, Dante, and the other universal

¹ *Defensio Secunda*: Works, pp. 266, 267.

² In the British Museum there is a copy of Aratus, the Greek astronomical poet, which belonged to Milton. It is a quarto edition, published by Morel of Paris in 1559, and containing, besides the poet's works, *scholia* and a commentary. On the fly-leaf is Milton's name, "Jo. Milton," very neatly written, with the date "1631," and the words "pre. 2s. 6d.," indicating the

price paid for the book. On the title-page is this line from Ovid in Milton's hand:—"Cum sole et luna semper Aratus erit." In the margin of the book there are occasional corrections of the text, various readings, and brief references to authorities, showing the care with which Milton must have read the poet. These marginal notes may be seen in the *Addenda* to the Rev. John Mitford's Life of Milton, prefixed to his edition of the poet's works.

classics, not forgetting the commonplace-books, filled with notes and extracts, that gradually grew about the reader.

It is well, however, to have before us, in literal form, the written testimonies that remain to Milton's industry at the University, and to the degree of his reputed success there in comparison with his coevals:—

Aubrey's Statement.—"And was a very hard student in the University, and performed all his exercises there with very good applause."

Wood's Statement.—"There [at Christ's College], as at school for three years before, 'twas usual with him to sit up till midnight at his book; which was the first thing that brought his eyes into the danger of blindness. By his indefatigable study he profited exceedingly . . . , performed the collegiate and academical exercises to the admiration of all, and was esteemed to be a virtuous and sober person, yet not to be ignorant of his own parts."

Phillips's Statement.—"Where, in Christ's college . . . , he studied seven years and took his degree of Master of Arts, and, for the extraordinary wit and reading he had shown in his performances to attain his degree, . . . he was loved and admired by the whole University, particularly by the Fellows and most ingenious persons of his House."

Milton's own Statement in 1652.—"There for seven years I studied the learning and arts wont to be taught, far from all vice (*procul omni flagitio*) and approved by all good men, even till, having taken what they call the Master's degree, and that with praise (*cum laude etiam adeptus*), I . . . of my own accord went home, leaving even a sense of my loss among most of the Fellows of my College, by whom I had in no ordinary degree (*haud mediocriter*) been regarded."¹

Milton's own Statement in 1642. "I must be thought, if this libeller (for now he shows himself to be so) can find belief, after an inordinate and riotous youth spent at the University, to have been at length 'vomited out thence.' For which commodious lie, that he may be encouraged in the trade another time, I thank him; for it hath given me an apt occasion to acknowledge publicly, with all grateful mind, that more than ordinary respect which I found, *above any of my equals*, at the hands of those courteous and learned men, the Fellows of that College wherein I spent some years; who, at my parting, after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, signified many ways how much better it would content them that I would stay; as by many letters full of kindness and loving respect, both before that time and long after, I was assured of their singular good affection towards me."²

These passages, and especially the last of them,—published only ten years after Milton had left College, and when Bainbrigge was still Master there, and most of the Fellows were either still in their old places, or alive and accessible elsewhere,—distinctly prove that, when Milton closed his

¹ *Defensio Secunda*: Works, VI. 287.

² Apology for Smectymnuus: Works, III. 265.

✓ connexion with the University, his reputation there was extraordinary.

So far, therefore, Johnson's statement, "There is reason
"to believe that he was regarded in his College with no
"great fondness," is flatly contradicted. Yet Johnson's
statement was not made at random. We have seen that in
the first or second year of Milton's stay at College he and
the College authorities did not agree well together. What-
ever we make of the tradition of his rupture with Chappell
and his temporary rustication, the allusions in his first Latin
Elegy to the "reedy Cam," its "bare and shadeless fields,"
the "unsuitableness of the place for worshipers of Apollo,"
the "threats of the harsh master," and "the hoarse hum
"of the schools," all signify something. Later still, in his
fourth academic year, we have his words to Gill, complain-
ing of the want of genial companionship at Cambridge, and
of the low intellectual condition of those with whom he was
obliged to consort. Johnson's error, therefore, was not so
much in making the statement which he has made as in
extending its application to Milton's University career as a
whole, instead of confining it to the period of his under-
✓ graduateship. And yet, here again, Johnson does not
speak without reason. With whatever reputation Milton
left his College in 1632, there remains the fact that within
✓ ten years from that date a report did arise, and was circu-
lated in print by his adversaries, that he and the University
had parted on bad terms. The report was a calumny, and
he was able to give it the lie; but that a calumny against
✓ him should have taken this form shows that there were
circumstances aiding in its invention. It is not difficult to
see what these were. At the time when the calumny was
produced Milton had begun his polemic against those
institutions in Church and State which had their most deter-
mined supporters among the University chiefs; he, a
University man, was vexing the soul of his Alma Mater;
and what more likely than that, if there was any single fact
in his University career on which the charge could be raised
that he had always been a rebellious son, it should now be

recollected and whispered about? Nay, more, at the very time when Milton was contradicting the calumny he was furnishing additional provocations which were very likely to perpetuate it. Immediately after the passage last quoted from his pamphlet of 1642, he takes care to let his calumniator know that, while speaking of the mutual esteem which existed between him and the best men at the University while he was there, he does not mean to extend the remark to the *system* of the University.

“As for the common approbation or dislike of that place, as it now is, that I should esteem or disesteem myself or any other the more for that, too simple and too credulous is the Confuter, if he think to obtain with me or any right discerner. Of small practice were that physician who could not judge, by what both she [Cambridge] and her sister [Oxford] hath of long time ‘vomited,’ that the worser stuff she strongly keeps in her stomach, but the better she is ever keeking at and is queasy. She vomits now out of sickness, but, ere it be well with her, she must vomit by strong physie . . . In the meanwhile . . . that suburb [in London] wherein I dwell shall be in my account a more honourable place than his University. Which *as, in the time of her better health and mine own younger judgment, I never greatly admired, so now much less,*” &c.¹

It is to the statement in the last sentence that we would at present direct attention. Most University men do look back with affection to their Alma Mater, and it is natural that they should. The place where a man has been educated, where he has formed his first friendships, where he has first learnt to think or imagine that he did so, where he has first opened his lips in harangue and exchanged with other bold youths his darling erudities on the universal problems,—one does not usually like to hear of one in whom the memory of such a place survives otherwise than in pleasant associations. What matters it that the system was wrong, that half the teachers were dotards who used to be ridiculed and mimicked to their faces, or that some were a great deal worse? One must be educated under *some* system; one must struggle up to the light through *some* pyramid of superineumbent conventions; it is hard if even in the worst system there are not sterling men who redeem it and make

¹ Works, III. 265-6.

it answer; and, where there cannot be reminiscences of respect and gratitude, there may at least be reminiscences of hilarity and fun. There have been men of eminence, however, who, having been old enough or serious enough to note the defects of their University training while it was in progress, have kept the account open, and, setting aside pleasant reminiscences as irrelevant, have sued for the balance as a just debt during all the rest of their lives. Wordsworth would not own much filial respect for Cambridge.¹ It was the same with Milton before him. His references to his first tutor, Young, and to Gill, as his teacher at St. Paul's School, are uniformly respectful; but his subsequent allusions to the University are uniformly critical.

The consideration of his more mature views on the subject of University education awaits us twelve years hence. For the present it is enough to say that, as Milton came to be one of those who advocated a radical reform in the system of the English Universities, and helped to bring the system as it existed into popular disrepute, so the dissatisfaction which then broke out so conspicuously had begun, and had been already manifested by him, while he was still at Cambridge. In other words, Milton, while at Cambridge, was one of those younger spirits,—Ramists, Baconians, Platonists, as they might be called, collectively or distributively,—who were at war with the methods of the place, and did not conceal their hostility. This fact, and, indeed, the whole history of Milton's relations to Cambridge, and, through Cambridge, to the intellectual tendencies of his time, will be better understood if I proceed now to use some additional materials of a contemporary kind which his works supply.

MILTON'S *PROLUSIONES ORATORIE*.

In 1674, the last year of Milton's life, when he was as widely known as the author of *Paradise Lost* as it was his

¹ See the part of his *Prelude* referring to his residence at the University.

fate to be while living, there was published by a bookseller named Brabazon Aylmer, at the Three Pigeons in Cornhill, a little volume containing those *Epistolæ Familiares* of the poet the earliest of which we have already given in translation. It had been intended to include in the volume his Latin Public Letters, or "Letters of State," written while he was Latin Secretary to the Commonwealth and to Cromwell's Government. As we learn, however, from a Latin preface in the printer's name prefixed to the volume, it had been found impossible to fulfil this intention. "With respect to the Public Letters," he says, "having ascertained that those who alone had the power [the Government officials of Charles II.] were for certain reasons opposed to their publication, I, content with what I had got, was satisfied with giving to the world the Familiar Letters by themselves." Here, however, there occurred a publisher's difficulty. "When I found these Familiar Letters to be somewhat too scanty for a volume even of limited size, I resolved to treat with the author through a particular friend of both of us, in order that, if he chanced to have by him any little matter in the shape of a treatise, he might not grudge throwing it in, as a make-weight, to counterbalance the paucity of the Letters, or at least occupy the blank. He, influenced by his adviser, having turned over his papers, at last fell upon the accompanying juvenile compositions, scattered about, some here and others there, and at my friend's earnest request, made them over to his discretion. These, therefore, when I perceived that, as they were sufficiently approved of by the common friend in whom I trusted, so the author did not seem to think he ought to be ashamed of them, I have not hesitated, juvenile though they are, to give to the light, hoping, as it is very much my interest to do, that they will be found not less vendible by me than originally, when they were recited, they were agreeable to their auditors."¹ The "juvenile compositions" thus

¹ Translated from the preface to the original edition of the "*Epistolæ Familiares*," 1674. I may here remark on the impropriety of the practice, too

liars," 1674. I may here remark on the impropriety of the practice, too

thrown in to fill up the volume, were certain Latin *Pro-lusiones Oratoricæ* or Rhetorical Essays of Milton, written while he was at College, and the manuscripts of which had remained by him through the intervening two-and-forty years. They have, accordingly, been sometimes printed since among Milton's collected prose works. Though printed, however, they do not seem ever to have been read; and, so far as I am aware, it has fallen to me for the first time to give an account of their contents.¹ I have reserved them till now because they illustrate Milton's College career as a whole, and throw light on various points that might be otherwise obscure.

The separate title prefixed to the little body of Essays in Brabazon Aylmer's little volume is "*Joannis Miltonii Pro-lusiones quædam Oratoricæ*" ("Some Oratorical Exercises of John Milton"), while on the general title-page the additional words, "*jam olim in Collegio Adolescentis*" ("in his youth at College long ago") define their nature more particularly. The *Prolusiones* are seven in number, filling in all about ninety pages in the small duodecimo original, and about sixty in ordinary octavo reprint, and are headed severally as follows:—

1. "UTRUM DIES AN NOX PRÆSTANTIOR SIT?" ("Whether Day or Night be the more excellent?"). pp. 16 in the original duodecimo.

2. "IN SCHOLIS PUBLICIS: 'DE SPHÆRARUM CONCENTU.'" ("In the Public Schools: 'Of the Music of the Spheres.'"). pp. 5.

3. "IN SCHOLIS PUBLICIS: 'CONTRA PHILOSOPHIAM SCHOLASTICAM.'" ("In the Public Schools: 'Against the Scholastic Philosophy.'"). pp. 8.

4. "IN COLLEGIO, &c. THESIS: 'IN REI CUJUSLIBET INTERITU NON DATUR RESOLUTIO AD MATERIAM PRIMAM.'" ("Thesis in College: 'In the destruction of whatever substance there is no resolution into first matter.'"). pp. 10.

5. "IN SCHOLIS PUBLICIS: 'NON DANTUR FORMÆ PARTIALES IN

common, of reprinting the writings of authors in what are offered as "Collected Works," without reprinting at the same time all original prefaces, &c., such as the present, which might throw light on the circumstances of the individual publications, and so on the lives of the authors.

¹ The "*Prolusiones*" do not seem even to have been read intelligently

through by any editor of Milton's Works. The punctuation of them proves this, being so deplorably bad that frequently it is only by neglecting the points as they stand, and changing commas into periods and the like, that sense is to be made of important passages. This remark applies, however, to nearly all Milton's Latin prose.

ANIMALI PRÆTER TOTALEM.” (“In the Public Schools: ‘There are no partial forms in an animal in addition to the total.’”). pp. 6.

6. “IN FERIIS ÆSTIVIS COLLEGII, SED CONCURRENTE, UT SOLET, TOTÂ FERÈ ACADEMIÆ JUVENTUTE, ORATIO: ‘*Exercitationes nunquam ludicras Philosophiæ studiis non obesse.*’” (“Speech in the summer vacation of the College, but almost all the youth of the University being, as usual, present. *Subject*: ‘That occasional sportive exercises are not obstructive to philosophical studies.’”) To this Speech there is appended a *Prolusio*, delivered after it, and in connexion with it. pp. 22.

7. “IN SACRARIO HABITA PRO ARTE ORATIO: ‘BEATIORES REDDIT HOMINES ARS QUAM IGNORANTIA.’” (“Speech in Chapel in defence of Art: ‘Art is more conducive to human happiness than Ignorance.’”). pp. 20.

Of these seven exercises, three, it will be seen, were read or recited in the public schools—the 2d, the 3d, and the 5th—forming, doubtless, a portion of the statutory exercises required there. Three others—the 1st, the 4th, and the 7th—were read or recited in College, also according to regulation; the title of the last seeming to indicate that it was the “declamation” required as the last exercise in College before the M.A. degree. The 6th exercise stands by itself, as a voluntary discourse delivered by appointment at a meeting of the students of Christ’s and of other youths of the University, held, by way of frolic, in the autumn holidays. This exercise, it can be ascertained, was written in the autumn of 1628, when Milton was in his twentieth year and a sophister looking forward to his B.A. degree. The date of the 7th, if my surmise is correct, must be fixed in the session 1631-2. The dates of the others are uncertain. It is presumed, however, that they extend pretty equally over Milton’s University course and may jointly represent the whole of it. We take them in the order in which they stand.¹

EXERCISE I.

This is the opening speech or argument in a College disputation on the question “WHETHER DAY OR NIGHT BE THE MORE EXCELLENT?” The reader must fancy the fellows and students assembled in the Hall or in the Chapel at Christ’s, a moderator presiding over the debate, and Milton standing on one side in a little pulpit or

¹ As, at this point, I constitute myself the translator and editor, after a fashion, of a hitherto unedited portion

of Milton’s writings, I put my own connecting and explanatory remarks into small type.

tribune, with his manuscript before him. His thesis is that Day is altogether a much more excellent institution than Night. The treatment, as one might anticipate, is only semi-serious, the orator all the while smiling, as it were, at the absurdity of the question. Nevertheless, he enters fully into the spirit of the affair, and advocates the cause of Day splendidly. He begins thus (save that we give lame English for his sounding Latin) :—

“All the noblest Masters of Rhetoric have left it everywhere written behind them, nor has the fact escaped yourselves, Fellow-Academics, that in each of the kinds of speaking, whether the demonstrative, the deliberative, or the judicial, the exordium ought to be drawn from what will ensure the favour of the hearers, and that otherwise neither can the minds of the hearers be moved nor can the cause succeed according to purpose.¹ But, if this is the case,—and, not to conceal the truth, it is, I know, a maxim fixed and ratified by the assent of all the learned,—alas for me! to what straits am I this day reduced, fearing as I do that, in the very outset of my oration, I may be on the point of bringing forward something far from oratorical, and may have necessarily to deviate from the first and chief duty of an orator. For how can I hope for your good will, when, in this so great concourse, as many heads as I behold with my eyes, almost the same number do I see of visages bearing malice against me, so that I seem to have come as an *orator* to persons not *exorable*? Of so much efficacy in producing private grudges is the rivalry even in schools of those who follow different studies or different principles in the same studies. . . . Nevertheless, that I may not wholly despond, I do, unless I am mistaken, see here and there some, who, even by their silent aspect, signify not obscurely how well they wish me; by whom, however few they may be, I, for my part, would rather be approved than by numberless hundreds of those unskilled ones in whom there is no mind, no right reason, no sound judgment, but only pride in a certain overboiling and truly laughable foam of words; from whom if you strip the rags they have borrowed from new-fangled authors, then, immortal God! how much barer than my nail you would behold them, and, reduced to dumbness by the exhaustion of their empty stock of words and little aphorisms, μηδὲ γρὸν φθίγγεσθαι [not able to emit a grunt]. O, with what difficulty Heraclitus himself would refrain from laughing, if he were yet among the living, and were to see these (please the gods!) little orators, whom a little before he might have heard spouting forth grandeurs in the buskined Orestes of Euripides, or in Hercules madly dying, walking with lowered crest after they have got through their very slender store of a certain sort of terms, or

¹ In this sentence we see the student of Aristotle, Cicero, and the other ancient writers on Rhetoric. The division of oratory into the three species of the demonstrative, the deliberative,

and the judicial is Aristotle's; the rule about the exordium (“*reddere auditores benevolos, attentos, dociles*”) is Cicero's and everybody's.

creeping away with indrawn horns like certain little animals! But I come back from this little digression. If, then, there is any one who, scorning terms of peace, has declared truceless war against me, him at present I will not disdain to beg and entreat to set aside rivalry for a little while and give us his presence here as a fair arbiter in this debate, not allowing the fault of the orator, if there is any, to prejudice a cause the best and most illustrious intrinsically. And, should you think all this a little too biting, and dashed with too much vinegar, I profess that I have done the thing purposely; for I wish the beginning of my speech to resemble the first streak of morning, out of which, when it is somewhat cloudy, there generally springs a very clear Day. And, whether this said Day be a more excellent thing than Night——”

This Exordium is certainly a castigation for somebody, if not for the whole College of Christ's. A freshman could hardly have ventured on such language: I conclude, therefore, that the exercise was written in or about the third year of Milton's course. At whatever time it was written, the fact is distinctly intimated that the author was then, for some reason or another, unpopular in the College. He had a few friends, he says, but the majority were against him. The allusions to certain peculiarities in the direction or in the method of his studies, as the probable cause of his unpopularity, are worth attention.

After the Exordium, the orator proceeds to the Question. He undertakes to show the superiority of Day over Night on three grounds:—first, the ground of more honourable parentage; secondly, that of the greater respect of antiquity; and, thirdly, that of higher utility for all human uses. Under the first two heads there is an examination of the pedigrees of Day and Night respectively, according to the ancient Greek mythology, with quotations from Hesiod and others. On the whole, from this logomachy, Day dances out beautifully, as the nobler-born and the more classically applauded; and the remainder of the oration is taken up chiefly with a contrast by the speaker himself between the phenomena of Night and those of Day. Here the genius of the poet breaks through the mock-heroic argumentation and the heaviness of the Latin:—

“And truly, first, how pleasant and desirable Day is to the race of all living things what need is there to expound to you, when the very birds themselves cannot conceal their joy, but, leaving their little nests, as soon as it has dawned, either soothe all things by their sweetest song of concert from the tops of trees, or, balancing themselves upward, fly as near as they can to the sun, eager to congratulate the returning light? First of all the sleepless cock trumpets the approaching sun, and, like some herald, seems to admonish men that, shaking off sleep, they should go forth to meet and salute the new Aurora. The kids also skip in the fields, and the whole world of quadrupeds leaps and exults with joy. Sorrowful Clytie, having waited, her countenance turned eastwards, for her Phœbus almost all through the night, now smiles and looks caressingly towards her

coming lover. The marigold also and the rose, not to be behind in adding to the common joy, opening their bosoms, breathe forth their odours, preserved for the sun alone, which they disdain to impart to the night, shutting themselves up in their little leaves as soon as the evening touches them; and the other flowers, raising their heads a little drooping and languid with dew, offer themselves, as it were, to the Sun, and silently ask him to wipe away with his kisses those little tears which they had given to his absence. The Earth, too, clothes herself for the Sun's approach with her comelier vestment; and the near clouds, cloaked in various colours, seem, with solemn pomp and in lengthened train, to wait on the rising god. [*Here follows a quotation from the hymn of Orpheus to Morning.*] And no wonder, since Day brings not less utility than delight, and is alone suited for the encountering of business; for who could endure to cross broad and immense seas if he despaired of the advent of day? Men would then navigate the ocean no otherwise than as ghosts do Lethe and Acheron, surrounded on all sides by soul-appalling darkness. And every one would shut himself up in his own crib, scarcely ever daring to creep abroad; so that, necessarily, human society would be straight-way dissolved. . . . Justly, therefore, have the poets written that Night takes its rise from Hell; for it is clearly impossible that from any other place could so many and so great evils be brought in among mortals. For, when Night comes on, all things grow sordid and obscure; nor is there truly then any difference between Helen and Canidia, or between the most precious stones and common ones, except that some gems conquer even the obscurity of night. To this is added the fact that even the most pleasant places then strike a horror into the mind, which is increased by the deep and sad kind of silence; and, if any creature is then abroad in the fields, whether man or beast, it makes with all haste either to house or to caves, where, stretched on bed, it shuts its eyes against the terrible aspects of Night. You will behold none abroad save robbers and light-shunning rascals, who, breathing murder and rapine, plot against the goods of the citizens, and wander only at night, lest they should be detected in the day, because Day searches out all criminality, unwilling to suffer her light to be stained by deeds of that nature; you will meet nothing but the goblins and phantoms and witches which Night brings in her company from the subterranean regions, and which, while night lasts, claim the earth as in their control and as common to them with human beings. Therefore I think it is that night has made our sense of hearing sharper, in order that the groanings of ghosts, the hootings of owls and night-hags, and the roarings of lions whom hunger calls forth, may the sooner pierce our ears, and afflict our souls with heavier fear."

From this scenic contrast of the phenomena of Day with those of Night, forming the body of the discourse, the orator passes, with

a humorous ingenuity which the auditors may have relished, to a knock-down conclusion against his antagonist.

"Who, then, except a son of darkness, a burglar, a gambler, or one accustomed to spend the whole night in debauchery (*inter scortorum greges*) and to snore through entire days,—who, I say, except such would have undertaken the defence of so dishonourable and so invidious a cause as that of Night? Truly, I wonder that he dares to face this sun, and to enjoy, in common with others, the light which he ungratefully vilifies,—deserving as he does to be killed, like a new Python, by the strokes of the sun's adverse rays; deserving to be shut up in Cimmerian darkness, there to end his long and hated life; nay, deserving, last of all, to see his speech move his auditors to sleep, so that whatever he says shall no more convince than a dream, and that, drowsy himself, he shall be deceived into the fancy that his nodding and snoring auditors are assenting to him and applauding his peroration. But I see the swart eyebrows of Night, and I feel black darkness rising [*Is this a jest at the personal appearance of his opponent?*]; I must withdraw, lest Night crush me unawares. You, therefore, my hearers, since Night is nothing else than the decline and as it were death of Day, do not allow Death to have the preference over Life; but deign to adorn my cause with your suffrages. So may the Muses prosper your studies, and may Aurora, the friend of the Muses, hearken to you, and Phoebus also, who sees all things, and hears how many favourers of his praise he has in this assembly! I have done."

EXERCISE II.

This is a short Essay "ON THE MUSIC OF THE SPHERES," read in the Public Schools. From the modest tone in which it opens we infer that it was among the first of Milton's public exercises in the University. It appears, moreover, to have been delivered on some day of special note in the calendar, as one of many speeches, and as a rhetorical prelude to a disputation on the same subject. Here is the opening:—

"If there is any room, Academicians, for my insignificance, after so many great orators have to-day been fully heard, I also will endeavour, according to my small measure, to express how well I wish to the solemn celebration of this day, and will follow like one far in the rear in this day-long triumph of eloquence. While, therefore, I wholly eschew and abominate those threadbare and hackneyed subjects of discourse, my mind is kindled and at once roused up to the arduous attempting of some new matter by the thought of the day itself, as well as of those who, I was not wrong in guessing, would speak what would be worthy of the day; which two things might well have added energy and acumen even to a genius otherwise sluggish and obtuse. Hence, accordingly, it falls to me to preface, with opened hand, as

they say, and oratorical exuberance, a few things concerning that Celestial Music about which there is presently to be a dispute as it were with closed fist¹; account, however, being taken of time, which at once urges me on and straitens me."

The orator then goes on to say that this notion of the Music of the Spheres is not to be taken literally. Pythagoras was too wise a man to have inculcated such a puerility; and whatever harmony of the spheres he taught was nothing else than the friendly relations of the celestial orbs and their obedience to fixed law.

"It was Aristotle, the rival and constant calumniator of Pythagoras and Plato, who, desiring to strew his own way to glory with the wrecks of the opinions of those great men, attributed to Pythagoras the notion of this unheard symphony of the heavens, this music of the spheres. But, if either fate or chance had so allowed it, Father Pythagoras, that thy soul had passed into me, there would then not be wanting one to defend thee, however long labouring under heavy obloquy. And, truly, why should not the heavenly bodies, in those perennial circuits of theirs, produce musical sounds? Does it not seem just to you, Aristotle? On my word, I should hardly believe that your own intelligences could have endured that sedentary labour of rolling the heaven for so many ages, unless that unspeakable melody of the stars had kept them from leaving their places, and persuaded them to stay by the charm of music. And, if you take from space those fine sensations, you give up your ministering deities also to a bridewell, and condemn them to a treadmill."

The speaker then proceeds to cite those stories of the ancient mythology which show the universality of the belief in music as filling space. What of Arion and his lyre? What of Apollo's skill as a musician? How of that fable of the Muses dancing day and night, from the first beginning of things, round Jove's altars? And what, he continues, though no one on earth *now* has ever heard this starry symphony? Shall all above the moon's sphere be therefore supposed mute? Rather let us accuse our own feeble ears, which either are not able or are not worthy to receive the sounds of so sweet a song. (Here Milton must have had in his mind the well-known passage in *The Merchant of Venice*, Act V. sc. i.) Nay, but the starry music *may* be heard:—

"If *we* carried pure and chaste and snow-clean hearts, as did Pythagoras of old, then should *our* ears resound and be filled with that sweetest music of the over-wheeling stars, and all things should on the instant return as to the golden age, and thus, free at last from

¹ Milton here uses a common comparison of the schools, according to which the *rhetorical* treatment of a subject was to the *logical* treatment of

the same as the opened and outspread hand is to the closed fist. Constitutionally, Milton himself preferred the opened and outspread hand.

misery, we should lead a life of easy blessedness, enviable even by the gods."

EXERCISE III.

This, like the last, is an oration of about half-an-hour before an audience in the Public Schools. It is "AGAINST THE SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY." After a modest introduction, in which Cicero's observation is quoted, that a good speech ought at once to instruct, delight, and actively influence, the orator proceeds:—

"I shall produce abundant active effect at present if I can induce you, my auditors, to turn over seldomer those huge and almost monstrous volumes of the subtle doctors, as they are called, and to indulge a little less in the warty controversies of the sophists."

He undertakes to show that Scholastic Studies are neither pleasant nor fruitful. Under the first head he says:—

"Often, my hearers, when there chanced to be imposed upon me now and then the necessity of investigating these subtle trivialities, after blunting both my mind and my eyesight with a day's reading,—often, I say, I have stopped to take breath, and thereupon, measuring the task with my eyes, I have sought a wretched relief from my fatigue; but, as I always saw more remaining than I had got through in my reading, I have wished again and again that, instead of these enforced vanities, there had been assigned me the task of a recleansing of the Augean cow-house, and have called Hercules a happy fellow, to whom Juno in her good nature had never commanded the endurance of this kind of toil. Nor is this nerveless, languid, and earthy matter elevated or dignified by any beauty of style. . . . I think there never can have been any place for these studies on Parnassus, unless perhaps some uncultivated nook at the foot of the hill, unlvely, rough and horrid with brambles and thorns, overgrown with thistles and thick nettles, far removed from the dance and company of the goddesses, producing neither laurel nor flowers, and never reached by the sound of Apollo's lyre."

Poetry, Oratory, and History, he says, are all delightful, each in its own way; but this Scholastic Philosophy does nothing but irritate. He then passes to the second argument against it, that from its inutility:—

"By these two things in chief have I perceived a country to be advanced and adorned—either noble speaking or brave action; but this litigious battling of discordant opinions seems unable either to qualify for eloquence, or to instruct in prudence, or to incite to brave deeds. . . . How much better would it be, Academicians, and how much more worthy of your reputation, to walk as it were with the eyes over the universe of earth as it is portrayed in the map, to see places trodden

by the ancient heroes, to traverse regions ennobled by wars, triumphs, and even the fables of illustrious poets,—now to cross the stormy Adriatic, now to approach safely the flame-emitting *Ætna*; furthermore to observe the manners of men and the fairly ordered states in which nations have arranged themselves, and then to investigate and study the natures of all living things, and from these again to direct the mind downward to the secret virtues of stones and plants! Nor hesitate, my hearers, even to soar into the heavens, and there contemplate the multiform shows of the clouds, and the collected power of the snow, and whence those morning tears, and then look into the coffers of the hail, and survey the magazines of the lightnings; nor let there be hidden from you what either Jupiter or Nature means when a dreadful and vast comet menaces the heaven with conflagration; nor let even the minutest little stars, in all their number, as they are scattered between the two poles, escape your notice; nay, follow the wandering sun as his companions, and call time itself to a reckoning, and demand an account of its eternal march. But let not your mind suffer itself to be contained and circumscribed within the same limits as the world, but let it stray even beyond the boundaries of the universe; and let it finally learn (which is yet the highest matter) to know itself, and at the same time those holy minds and intelligences with whom hereafter it is to enter into everlasting companionship. But why too much of this? Let your master in all this be that very Aristotle who is so much delighted in, and who has left almost all these things scientifically and exquisitely written for our learning. At the mention of whose name I perceive you to be now suddenly moved, Academicians, and to be drawn step by step into this opinion, and, as it were, to be borne on in it more resolutely by his invitation.”

The reader will observe Milton's prepossession in favour of that real or experimental knowledge (Geography, Astronomy, Meteorology, Natural History, Politics, &c.), which it was Bacon's design to recommend in lieu of the scholastic studies. He will also observe, however, the reverent mention of Aristotle as himself an authority and exemplar in the right direction.

EXERCISE IV.

This is a College thesis on the proposition, “IN THE DESTRUCTION OF WHATEVER SUBSTANCE THERE IS NO RESOLUTION INTO FIRST MATTER.” As might be guessed from the heading, the exercise is, in fact, one of those metaphysical ingenuities of the schools on the absurdity and uselessness of which Milton has just been heard. As if loth to enter upon the question, he opens with a somewhat long and irrelevant introduction on the potency of error in the world, in the course of which he seems again to glance at the unsatisfactory nature of the scholastic discussions. He then continues:—

“But I seem to hear some grumbling, ‘What is he driving at now? While he is inveighing against error, he is himself errant through the

whole universe.' I confess the error; nor should I have acted thus if I had not promised myself much from your indulgence. Now, therefore, at length let us gird ourselves for the prescribed task; and from these so great difficulties may the goddess Lua (as Lipsius says) happily deliver me! The question which is this day proposed to us to be disentangled is this: Whether in the destruction of anything whatever there takes place a resolution into first matter? Which in other words is wont to be stated thus: Whether any accidents that were in a corrupted substance remain also in that produced from it? that is, Whether, the form perishing, there perish also all the accidents that pre-existed in the compound?"

There are illustrious names, he says, on both sides of this controversy; but *he* takes part with those who contend that, in the destruction of a substance, there is never a resolution into first matter.

"If there is resolution into first matter, it is essentially implied that this is rashly predicated of first matter,—to wit, that it is never found pure. Adversaries will reply, 'This is said in respect of form'; but let those sciolists, then, thus hold that substantial forms are nowhere found apart from accidental forms. But this is trifling, and does not go to the root of the case. Stronger arguments must be used. And first let us see what ancient philosophers we have favouring our side. Lo! as we inquire, Aristotle spontaneously presents himself, and, with a chosen band of his interpreters, gives us the advantage of his bulk; for I would have you understand, my hearers, that this battle was begun under the leadership and advice of Aristotle himself, and begun with good auspices, as I hope. Who himself seems to hint the same that we think, *Metaph.* VII. *Text* 8, where he says that quantity first of all inheres in matter. Whoever shall oppose this opinion is, I may tell him, guilty of heresy against what has been ruled by all the sages. Moreover, Aristotle elsewhere clearly means quantity to be a property of first matter, which is also asserted by most of his followers; but who, even on the sentence of a judge selected on his own side, would tolerate the disseverance of a property from its subject? But come, let us proceed piece by piece, and consider what reason advises. Our assertion, then, is proved first from this, that matter has proper actual entity from its own proper existence, and accordingly may support quantity, or at least that kind of it which is called indeterminate. What though some confidently affirm that form is not received into matter except through the medium of quantity? Secondly, if an accident is destroyed, it must necessarily be destroyed only in these ways—either by the introduction of a contrary, or *per desitionem termini*, or by the absence of another conserving cause, or, finally, from the defect of the proper subject in which it inheres. Quantity cannot be destroyed in the first way, inasmuch as," &c.

After two or three pages of metaphysical reasoning of this kind,—utterly, and, I think, purposely bewildering to the wits of his auditors, but in which the old metaphysical terms, *Substance*, *Accident*, *Quantitative*, *Extension*, *Intension*, &c. are apparently used in their proper senses and flourished about in the most approved academic fashion,—the disputant emerges, with a smile on his face, thus:—

“I might have dwelt, and I ought to have dwelt, longer on this subject. Whether to you I know not, however, but certainly to myself I am a great bore. It remains that we now descend to the arguments of our opponents; which the Muses grant I may pound if possible into first matter, or rather into nothing!”

There is then another plunge into the metaphysical region in pursuit of his opponents; but whether he overtakes them there, and succeeds in executing his threat upon them, the reader may find out, in the original Latin, for himself.

EXERCISE V.

This is another physio-metaphysical discussion,—read, however, not in College, like the last, but in the Public Schools. The proposition maintained is, “THERE ARE NO PARTIAL FORMS IN AN ANIMAL IN ADDITION TO THE WHOLE.” As before, there is a rhetorical introduction of some length, in itself quite irrelevant to the topic on hand, but which the speaker cleverly makes relevant. He dilates for about a page on the singular growth of the Roman Empire, and its ultimate destruction by barbaric invasion; and then he says that all this reminds him of the position of truth in this world, assailed by so many errors and enemies. One of these errors he is to discuss, and he promises to be very brief.

“Some pertinaciously contend that there is a plurality of total forms in an animal, and each of them defends this opinion according to his own taste; others assert more importunately that there is one only total form, but a multiplicity of partial forms lodged in the same matter. With the former for the time we in warlike fashion make truce, while we direct the whole strength and force of the battle against the latter. In the forefront be placed Aristotle, who is clearly with us, and who, towards the close of his first book *De Animâ*, favours our assertion not obscurely. To add some arguments to this authority needs no long disquisition. First there offers himself to me Chrysostomus Javellus, from whose rubbish-heap, despite his horrid and unpolished style, we may dig out gold and pearls, which if any one is fine enough to despise, Æsop’s fable of the cock will fit him rather nicely. He argues much in this fashion:—The distinction and organization of dissimilar parts must precede the introduction of the soul, as this is the act not of any body whatever, but of the organic physical agent; wherefore, immediately before the production of the total form, the partial ones must necessarily be destroyed,” &c. &c.

After a continuation in the same strain, Milton again takes refuge in more congenial rhetoric, and concludes with a fine passage on the invincibility of truth.

EXERCISE VI.

This is by far the most interesting of the Essays autobiographically. It was delivered, as we shall see, in the summer or autumn of 1628, the place being the hall of Christ's College, and the occasion a great meeting of the Fellows and Students, both of that College and of others, for the purpose of fun and frolic after the labours of the session. The essay consists of two parts, the first a dissertation on the compatibility of occasional frolic with philosophical studies, the second a frolicsome discourse introductory to the other sports of the day. We feel bound to translate both nearly at length.

ORATION.

“THAT SPORTIVE EXERCISES ON OCCASION ARE NOT INCONSISTENT
WITH THE STUDIES OF PHILOSOPHY.”

“When lately, Academicians, I returned hither from that city which is the head of cities [*i. e. London*], filled, even to repletion, with all the delights with which that place overflows, I hoped to have again for some time that literary leisure in which as a mode of life I believe that even celestial souls rejoice, and it was quite my intention to shut myself up in literature and apply myself to sweetest philosophy day and night; for the change from work to pleasure always removes the fatigue of satiety, and causes tasks left unfinished to be sought again with more alacrity. But, just as I was getting into a glow, this almost annual celebration of a very old custom has suddenly called me and dragged me from these studies, and I am ordered to transfer to trifles and the excogitation of new frivolities those pains which I had first destined for the acquisition of wisdom. As if, forsooth, all the world were not at this moment full of fools; as if that illustrious Ship of Fools, no less celebrated in song than the *Argo*, had gone to wreck; as if, finally, matter for laughter were now wanting to Democritus himself!

“But pardon me, I pray, my hearers; for this custom of ours to-day, though I have spoken of it a little too freely, is indeed not foolish, but much rather laudable;—which, indeed, is what I have proposed now exhibiting more lucidly to you. And, if Junius Brutus, that second founder of the Roman state, that great avenger of regal lust, deigned to suppress, under simulated idioty, a soul almost a match for the immortal gods and a wondrous genius, truly there is no reason why *I* should be ashamed of playing the fool for a little while, especially at the bidding of him whose business it is, as our ædile, to take charge of these solemn games, if I may call them such. Then also there drew and invited me, in no ordinary degree, to undertake this

part, your very recently discovered graciousness to me,—you, I mean, who are of the same College with myself. For, when, some few months ago, I was about to perform an oratorical office before you, and was under the impression that any lucubrations whatsoever of mine would be the reverse of agreeable to you, and would have more merciful judges in Æacus and Minos than almost any of you would prove, truly, beyond my fancy, beyond any small particle of hope I had, they were, as I heard, nay as I myself felt, received with the no ordinary applause of all—yea, even of those who, 'at other times, were, on account of disagreements in our studies, altogether of an angry and unfriendly spirit towards me.¹ A generous mode of exercising rivalry this, and not unworthy of a royal breast, if, when friendship itself is wont often to misconstrue much that is blamelessly done, yet then sharp and hostile enmity did not grudge to interpret much that was perchance erroneous, and not a little, doubtless, that was unskilfully said, more clemently than I merited. . . .

“In truth, I am highly delighted and wonderfully pervaded with pleasure at seeing myself surrounded and on all sides begirt with so great a crowd of most learned men; and yet again, when I descend into myself, and secretly, as it were with inturned eyes, behold my weakness, I am conscious of many a blush, and a certain intruding sadness depresses and chokes my rising joy. . . . Let no one wonder if I triumph, as one placed among the stars, that so many men eminent for erudition, and nearly the whole flower of the University, have flocked hither. For I hardly think that more went of old to Athens to hear the two supreme orators, Demosthenes and Æschines, contending for the sovereignty of eloquence, nor that such felicity ever befell a declamation of Hortensius, nor that so many unusually cultivated men ever graced with their company a speech of Cicero's; so that, though I should discharge this duty all the more lamely, it will yet be no despicable honour for me even to have uttered words in so great a concourse and assembly of such excellent men. . . . I have said all this not in a spirit of boasting; for I would that there were now granted me any such honeyed, or rather nectarean, flood of eloquence as of old ever steeped, and, as it were, celestially bedewed, Athenian or Roman genius; I would that it were given me to suck out the whole marrow of persuasion, and to pilfer the very scrips of Mercury himself, and thoroughly to exhaust all the hiding-places of the elegancies, so that I might bring hither something worthy of so great expectation, of so illustrious an assembly, of so polished and delicate ears. . . .

“However this may be, I entreat you, my hearers, that none of you repent of giving yourselves a brief holiday with these frivolities of mine; for the report is that all the gods themselves have often, the

¹ If the reader will refer back (p. 275-279) he will probably conclude, as I do, that the reference here is to the College

oration which stands first in the present series,—*i. e.* that on the superiority of Day to Night.

care of their heavenly polity laid aside for the time, been present at the spectacle of pignies fighting; sometimes even they are related, not disdaining humble cottages, and received with a poor hospitality to have made a meal of beans and leeks. I, in like manner, beseech and beg you, my excellent hearers, that this poor little entertainment of mine, such as it is, may pass for a feast to your subtle and knowing palates. Truly, though I know very many sciolists with whom it is a constant custom, if they are ignorant of anything, haughtily and foolishly to condemn that same in others as a thing not worth *their* bestowing pains upon,—this one for example impertinently carping at Dialectics, which he never could acquire, and this other making no account of Philosophy, because Nature, that fairest of the goddesses, never deemed him worthy of such an honour as that she should let him behold her naked charms,—yet I will not grudge to praise, to the extent of my power, festivities and jests, in which I do acknowledge my faculty to be very slight (*festivitates et sales, in quibus quoque perexiguam agnosco facultatem meam*), premising only this, that it seems an arduous and far from easy task for me this day to praise jocularly in serious terms.

“Nor are my praises undeserved. What is there that sooner conciliates and longer retains friendship than a pleasant and festive disposition? Let there be a person who has no jests, nor fun, nor nice little facetiæ in him, and you will hardly find one to whom he is agreeable and welcome. And, were it our daily custom, Academicians, to go to sleep and as it were die in Philosophy, and to grow old among the thickets and thorns of Logic, without any relaxation or any breathing-time granted, what else, pray, would philosophising be but prophesying in the cave of Trophonius and following Cato's too rigid sect? The very rustics themselves would say that we lived on mustard. Add that, as those who accustom themselves to field strife and sports are rendered much stronger than others, and readier for all work, so in like manner it happens that by this intellectual gymnastic the sinews of the mind are strengthened, and better blood and juice, as it were, is procured, and the genius becomes clearer and acuter, and nimble and versatile for everything. But, if there is any one who would rather not be considered urbane and gay, let him not take it to heart if he is called country-bred and clownish. Well do we know a certain illiberal kind of fellows, who, utterly morose and unfestive themselves, and silently taking measure of their own meanness and ignorance, can never hear any remark of a sprightly nature without immediately thinking it is levelled at *them*,—deserving, in fact, to have that happen to them which they wrongly suspect, and to be pelted with the jeers of all till they almost think of hanging themselves. Those riff-raff gentry, however, avail nothing against the freedom of elegant politeness.

“Do you wish, my hearers, that on this foundation of reason I should pile an argument from instances? Such are supplied me

abundantly. First of all there is Homer, that morning star of civilized literature with whom all learning was born as a twin; for he, sometimes recalling his divine mind from the counsels of the gods and the deeds in heaven, and turning aside into the humorous, described most amusingly the battles of the mice and the frogs. Moreover, Socrates, the wisest of mortals, the Pythian himself being witness, is said often to have baffled with pleasantry the brawling bad temper of his wife. Then we read reports everywhere of the pithy sayings of the old philosophers, well sprinkled with salt and classic wit; and surely it was this alone that conferred an eternity of name on all the ancient writers of comedies and epigrams, both Grecian and Latin. Moreover, we hear of Cicero's jokes and facetiæ as having filled three books, when collected by a disciple. And every one now has in his hands that most ingenious *Encomium of Folly*, the work of no low writer [Erasmus], and many other not unamusing essays of very celebrated speakers of late times are extant on laughable topics. Will you have the greatest commanders, kings, and warriors? Take Pericles, Epaminondas, Agesilaus, and Philip of Macedon, who (if I may speak in the Gellian manner) are related by historians to have abounded in jocosities and witty sayings, and, with them, Caius Lælius, Publius Cornelius Scipio, Cneius Pompeius, Caius Julius Cæsar, and also Octavius Cæsar, who are said, on the authority of M. Tullius, to have excelled all their contemporaries in this sort of thing. Will you have yet greater names? The poets, most sagacious in shadowing forth the truth, bring in Jupiter himself and 'the rest of the celestials abandoning themselves to joviality amid their feasts and cups. . . .

"But perchance there are not wanting certain Bearded Masters, very crabbed and harsh, who, thinking themselves great Catos, and not little Catos, and composing their countenances to a Stoic severity, and shaking their stiff polls, will tetchily complain that everything now-a-days is in confusion and tending to the worse, and that, in place of an exposition of the Prior Analytics of Aristotle by the recently initiated Bachelors, scurrilities and empty trivialities are shamelessly and unseasonably bandied about, this day's exercise too, doubtless rightly and faithfully established by our ancestors with a view to some signal benefit whether in Rhetoric or in Philosophy, now of late giddily changing itself into a display of insipid witticisms.¹

¹ The scurrilities and jokes indulged in by disputants in the Public and College Aets had long been a matter of complaint with the heads and graver seniors of the University. Thus, by a grace of 1638, it had been provided that "all scurrility and foolish and improper jesting moving to theatrical laughter" should be banished from disputations at the Commencement, though "graceful witticisms connected

with literate elegance" were to be encouraged in the Philosophical Act, especially in the prævaricator. Again, as late as 1626 (in Gostliu's Vice-Chancellorship), it had been decreed that, whereas ridiculous gesticulations, facetious remarks, and jests against the laws and the authorities of the University, were but too common in College and University disputations, all such irreverence should be repressed in

But I have an answer at hand and ready for such. Let them know, if they do not know, that letters had hardly been brought from foreign countries to these coasts at the time when the laws of our Literary Republic were first framed; on which account, as skill in the Greek and Latin tongues was then exceedingly rare and unusual, it was fitting that men should labour and aspire after them by all the harder study and all the more assiduous exercises. But we, worse moralled than our predecessors, but better instructed, ought to leave studies that have not much difficulty and go on to those to which they would have betaken themselves if they had had leisure. Nor has it escaped you that all early legislators are wont always to promulgate edicts a little harder and more severe than can be borne, so that men by deviating and gradually relapsing may hit the right mean. . . . But truly I think that the man who is wont to be so taken with jests as plainly to neglect for them what is serious and more useful—I think, I say, that such a man cannot make much progress either in this line or in that: certainly not in serious matters, because, were he equipped and fashioned by nature for treating serious things, I believe he would not so easily suffer himself to be drawn away from them; nor yet in lightsome affairs, because scarce any one can jest well and gracefully unless he has first learnt to act seriously.

“But I fear, Academicians, I have drawn out the thread of my discourse longer than I ought. I will not excuse myself as I might, lest, in excusing myself, I should aggravate the fault. And now, released from all oratorical laws, we are about to plunge into comic licence. In which if by chance I shall outgo by a finger's breadth, as they say, my proper character and the rigid laws of modesty, know, fellow-academicians, that I have thrown off and for a little while laid aside my old self in your interest; or, if anything shall be said loosely, anything floridly, consider it suggested to me not by my own mind and disposition, but by the rule of the time and the genius of the place. Accordingly, what comic actors are wont to beg as they go off the stage I entreat as I begin. *Plaudite et ridete.*”

The reader will understand that here Milton breaks off his serious introductory discourse, and dashes, as the leader of the absurdities of the day, into an expressly comic and even coarse extravaganza.

THE PROLUSION.

“By what merit of time I have been created Dictator in the labouring and all but down-tumbling Commonwealth of Fools I am verily ignorant. Wherefore *I*, when that very Chief and Standard-bearer of all the Sophisters was eagerly ambitious of this office and would have most valiantly performed its duties? For that veteran soldier some

future by severe penalties. Milton had evidently these regulations and their promoters in view.

little time ago laboriously led about fifty Sophisters armed with short bludgeons through the Barnwellian fields, and, as he was about to besiege the town, did in proper military fashion throw down the aqueduct, that he might force the townsmen to a surrender by thirst. In truth I am greatly vexed that the gentleman has gone off, if so be that, by his departure, he has left all of us Sophisters not only *headless* but also *beheaded*.¹

“And now, my hearers, suppose with yourselves that, though this is not the first of April, the feast of *Hilary*, dedicated to the mother of the gods, is near, or that divine homage is being paid to the god Laughter. Laugh, therefore, and raise a cachinnation from your saucy spleens, wear a cheerful front, hook your nostrils for fun, but don’t turn up your noses; let all things ring with most abundant laughter, and let a still freer laugh shake out tears of joy, that, these being all exhausted with laughing, grief may not have a single drop left with which to grace her triumph. I, in truth, if I see any one laughing too niggardly with suppressed grinning, will say that he is hiding teeth either bad and decayed and covered with scurf or sticking out all misplaced, or else that, in dining to-day, he has so filled his stomach *ut non audeat ilia ulterius distendere ad risum, ne præcinenti ori succinat, et ænigmata quedam nolens affutiat sua non Sphinx sed sphincter anus, quæ medicis interpretanda, non Œdipo, relinquo*.” . . .

Here follows a long passage (not now very intelligible) alluding to certain portions of the ceremonial of the orgy over which the speaker was presiding,—in particular to certain “fires,” “flames,” and “whirling clouds of smoke,” with the College porter and his imps looming diabolically amidst them, through which, it appears, all had to pass on entering the hall, to join in the Saturnalia. This over, he resumes :—

“I return to you, my hearers. Repent not of so troublesome and formidable a journey hither. Lo! the entertainment prepared for you, the tables spread with quite Persian luxury, and loaded with the most exquisite dainties, such as would delight and appease the most Apician taste. They say that eight whole wild boars were set before Antony and Cleopatra at a feast; but here for you, for the first course, are fifty full-fed wild boars that have been soaked in pickle for three years, and are yet so brawny that they may well fatigue even your dog teeth [*the older undergraduates, doubtless*]. Next, as many capital oxen with splendid tails, just roasted before the door by our servant; but I fear they may have exuded all their juice into the dripping-pan. After them behold as many calf-heads, very crass and fleshy, but with a supply of brains so very small as not to suffice for

¹ The reader must make what he can of this passage, which seems to be a reference to some University frolic in which the town-conduit suffered, and

the memory of which, and of the ringleader in it, was still fresh. There may be some pun on the ringleader’s name in the italic words.

seasoning. Then again also a hundred kids, more or less, but too lean, I think." . . .

Besides these there are "rams," "Irish birds," "parrots," a "very fat turkey-cock," "eggs," "apples," &c.—all metaphorical names, I suppose, for students or classes of students present. In the description of some of these metaphorical viands Milton, it is right that the reader should know, is about as nauseous and obscene as the resources of the Latin dictionary could well enable one to be.

"But now I proceed to what more nearly concerns me. The Romans had their Floralia, rustics have their harvest-homes, bakers have their oven-warmings; and we also, being more particularly at this time free from cares and business, are wont to sport in a Socratic manner. Now, the Inns of Court have their Lords, as they call them, even thus indicating how ambitious they are of rank. But we, fellow-academicians, desiring as we do to get as near as possible to paternity, take pleasure in acting under a feigned name that part which certainly we dare not act unless in secret¹; just as girls solemnly play at pretended weddings and child-births, thus catching at and enjoying the shadows of what they sigh for and desire. On what account this solemnity was let pass last year truly I cannot divine, unless it was that those who were to act the part of Fathers behaved so valiantly in town that he who had the care of the arrangements, pitying the labours they had undergone, voluntarily released them from their duty. But why is it that *I* am so suddenly made Father? Ye gods, support me! What prodigy is this, beating all Pliny's portents! Have I, for killing some snake, become liable to the fate of Tiresias? Has some Thessalian witch smeared me with magic ointment? *An dēnique ego a deo aliquo vitatus, ut olim Cnæus, virilitatem pactus sum stupri pretium, ut sic repente ἐκ θηλείας εἰς ἀρρενα ἀλλαχθεῖν ἂν?* By some of you I used lately to be nicknamed '*The Lady*.'"

Here I must interrupt the speaker with an explanation. The original words in the last sentence are "*a quibusdam audivi nuper 'Domina,'*" which might mean also, "I heard some of you lately call out '*Lady*.'" In that case what follows would have to pass as said *extempore*. As this is unlikely, however, I have preferred the other translation. In any case we have the interesting fact here authenticated for us by Milton himself that, at Christ's College, he used to go by the nickname of "*The Lady*." The fact is independently handed down to us by Aubrey, and, after him, by Wood. "He was so fair," says Aubrey, "that they called him '*The Lady of Christ's Coll.*'"; and Wood says, "When he was a student in Cambridge, he was so fair and clear that many called him '*The Lady of Christ's College.*'" From the sequel it will be seen that it was not only with reference to his clear complexion that this nickname was used.

¹ On academic occasions of this kind the elected president was called "*The Father*."

“Why seem I to them too little of a man? Is there no regard for Priscian? Do pert grammaticasters thus attribute the *propria que maribus* to the feminine gender? Is it because I have never been able to quaff huge tankards lustily, or because my hands have not grown hard by holding the plough, or because I have never, like a seven years’ herdsman, laid myself down and snored at midday; in fine, perchance, because I have never proved my manhood in the same way as those debauched blackguards? I would they could as easily doff the ass as I can whatever of the woman is in me. But see how absurdly and unreflectingly they have upbraided me with that which I on the best of grounds will turn to my glory. For Demosthenes himself was also called too little of a man by his rivals and adversaries. Quintus Hortensius, too, the most renowned of all orators after M. Tullius, was nicknamed ‘a Dionysiac singing-woman’ by Lucius Torquatus. . . .

“I turn me therefore, as Father, to my sons, of whom I behold a goodly number; and I see too that the mischievous little rogues acknowledge me to be their father by secretly bobbing their heads. Do you ask what are to be their names? I will not, by taking the names of dishes, give my sons to be eaten by you, for that would be too much akin to the ferocity of Tantalus and Lycaon; nor will I designate them by the names of parts of the body, lest you should think that I had begotten so many bits of men instead of whole men; nor is it my pleasure to call them after the kinds of wine, lest what I should say should be not according to Bacchus. I wish them to be named according to the number of the Predicaments, that so I may express their distinguished birth and their liberal manner of life; and by the same means I will take care that all be promoted to some degree before my death.¹ . . .

“I do not wish, my children, in giving advice to you, to be excessively laborious, lest I should seem to have taken more pains in instructing you than in begetting you; only let each of you beware lest of a son he become a nephew; and don’t let my sons get drunk, if they would have me for a father. [There are puns in the Latin here which cannot be translated: “*Tantum caveat quisque ne ex filio fiat nepos; liberique mei ne colant Liberum, si me velint patrem.*”] If I am to give my advices, I feel that they ought to be proffered in the vernacular tongue; and I will make my utmost effort that you may understand all. But, first, Neptune, Apollo, Vulcan, and all the Artificer-Gods are to be implored by me, that they may have the goodness either to strengthen my ribs with wooden stays or to bind

¹ The joke seems to be as follows:—“You have made me your *Father* on this occasion,” says the speaker, “*that* being the name you bestow on your president in such solemnities. I accept the title, and fancy I see my sons. How shall the rogues be named? I

will not call them *Beef, Mutton, Pork, Veal*, &c.; nor will I call them *Head, Neck, Breast, Back*, &c.; nor will I call them *Sack, Rhenish, Sherries*, &c. No; I will call them after the ten Predicaments or Categories of Aristotle.”

them round with plates of iron. Moreover, Goddess Ceres is likewise to be supplicated by me, that, as she gave Pelops an ivory shoulder, in like manner she may deign to repair my almost exhausted sides. Nor is there reason why any one should be surprised if, after so great a bawling and the birth of so many sons, they should be a little weaker than usual. In these matters, therefore, I have in a Neronian sense delayed longer than enough; and now, leaping over the University Statutes, as if they were the walls of Romulus, I run across from Latin to English. Let those of you whom such things please now give me attentive ears and minds."

Here the orator, as he has just forewarned his hearers, breaks off his Latin prose harangue, and commences a peroration in English verse. This peroration is not included in the "*Prolusiones*," as published in 1674; but the bulk of it had already appeared in a new edition of the Minor Poems, published in the preceding year, 1673, and it is consequently to be seen still in all the later editions of the Poetical Works. It is the piece headed: "ANNO ÆTATIS 19: AT A VACATION EXERCISE IN THE COLLEGE, PART LATIN, PART ENGLISH; THE LATIN SPEECHES HAVING ENDED, THE ENGLISH THUS BEGAN."¹ As it stands in all our copies, detached from the exercise of which it formed a part, the piece is almost unintelligible; and I am glad to be able to restore it here to its proper connexion. The reader will see, however, that some parts of the original are omitted, and the blanks filled up with explanatory prose. The piece must originally have been considerably longer: whence perhaps Milton's prayer for stronger ribs in order to do it justice after so much previous speaking.

Hail, Native Language, that by sinews weak
 Didst move my first endeavouring tongue to speak,
 And mad'st imperfect words with childish trips,
 Half unpronounced, slide through my infant lips,
 Driving dumb Silence from the portal door
 Where he had mutely sat two years before:
 Here I salute thee, and thy pardon ask
 That now I use thee in my latter task.
 Small loss it is that thence can come unto thee;
 I know my tongue but little grace can do thee.
 Thou need'st not be ambitious to be first;
 Believe me I have thither packed the worst:
 And, if it happen as I did forecast,
 The daintiest dishes shall be served up last.

¹ This heading fixes the date of the Exercise; which, however, is also indicated by allusions contained in it. The lines, as stated in the text, were first printed in 1673, having been omitted in the first edition of the Poems in 1645. In the volume of 1673 they are printed near the end; but there is a notice in the *Errata* directing them to be placed near the beginning, immediately after

the Lines "*On the Death of a Fair Infant*." They had probably, therefore, been recovered by Milton among his papers as the volume was passing through the press; and possibly they were then recovered because he was searching for the "*Prolusiones*" to elke out the prose volume which appeared in the following year.

I pray thee, then, deny me not thy aid
For this same small neglect that I have made ;
But haste thee straight to do me once a pleasure,
And from thy wardrobe bring thy chiefest treasure :
Not those new-fangled toys and trimming slight
Which takes our late fantasies with delight ;
But cull those richest robes and gayest attire
Which deepest spirits and choicest wits desire.
I have some naked thoughts that rove about,
And loudly knock to have their passage out,
And, weary of their place, do only stay
Till thou hast decked them in thy best array,
That so they may, without suspect or fears,
Fly swiftly to this fair assembly's ears.
Yet I had rather, if I were to choose,
Thy service in some graver subject use,
Such as may make thee search thy coffers round,
Before thou clothe my fancy in fit sound :
Such where the deep transported mind may soar
Above the wheeling poles, and at Heaven's door
Look in, and see each blissful deity,
How he before the thunderous throne doth lie,
Listening to what unshorn Apollo sings
To the touch of golden wires, while Hebe brings
Immortal nectar to her kingly sire ;
Then, passing through the spheres of watchful fire,
And misty regions of wide air next under,
And hills of snow, and lofts of piled thunder,
May tell at length how green-eyed Neptune raves,
In Heaven's defiance mustering all his waves ;
Then sing of secret things that came to pass
When beldam Nature in her cradle was ;
And last of kings and queens and heroes old,
Such as the wise Demodocus once told
In solemn songs at king Alcinous' feast,
While sad Ulysses' soul and all the rest
Are held, with his melodious harmony,
In willing chains and sweet captivity.
But fie ! my wandering Muse, how thou dost stray !
Expectance calls thee now another way.
Thou know'st it must be now thy only bent
To keep in compass of thy Predicament.
Then quick about thy purposed business come,
That to the next I may resign my room.

*The ENS is represented as Father of the Predicaments, his ten Sons; whereof the Eldest stood for SUBSTANCE, with his canons; which ENS, thus speaking, explains:*¹

Good luck befriend thee, Son; for at thy birth
 The faery ladies danced upon the hearth.
 Thy drowsy nurse hath sworn she them did spy
 Come tripping to the room where thou didst lie,
 And, sweetly singing round about thy bed,
 Strew all their blessings on thy sleeping head.
 She heard them give thee this, that thou shouldst still
 From eyes of mortals walk invisible
 Yet there is something that doth force my fear;
 For once it was my dismal hap to hear
 A sibyl old, bow-bent with crooked age,
 That far events full wisely could presage,
 And, in Time's long and dark prospective glass,
 Foresaw what future days should bring to pass:
 "Your son," said she, "(nor can you it prevent)
 "Shall subject be to many an *Accident*.
 "O'er all his brethren he shall reign as king,
 "Yet every one shall make him underling;
 "And those that cannot live from him asunder
 "Ungratefully shall strive to keep him under.
 "In worth and excellence he shall outgo them;
 "Yet, being above them, he shall be below them.
 "From others he shall stand in need of nothing;
 "Yet on his brothers shall depend for clothing.
 "To find a foe it shall not be his hap,
 "And peace shall lull him in her flowery lap;
 "Yet shall he live in strife, and at his door
 "Devouring war shall never cease to roar;

¹ The Aristotelian Categories or Predicaments (*i. e.* conditions or affections of real being, in one or other of which every object whatever must necessarily be predicated, if it is thought of at all) are all so many subdivisions of ENS or Being generally; which may therefore be called their Father. ENS or Being is subdivided into,—1. *Ens per se* or *Substance*, and, 2. *Ens per Accidens* or *Accident*. By farther subdivisions of *Accident*, there arise as its varieties these nine: Quantity, Quality, Relation, Action, Passion, Place where, Time when, Posture, and Habit. These nine, together with *Substance*, make the *Ten Predicaments*; but it is evident that they are not of co-ordinate rank. *Substance* is clearly of greater import-

ance than the other nine, which all arise out of *Accident*, and are so many modifications of *Accident*. He may therefore well be called the eldest son of ENS. Milton, as Father, speaks for ENS, we may suppose; but whether, by way of keeping up the dramatic form, he got other students to represent the ten Predicaments, and either speak as his sons or be addressed by him in that capacity, we cannot say. *Substance*, it will be seen, makes no speech himself, but listens to one from ENS; Quantity and Quality do speak, but it is in prose; Relation also is called up and probably speaks; but what use was made of Action, Passion, Where, When, Posture, and Habit, is left untold.

"Yea, it shall be his natural property

"To harbour those that are at enmity."

What power, what force, what mighty spell, if not
Your learned hands, can loose this Gordian knot?

The next—QUANTITY and QUALITY—*spake in prose; then RELATION was called by his name:—*

RIVERS, arise : whether thou be the son
Of utmost Tweed, or Ouse, or gulfy Dun,
Or Trent, who, like some earth-born giant, spreads
His thirty arms along the indented meads,
Or sullen Mole, that runneth underneath,
Or Severn swift, guilty of maiden's death,
Or rocky Avon, or of sedgy Lee,
Or coaly Tyne, or ancient hallowed Dee,
Or Humber loud, that keeps the Scythian's name,
Or Medway smooth, or royal-towered Thame.¹

"The rest was Prose."

I shall not attempt any commentary upon this somewhat extraordinary production, but shall leave it to make its own impression. It will be seen, by those who have read it, that Milton's preliminary apology for anything in it that might be out of keeping with his usual character was not altogether unnecessary. Every year there were in the University such revelries, in which the Latin tongue was ransacked for terms of buffoonery and scurrility, and the classic

¹ To these lines Warton appended this note:—"It is hard to say in what sense or in what manner this introduction of the rivers was to be applied to the subject." Warton only expressed here what all readers of the lines must have felt puzzled by till the other day. The lines are excellent, and the conversation of the rivers so poetical and sonorous, after the Spenserian manner, that one lingers over it with a kind of enchanted fondness; but how did they come there, and what is it all about? Not till 1859, just after the publication of the first edition of the present volume, was the mystery solved, and then by a neat little discovery of the late Mr. W. G. Clark, Vice-Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. Having been shrewd enough to detect the key to the passage in the prefixed prose-intimation, "*Then RELATION was called by his name,*" followed immediately by the opening words, "RIVERS, arise," he took the trouble to inquire whether there might not have been some student in Christ's College of the name of RIVERS who took the

part of the Predicament RELATION in the Extravaganza, and was therefore the person addressed by Milton in his character of Father ENS. The inquiry was successful, the Admission-Book of Christ's College showing that on the 10th of May, 1628, two brothers, named George and Nizell Rivers, sons of Sir John Rivers, a Kentish baronet, had entered the College as lesser pensioners, under the tutorship of Mr. Gell, the elder in his fifteenth year, the younger in his fourteenth. The elder of these, George Rivers, still a freshman of only a month or two in the College at the time of this Summer Vacation Extravaganza, was doubtless the student whom Milton addressed and upon whose name he punned so elaborately. In prosaic substance, it is as if he had said, "Get up, you young booby; they call you RIVERS, it seems; but where in the world do you come from, and which of the English rivers do you represent?" There may, as I have already hinted, be other latent puns of the kind through the Latin parts of the Extravaganza.

mythology for its gross anecdotes. From what I have seen of other extant specimens of such revelry, I think I can aver that Milton could beat the Clevelands and the Randolphs even in this sort of thing when he chose. His Latin fun, if not so brisk and easy as theirs, is more ponderous, outrageous, and smashing. I note, too, in comparing Milton's oratorical exercises generally with those of Cleveland and others,¹ that Milton's are uniformly much the longer. I fancy that his auditors may have thought him laborious and long-winded. The present oration, for example, cannot have occupied in the delivery less than an hour and a half.

EXERCISE VII.

This is also a long oration. It must have occupied about an hour in speaking. It was delivered in the chapel of the College, most probably in 1631-2, as the "Declamation," or perhaps as part of the "Act," required of all intending commencers in the Master's degree. The proposition maintained is:—"ART IS MORE CONDUCTIVE TO HUMAN HAPPINESS THAN IGNORANCE." The oration opens thus:—

"Although nothing is more agreable and desirable to me, my hearers, than the sight of you, and the crowded attendance of gentlemen in gowns, and also this honourable office of speaking, which on more occasions than one I have with no unpleasant pains discharged among you, yet, to confess the actual truth, it always so happens that, though neither my genius nor the nature of my studies is at all out of keeping with the oratorical office, nevertheless I scarcely ever come to speak of my own free will and choice. Had it been in my power, I should not unwillingly have spared myself even this evening's labour; for, as I have learned from books and from the deliverances of the most learned men that no more in the orator than in the poet can anything common or mediocre be tolerated, and that whoever would truly be and be reputed an orator must be instructed and finished with a certain circular subsidy of all the arts and all science, so, my age not permitting this, I would rather be working with severe study for that true reputation by the preliminary acquisition of that subsidy than prematurely snatching a false reputation by a forced and precocious style. In such meditation and purpose daily chafed and kindled more and more, I have never experienced any hindrance and delay more grievous than this frequent mischief of interruption, and nothing more nutritive to my genius and conservative of its good health, as contra-distinguished from that of the body, than a learned and liberal leisure. This I would fain believe to be the divine sleep of Hesiod; these to be Endymion's nightly meetings with the Moon; this to be that retirement of Prometheus, under the guidance of Mercury, to the steepest solitudes of Mount Caucasus, where he became the wisest of gods and men, so that even Jupiter himself is

¹ Cleveland's Academic Orations and Prolusions, printed in his works in

Latin, are worth looking at in connexion with Milton's.

said to have gone to consult him about the marriage of Thetis. I call to witness for myself the groves and rivers, and the beloved village-elms under which in the last past summer (if it is right to speak the secrets of goddesses) I remember with such pleasure the supreme delight I had with the Muses; where I too, amid rural scenes and sequestered glades, seemed as if I could have vegetated through a hidden eternity. Here also I should have hoped for the same large liberty of retirement, had not this troublesome business of speech-making quite unseasonably interposed itself; which so disagreeably dispelled my sacred dreams, so wrenched my mind from other matters on which it was fixed, and proved such an impediment and burden among the precipitous difficulties of the Arts, that, losing all hope of continued repose, I began sorrowfully to think how far off I was from the tranquillity which letters first promised me,—to think that life would be painful amid these heats and tossings, and that it would be better even to have parted with recollection of the arts altogether. And so, scarce master of myself, I undertook the rash design of appearing as the eulogist of an Ignorance that should have none of these inflictions to disturb her, and proposed accordingly for debate the question which of the two made her votaries happier, Art or Ignorance? But, what it is I know not, either fate or my genius has willed that I should not desert from my once begun love of the Muses; nay, blind Chance herself, as if suddenly become prudent and provident, seems to have set herself against the same result. Sooner than I could have anticipated, Ignorance has found her own advocate, and Knowledge is left to be defended by me.” . . .

After this characteristic introduction, Milton proceeds to his subject. The discourse, though the title has the trivial look common in such debating-society questions, is one of the finest pieces of Latin prose ever penned by an Englishman. The Latin differs from Bacon's Latin precisely as Milton himself differed from Bacon. It is eloquent after a different fashion, a magnanimous chant rather than a splendid dissertation. It might be worth while to translate the whole into English, so as to compare Milton's essay “On the objects, pleasures, and advantages of Knowledge” with others that are better known. Abbreviation here, however, may not be amiss.

“I regard it, my hearers, as known and accepted by all that the great Maker of the Universe, when he had constituted all things else fleeting and corruptible, did mingle up with Man, in addition to that of him which is mortal, a certain divine breath, as it were part of Himself, immortal, indestructible, free from death and extinction; which, after it had sojourned purely and holily for some time in the earth as a heavenly guest, should flutter aloft to its native heaven, and return to its proper home and fatherland: accordingly, that nothing can deservedly be taken into account as among the causes of our happiness that does not somehow or other regard both that everlasting life and this civil life below.”

Such being his main proposition, he argues that it is only by the exercise of the soul in contemplation, so as to penetrate beyond the grosser aspects of phenomena to the cardinal *ideas* of things human and divine, that man can be true to his origin and destiny, and so in the highest sense happy. He then passes, in poetic rather than in logical order, to such thoughts as the following :—

“ That many very learned men have been of bad character, slaves to anger, hatred, and evil lusts, and that, on the other hand, many men ignorant of letters have proved themselves good and excellent,—what of that? Is Ignorance the more blessed state? By no means. . . . Where no Arts flourish, where all learning is exterminated, there is no trace of a good man, but cruelty and horrid barbarism stalk abroad. I call as witness to this fact not one state, or province, or race, but Europe, the fourth part of the globe, over the whole of which during some bygone centuries all good Arts had perished. The presiding Muses had then long left all the Universities; blind inertness had invaded and occupied all things; nothing was heard in the schools except the impertinent dogmas of stupid monks; the profane and formless monster, Ignorance, having forsooth obtained a gown, capered boastingly through our empty reading-desks and pulpits, and through our squalid cathedrals. Then piety languished, and Religion was extinguished and went to wreck, so that only of late, and scarce even at this day, has there been a recovery from the heavy wound. But, truly, my hearers, it is sufficiently agreed upon, as an old maxim in philosophy, that the cognisance of every art and every science belongs only to the Intellect, but that the home and abode of the virtues and of goodness is the Will. Since, however, in the judgment of all, the human intellect shines eminent as chief and ruler over the other faculties of the mind, so it is this clearness of the intellect that tempers and illuminates the will itself, otherwise blind and dark, the Will, like the moon, then shining with borrowed light. Wherefore, though we concede and grant most willingly that virtue without knowledge is better for a happy life than knowledge without virtue, yet, when once they have been mutually consociated in a happy union,—as they generally ought to be, and as very often happens,—then straightway Science appears and shines forth, in her high superiority, with countenance erect and lofty, placing herself on high with king and emperor Intellect, and thence regarding as humble and low under foot whatever is done in the Will.”

The orator then passes to civil life and to historical instances. After speaking of great princes who had voluntarily retired, in the ends of their lives, into the recluse enjoyment of letters, as a happiness higher than that of conquest or statesmanship, he continues :—

“ But the greatest share of civil happiness generally consists in human society and the formation of friendships. Now, many com-

plain that the majority of those who pass for learned men are harsh, uncourteous, of ill-ordered manners, with no graciousness of speech for the conciliation of the minds of their fellows. I admit, indeed, that one who is almost wholly secluded and immersed in studies is readier to address the gods than men,—whether because he is generally at home with the gods, but a stranger and pilgrim in human affairs, or because the mind, enlarged by the constant contemplation of divine things, and so wriggling with difficulty in the straits of the body, is less expert than it might otherwise be in the nicer gestures of social salutation. But, if worthy and suitable friendships are formed by such a person, no one cherishes them more sacredly; for what can be imagined pleasanter or happier than those colloquies of learned and grave men, such as the divine Plato is said to have often and often held under his plane-tree,—colloquies worthy to have been listened to with attentive silence by the whole human race together! But to talk together stupidly, to humour one another in luxury and lusts, what is this but the friendship of Ignorance, or rather the ignorance of Friendship?

Moreover, if civil happiness consists in the honourable and liberal delectation of the mind, there is a pleasure in Learning and Art which easily surpasses all pleasures besides. What a thing it is to have compassed the whole humour of heaven and its stars; all the motions and vicissitudes of the air, whether it terrifies untaught minds by the august sound of its thunders, or by the blazing hair of its comets, or whether it stiffens into snow and hail, or whether it descends soft and placid in rain and dew; then to have thoroughly learnt the alternating winds, and all the exhalations or vapours which earth or sea gives forth; thereafter to have become skilled in the secret forces of plants and metals, and understanding in the nature and, if possible, the sensations of animals; further, to have studied the exact structure and medicine of the human body, and finally the divine *vis* and vigour of the mind, and whether any knowledge reaches us of what are called guardian spirits and genii and demons! There is an infinitude of things besides, a good part of which might be learnt before I could have enumerated them all. So, at length, my hearers, when once universal learning has finished its circles, the soul, not content with this darksome prison-house, will reach out far and wide till it shall have filled the world itself, and space beyond that, in the divine expatiation of its magnitude. . . . And what additional pleasure it is to the mind to wing its way through all the histories and local sites of nations, and to turn to the account of prudence and of morals the conditions and mutations of kingdoms, states, cities, and peoples! This is nothing less, my hearers, than to be present as if living in every age, and have been born as it were coeval with Time herself; verily, while for the glory of our name we look forward into the future, this will be to extend and outstretch life back-

ward from the womb, and to extort from unwilling fate a certain foregone immortality.

"I omit that with which what can be counted equivalent? To be the oracle of many nations; to have one's house a kind of temple; to be such as kings and commonwealths invite to come to them, such as neighbours and foreigners flock to visit, such as to have even once seen shall be boasted of by others as something meritorious: these are the rewards, these the fruits, which Learning both can and often does secure for her votaries in private life. But what in public life? It is true the reputation of learning has elevated few, nor has the reputation of goodness elevated many more, to the summit of actual majesty. And no wonder. Those men enjoy a kingdom in themselves, far more glorious than all dominion over realms; and who, without incurring the obloquy of ambition, affects a double sovereignty? I will add this more, however, that there have been but two men yet who have held in their possession as a gift from heaven the universal globe, and shared, over all kings and dynasts, an empire equal to that of the gods themselves,—to wit, Alexander the Great and Octavius Cæsar, both of them pupils of philosophy. It is as if a kind of model of election had been divinely exhibited to men, showing them to what sort of man above all the baton and reins of affairs ought to be entrusted.

The orator then discusses certain cases—particularly that of the ancient Spartans and that of the modern Turks—in which it might be said there had been powerful political rule by illiterate men. He disposes of this objection, and proceeds to consider the objection involved in the common complaint that "Life is short and Art is long." With all deference to Galen, he says, as the author of that celebrated saying, it results chiefly from two removable causes,—the one the bad tradition of Art itself, the other our own laziness,—that this saying does not give place to its opposite, "Life is long and Art is short." In expounding this sentiment, he becomes more than Baconian in his measure of what is possible to man regulating his reason by right methods.

"If, by living modestly and temperately, we choose rather to tame the first impulses of fierce youth by reason and persevering constancy in study, preserving the heavenly vigour of the mind pure and untouched from all contagion and stain, it would be incredible, my hearers, to us looking back after a few years, what a space we should seem to have traversed, what a huge sea of learning to have over-navigated with placid voyage. To which, however, this will be an important help,—that one shall know the Arts that are useful, and how rightly to select what is useful in the Arts. How many despicable trifles there are, in the first place, among grammarians and rhetoricians! You may hear some talking like barbarians, and others like infants, in teaching their own Art. What is Logic? The queen,

truly, of Arts, if treated according to her worth. But alas ! what madness there is in reason. Here it is not men that live, but only finches feeding on thistles and thorns. *O dura messorum ilia !* Why should I repeat that the art which the Peripatetics call Metaphysics is not, as the authority of great men would have me believe, an extremely rich art,—is not, I say, for the most part, an Art at all, but an infamous tract of rocks, a kind of Lerna of sophisms, invented to cause shipwrecks and breed pestilence ? . . . When all those things which can be of no profit have been deservedly contemned and cut off, it will be a matter of wonder how many whole years we shall save. . . . If from boyhood we allow no day to pass without its lessons and diligent study, if in Art we wisely omit what is foreign, superfluous, useless, then certainly, within the age of Alexander the Great, we shall have made a greater and more glorious conquest than that of the globe, and so far shall we be from accusing the brevity of life or the fatigue of knowledge that I believe we shall be readier, like him of old, to weep and sob that there remain no more worlds for us to conquer.”

One last argument, he goes on to say, Ignorance may still plead on her side. It is this :—

“That, whereas a long series and onward course of years has celebrated the illustrious men of antiquity, we, on the other hand, are under a disadvantage by reason of the decrepit old age of the world and the fast approaching crash of all things ; that, should we leave anything deserving to be spoken of with eternal praise, yet our name has but a narrow limit of time to have dealings with, inasmuch as there will be scarcely any posterity to inherit the memory of it ; that already it is in vain that so many books and excellent monuments of genius are being produced, when that last fire of the world is so near that will burn them all in its conflagration.”

To this argument he answers as follows :—

“I do not deny that this may be likely ; what I say is that the very habit of not hankering after glory when one has done well is itself above all glory. What a nothing has been the happiness conferred on those very heroes of the past by the empty speech of men, since no pleasure from it, no sense of it at all, could reach the absent and the dead ! Let us expect an eternal life in which at least the memory of our good deeds on earth shall never perish ; in which, if we have done anything fairly here, we shall be present ourselves to hear of it ; in which, as many have seriously speculated, those who have formerly, in a virtuously spent life on earth, given all their time to good acts, and by them been helpful to the human race, shall be aggrandized with singular and supreme science above all the rest of the immortals.”

To the foregoing seven Academic Exercises of Milton, all given to the world by himself in 1674, the last year of his life, under the title *Prolusiones Quædam Oratoriæ*, save that the English portion of the sixth of them had appeared in a detached form in the second edition of his Minor Poems in the preceding year, there may be added, I believe, two more scraps from his pen, which have all the appearance of having been also College or University exercises of his during his stay at Cambridge :—

PROLUSION ON EARLY RISING, WITH VERSES.

Together with the interesting Common-Place Book of Milton recently found by Mr. Alfred J. Horwood, when examining the family-papers of Sir Frederick U. Graham, of Netherby, Cumberland, Bart., for the purposes of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and edited by Mr. Horwood for the Camden Society in 1877, there was found a single loose leaf of foolscap paper, "much damaged by damp and its left margin destroyed," which had evidently belonged to Milton, and had passed after his death into the same hands that had obtained the Common-Place Book. On this loose leaf, still at Netherby with the Common-Place Book, there was found a short Latin Essay, headed "MANE CITUS LECTUM FUGE" ("Get up Early in the Morning"), with a copy of appended verses in Latin elegiacs, and also an imperfect fragment of Latin verse in Choriambic Tetrameters. Both the essay and the verses have been, very properly, printed by Mr. Horwood, as an appendix to his edition of the Common-Place Book. He entitles them there "PROLUSION AND VERSES PRESUMED TO BE BY JOHN MILTON," choosing that ambiguous title because, though parts of the writing have "a strong likeness to some of Milton's undoubted writing," yet "the writing is not as a whole like any that has been heretofore known as Milton's," but is "a stiff legal hand, with a shade of timidity." All the same he has next to no doubt that the Essay and the Verses are of Milton's composition. Not only was the leaf containing them found in the same box at Netherby with Milton's Common-Place Book; but the left-hand margin of the leaf exhibits the name *Milton* written on a level with the first line of the Essay, and the preceding letters *es*, evidently the remainder of *Joannes*, were distinctly visible when the leaf was found, though that part of the paper soon crumbled away. Farther, the internal evidence is all to the effect that Milton must have been the author, as Mr. Horwood makes clear by a comparison of the language with that of the "Prolusion on the Superiority of Day to Night," and as the reader will perceive for himself from the following translation :—

"It is a trite old proverb, *To rise with the dawn is most healthful*; nor is the proverb less true than ancient. In fact, were I to try to produce in order the several uses of the practice, I should seem like one performing an arduous task. Rise, then; rise, thou sluggard; let not thy soft couch detain thee for ever; little knowest thou what delights

the morning offers. Would you delight your eyes? Behold the sun rising in purple, the heaven pure and healthful, the grass-grown greenness of the fields, the variety of all the flowers. Would you regale your ears? Harken the brisk songs of the birds and the light murmurs of the bees. Would you please your nostrils? You cannot have enough of the sweetness of the odours breathed forth from the flowers. But, if all this is not to your taste, have some regard, I beg you, for your own health; since to get up from bed on the top of the morning conduces not a little to firm bodily strength. It is also the time fittest for studies, for then you have your genius at its readiest. Furthermore, it is the duty of a good king not to pamper his body with immoderate sleep and lead a lazy and unemployed life, but to mind state-business night and day, as Theocritus shrewdly advises:—

Οὐ χρὴ κωμᾶσθαι βαθέως.

And in Homer Sleep thus addresses Agamemnon:—

Εὔδεις, Ἀτρεΐος υἱέ, δαΐφρονος, ἱπποδάμοιο;
Οὐ χρὴ παννύχιον εὔδειν βουλευφόρον ἄνδρα.

Wherefore do the poets fable that Tithonus and Cephalus were lovers of Aurora? Doubtless because they were extremely spare sleepers, and were in the habit of leaving their beds to stroll over the painted fields, clothed with their many-coloured vegetation. But, radically to extirpate sleepiness, to leave no trace of it remaining, I shall endeavour to expose the numberless inconveniences which flow from it to all. It is this that blunts and numbs the nimble génius and does all possible harm to the memory; and can anything be more discreditable than to snore far into the day and as it were dedicate the greatest part of your life to death? But, thou who presidest in state affairs, it is thy duty above all to attend to the night-watches and wholly to shake off the stealthy advance of too close sleep. For there are many instances of persons who, attacking their enemies when they were laden and as it were buried in heavy sleep, have slain them slaughteringly, and effected such a massacre of them as it is a misery to see or hear of. Thousands of cases of this kind are at hand which I could relate at inexhaustible length. But, if I should imitate that style of Asiatic exuberance, I fear I should kill my wretched auditors with fatigue.”

As there can be no doubt that this little prolusion is Milton's, so there can be no doubt, I think, that the appended Latin Elegiacs and Asclepiadics are his. They are a mere metrical repetition of the ideas of the Prolusion, the Elegiacs emphasising the general advice to get up early and insisting again on the delights of morning sounds and scenery and on the benefits to health, while the fragment of Asclepiadics applies the lesson specially to a king or commander by citing historical examples of nocturnal surprises of sleeping armies and camps. The whole trifle having, therefore, to be accepted as a

recovered specimen of Milton's early Latin, the sole question is to what date it is to be referred. From the somewhat boyish style of the sentence-making, not to say the questionable character of the Latin here and there, it might be a very fair guess that the thing was one of his exercises at St. Paul's School, of which he had preserved a copy. If so, the probability is that old Mr. Gill or young Mr. Gill had on some occasion prescribed the subject of early rising, with its advantages in particular to a king or other public man, as a theme for Latin prose-composition and verse-making, and that Milton's performance was the best. In that case, it would be one of those productions of Milton of which, as he tells us in one of his letters to the younger Gill, he had found that gentleman a very candid critic, and the proper place for a notice of it would have been in a former chapter of the present volume, in connexion with the juvenile English Paraphrases of the two Psalms. It is perfectly possible, however, and is even suggested by the oratorical cast of the Prologue and the phrases implying its public delivery before an audience, that we are right in including the scrap here among Milton's Academic Exercises at Cambridge. If so, it must have been a College-exercise, and of earlier date than any of the seven College and University exercises he thought worth publishing afterwards.* It may even have been his very first in Christ's.

OF THE PLATONIC IDEA AS UNDERSTOOD BY ARISTOTLE.

Clearly an Academic Exercise, but with no such signs of juvenility in it, but rather every sign of having been done late in his undergraduateship, or even after he had taken his B.A. degree, is the piece of Iambic Trimeters, headed DE IDEA PLATONICA QUEMADMODUM ARISTOTELES INTELEXIT, published by Milton among the *Sylve* in the first edition of his Minor Poems in 1645, and again in the second edition in 1673, and placed in both editions immediately after the Hexameters entitled NATURAM NON PATI SENIUM. These last, as we know, were for the Commencement Day of 1628, and the Iambic Trimeters may have been for some similar University occasion. They may be given in pretty close translation thus :—

“Declare, ye goddess-guardians of the sacred groves,
And thou, O blessed mother of the Muses nine,
Dame Memory, and thou who in some distant cave
Liest outstretched at ease, lazy Eternity,
Keeping the archives and established laws of Jove,
The heavenly daybooks and the almanacs divine,
Who was that first original in whose image
All-cunning Nature schemed and shaped the human race,
Himself eternal, incorrupt, the world's coeval,
Single and universal, copy of God Supreme,
Not as twin-brother of the never-wedded Pallas
Dwells he, a birth internal, in the mind of Jove ;
But, howsoe'er his nature be more general,
Yet he exists apart in individual form,
And, strange to say, is tied to a fixed bound of space :

Whether, as everlasting comrade of the stars,
 He roams at large all ranges of the ten-fold heaven,
 Or haunts the moony circuit nearest to ourselves ;
 Whether, amid the souls that wait to be embodied,
 He sits in torpid doze by Lethe's drowsy tide ;
 Whether, mayhap, in some vague outfield of the earth
 He walks a giant huge, the archetype of man,
 And to the gods erects the terrors of his crest,
 Outbulking Atlas even who bears the starry load.
 Never did he to whom his blindness gave deep sight,
 Dircæan Augur old, compass a glimpse of him ;
 Never in silent night has swift-foot Mercury
 Descending shown him to the sapient prophet-choir :
 No ken of him has the Assyrian priest, although
 He can repeat the list of all the sires of Ninos,
 And tell of pristine Belos and Osiris famed ;
 Neither has he, so glorious with the triple name,
 Egypt's thrice-greatest sage, though read in secret lore,
 Left any hint of such for those that worship Isis.
 But thou, perennial ornament of Academe,
 If *thou* 'twas first brought in these monsters to the schools,
 Surely forthwith those poets banished from thy city
 Thou wilt recall, as biggest fabler of the tribe,
 Or, founder though thou art, thyself go forth the gates."

These Latin Iambics of Milton, Warton tells us, were reprinted in a burlesque volume of 1715 as "a specimen of unintelligible metaphysics." They ought never to have been unintelligible in the least. They are an interesting proof of Milton's early affection for Plato and the Platonic Philosophy. "With an evident admiration of Plato," as I have elsewhere annotated the piece, "and an imaginative sympathy with Plato's doctrine of an Eternal Idea or Archetype, one and universal, according to which man was formed, and which reproduces itself in men's minds and thoughts, it yet shows how, by a too physical or too coldly satirical construction of this doctrine, it may be turned into burlesque. Where shall that famous personage, the Idea or Archetype, be sought, or who has ever been able to lay salt on his tail?" This is the substance of Milton's meaning in his ironical version of Aristotle's criticism of the Platonic Theory of Ideas. It was an entire misapprehension, he virtually says, of the Platonic Theory, and Plato himself would have been the first to laugh at the notion of such a hunt for the Archetype through the purlieus of physical existence and experience.

The reader will now, I think, agree with me that these Academic Exercises of Milton possess much autobiographic value. They throw light upon Milton's career at Cambridge. They illustrate the extent and nature of his reading, his habits and tastes as a student, the relation in which

he stood to the University system of his time, and to the new intellectual tendencies which were gradually affecting that system. They also settle in the most conclusive manner the fact that Milton passed through two stages in his career at the University,—a stage of decided unpopularity, in his own College at least, which lasted till about 1628, and a final stage of triumph, when his powers were recognised. These same essays, however, taken along with the materials previously exhibited, afford us the means of now attempting, by way of summary, some more exact sketch of Milton's character as a whole at the point of his life to which we have brought him. \ \

When Milton left Cambridge in July 1632, he was twenty-three years and eight months old. In stature, therefore, he was already whatever he was to be. "In stature," he says himself at a later period, when driven to speak on the subject, "I confess I am not tall, but still of what is nearer to "middle height than to little: and what if I were of little; "of which stature have often been very great men both in "peace and war,—though why should that be called little "which is great enough for virtue?"¹ This is precise enough; but we have Aubrey's words to the same effect. "He was scarce so tall as I am," says Aubrey; to which, to make it more intelligible, he appends this marginal note:—"Qu. Quot feet I am high? Resp. Of middle stature."—i. e. Milton was a little under middle height. "Ho had light brown hair," continues Aubrey,—putting the word "abrown" ("auburn") in the margin by way of synonym for "light brown;"—"his complexion exceeding fair; oval face; his eye a dark grey." As Milton himself says that his complexion, even in later life, was so much "the reverse of bloodless or pallid" that, on this ground alone, he was generally taken for ten years younger than he really was, Aubrey's "exceeding fair" must mean a very delicate white and red. Then, he was called "The Lady" in his

¹ *Defensio Secunda* (written 1654): Works, VI. 260.

College, an epithet which implies that, with this unusually delicate complexion, the light brown hair falling to his ruff on both sides of his oval face, and his slender and elegant rather than massive or powerful form, there was a certain prevailing air of the feminine in his look. The feminine, however, was of that peculiar sort which could consist with clear eyes of a dark grey and with a "delicate and tunable voice" that could be firm in the low tenor notes and carry tolerably sonorous matter. And, ladylike though he was, there was nothing effeminate in his demeanour. "His deportment," says Wood, "was affable, his gait erect and manly, bespeaking courage and undauntedness." Here Wood apparently follows Milton's own account, where he tells us that in his youth he did not neglect "daily practice" with his sword, and that he was not so "very slight" but that, "armed with it, as he generally was, he was in the habit "of thinking himself quite a match for any one, even were he "much the more robust, and of being perfectly at ease as "to any injury that any one could offer him, man to man." As to the peculiar blending that there was of the feminine and the manly in the appearance of the "Lady of Christ's," we have some means of judging for ourselves in a yet extant portrait of him, taken (doubtless to please his father) while he was still a Cambridge student. There could scarcely be a finer picture of pure and ingenuous English youth; and, if Milton had the portrait beside him when, in later life, he had to allude, in reply to his opponents, to the delicate subject of his personal appearance, there must have been a touch of slyness in his statement that "so far as he knew he had never been thought ugly by any one who had seen him." In short, the tradition of his great personal beauty in youth requires no abatement.¹

¹ This seems the place for an account of those portraits of Milton which belong to the period of his life embraced in the present volume—viz. portraits of him taken before 1640, when he was in his thirty-second year.

So far as I can ascertain, there were two, and only two, original portraits of him belonging to this period: the one

the portrait of him (supposed to be by Jansen) when he was a boy of ten; the other a portrait of him (artist unknown) when he was a student at Cambridge. The existence and the authenticity of these two portraits are certified beyond dispute. (1.) Aubrey mentions both as well known to himself, and as being still in the possession of Milton's

In this "beautiful and well-proportioned body," to use Aubrey's words, there lodged "a harmonical and ingeniose

widow in London after her husband's death. What he says of the boy portrait we have already seen (pp. 65—68). Respecting the other he says, "His widow has his picture, drawn very well and like, when a Cambridge scholar; which ought to be engraven, for the pictures before his books are not at all like him"; and a little farther on in the MS. Aubrey writes, by way of memorandum for himself, these words, "Write his name in red letters on his picture with his widow to preserve." (2.) The engraver Vertue, when engaged, in the year 1721, in engraving, for the first time, a head of Milton (of whom afterwards he executed so many engravings), was very anxious to know that the picture which had been put into his hands to be engraved was an authentic likeness. For this purpose he saw the poet's youngest and only surviving daughter, Deborah Clarke, then living in Spitalfields. His account of the interview remains in a letter, dated August 12, 1721, addressed to Mr. Charles Christian, and now in the British Museum (Add. MS. 5016* fo. 71). He says, "Pray inform my Lord Harley that I have on Thursday last seen the daughter of Milton the poet. I carried with me two or three different prints of Milton's picture, which she immediately knew to be like her father [these seem to have been prints after Faithorne's picture of him in later life], and told me her mother-in-law, living in Cheshire, had two pictures of him, one when he was a schoolboy, and the other when he was above twenty. She knows of no other picture of him, because she was several years in Ireland, both before and after his death. . . . I showed her the painting I have to engrave, which she believes not to be her father's picture, it being of a brown complexion, and black hair and curled locks. On the contrary, he was of a fair complexion, a little red in his cheeks, and light brown lank hair." Vertue then continues, "I desire you would acquaint Mr. Prior I was so unfortunate to wait upon him, on Thursday morning last, after he was gone out of town. It was this intent, to inquire of him if he remembers a picture of Milton in the late Lord Dorset's collection, as I am told this was; or, if he can inform me how I shall inquire or know the truth of

"this affair, I should be much obliged to him, being very willing to have all certainty on that account before I begin to engrave the plate, that it may be the more satisfactory to the public as well as myself." (3.) As regards these two portraits, mentioned by Aubrey and by Deborah Clarke, we know farther that they were in the possession of Milton's widow at Nantwich, Cheshire, at her death in 1727; for, in the inventory of her effects, one of the entries includes "Mr. Milton's pictures."

These two portraits, therefore, are the only two belonging to the earlier part of Milton's life the authenticity of which seems positively guaranteed. There may have been others; but any portrait claiming to be a portrait of Milton before 1640, and not being one of the two above-mentioned, would require to have its authenticity sharply looked to. The question, therefore, is, Are these two indubitable portraits still extant? Respecting the first—the boy portrait—there can be no doubt. I have already given full information (p. 66) respecting its history since it was in possession of Milton's widow; and by the kindness of its proprietor, Mr. Disney, I have had the satisfaction of giving in this volume a new engraving of it, taken from a photograph made for the purpose. Respecting the other portrait the following information may be interesting. Vertue, whose veracity as an engraver was proverbial, and whose care to authenticate a suspicious picture of Milton put into his hands in 1721 we have just seen, did, ten years afterwards (1731), engrave a portrait of Milton as a young man—which portrait he had the pleasure of knowing to be one of the two that had been mentioned to him by the poet's daughter. It was then (1731) in the possession of the Right Honourable Arthur Onslow, Speaker of the House of Commons, who had bought it from the executors of Milton's widow, after her death in 1727. "*Joannes Milton, ætat. 21, ex pieturâ archetypâ quâ penes est præhonorabilem Arthurum Onslow, Armig. Vertue Sc. 1731,*" was the inscription on the quarto copy of the engraving; and there was also an octavo copy in the same year, with the inscription somewhat varied. There were repeated engravings of the same by Vertue in subsequent years, during

soul." In describing that "soul" more minutely, I may be allowed to proceed in a somewhat gradual manner. I may be allowed also to avail myself of such words of my own in a previous essay on the same subject as appear to me still to express the truth.¹

* → "The prevailing tone, the characteristic mood and disposition, of Milton's mind, even in his early youth, consisted in a deep and habitual *seriousness*." I used, and I now use, the word in no special or restricted sense. The seriousness of which I speak was a constitutional seriousness, ratified and nourished by rational reflection, rather than the assumed temper of a sect. From his childhood we see this seriousness in Milton, this tendency to the grave and earnest in his views of things. It continues with him as he grows up. It shows itself at the University in an unusual studiousness and perseverance in the graver occupations of the place. It shows itself in an abstinence from many of those jocosities and frivolities which, even in his own judgment, were innocent enough, and quite permissible to those who cared for them. "Festivities and jests, in which I acknowledge my faculty to be very slight," are his

Speaker Onslow's life, Vertue having apparently had a particular liking for the picture. Of some sixteen or eighteen engravings of Milton by Vertue (see Granger's Biog. Hist. and Bromley's Cat. of Brit. Port.) five or six are from this portrait; one of the last being that engraved for Newton's edition of Milton in 1747. The same "Onslow portrait," as it was called, was also engraved by Houbraken in 1741, by Cipriani in 1760 for Mr. Hollis (see Hollis's Memoirs), and by other artists; and, indeed, this is the foundation of all the common prints of Milton as a youth. The last engraving known to me as direct from the picture is a not very good one, published in 1794 by Boydell and Nicol, with this inscription, "*John Milton, ætat. 21, from the original picture in the possession of Lord Onslow, at Clandon in Surrey, purchased from the executor of Milton's widow by Arthur Onslow, Esq., Speaker of the House of Commons, as certified in his own handwriting on the back of the picture; W. N. Gardiner,*

Sculpt." (Speaker Onslow had died 1768, and his son had succeeded to the title of Lord Onslow in 1776, raised to that of Earl in 1801.) The picture, I was informed by the late Earl of Onslow, went out of his possession in or about the year 1828, when it was sold with some other pictures; nor, while I write this note, have I been able to trace it farther than that it was then purchased by some one named Moore, "not a dealer." It, doubtless, exists, however; and whoever has it ought to attach to it the above facts in its pedigree, to prevent mistake. Possibly Aubrey's intended authentication in "red letters" may be on the picture; which would be an additional circumstance of interest. For the present volume, the choice was among Vertue's engravings made between 1731 and 1756, Cipriani's of 1760, and Gardiner's of 1794. In every respect Vertue's are superior to the others; and I have selected as the best of Vertue's that of 1731.

¹ Essay entitled "Milton's Youth."

own words on the subject. His pleasure in such pastimes was small ; and, when he did good-humouredly throw himself into them, it was with an apology for being out of his element. But still more distinctly was the same seriousness of disposition shown in his notion of where innocence in such things ended. In the nickname of "The Lady," as applied to Milton by his College-fellows, we see, from his own interpretation of it, not only an allusion to his personal appearance, but also a charge of prudery. It was as if they called him "The Maid." He himself understands it so ; and there are passages in some of his subsequent writings in which he seems to regard it as due to himself, and as necessary to a proper appreciation of his whole career, that such references to the innocence of his youth should be interpreted quite literally.

So far there can be no doubt that the example of Milton contradicts much that is commonly advanced by way of a theory of the poetical character. "Poets and artists," I have said, "are and ought to be distinguished, it is generally held, by a predominance of sensibility over principle, an excess of what Coleridge called the spiritual over what he called the moral part of man. A nature built on quicksands, an organization of nerve languid or tempestuous with occasion, a soul falling and soaring, now subject to ecstasies and now to remorse : such, it is supposed, and on no small induction of actual instances, is the appropriate constitution of the poet. Mobility, absolute and entire destitution of principle properly so called, capacity for varying the mood indefinitely, rather than for retaining and keeping up one moral gesture or resolution through all moods : this, say the theorists, is the essential thing in the structure of the artist. Against the truth of this, however, as a maxim of universal application, the character of Milton, like that of Wordsworth after him, is a remarkable protest. Were it possible to place before the theorists all the materials that exist for judging of Milton's personal disposition as a young man, without exhibiting to them at the same time the actual and early proofs of his poetical

“genius, their conclusion, were they true to their theory
 “would necessarily be that the basis of his nature was too
 “solid and immovable, the platform of personal aims and
 “aspirations over which his thoughts moved and had foot-
 “ing too fixed and firm, to permit that he should have been
 “a poet. Nay, whosoever, even appreciating Milton as a
 “poet, shall come to the investigation of his writings armed
 “with that preconception of the poetical character which is
 “sure to be derived from an intimacy with the character of
 “Shakespeare, will hardly escape some feeling of the same
 “kind. Seriousness, we repeat, a solemn and even austere
 “demeanour of mind, was the characteristic of Milton even
 “in his youth.”

Connected with this austerity may be noted, as a peculiarity in Milton at the same period, a certain haughty, yet not immodest, self-esteem. Throughout all Milton's works there may be discerned a vein of noble egotism, of unbashful self-assertion. Often, in arguing with an opponent, he falls back out of the mere *πίστις λογική*, or logical species of argument, into what Aristotle calls the *πίστις ἡθική*, or argument from his own character, saying, as it were: “Besides all my other reasonings, take this as the chief and conclusive one, that it is *I*, a man of such and such antecedents and with such and such powers, who affirm and maintain this.” In his earlier life, of course, this feeling existed rather as an undefined consciousness of his superiority, a tendency silently and with satisfaction to compare his intellectual measure with that of others, a resolute ambition to be and to do something great. “Was esteemed to be a virtuous and sober person,” is Wood's account of the impression made by Milton at the University, “yet not to be ignorant of his own parts.” Wherever Wood picked up the last particular, it hits the truth exactly.

Here again I may be allowed to quote from myself. “One cannot help thinking,” I have said, “that this particular form of self-esteem goes along with that moral austerity of character which we have alleged to be discernible in Milton even in his youth, rather than with that tempera-

“ment of varying sensibility which is, according to the
“general theory, regarded as characteristic of the poet.
“Men of this latter type, as they vary in the entire mood of
“their mind, vary also in their estimate of themselves. No
“permanent consciousness of their own destiny, or of their
“own worth in comparison with others, belongs to them.
“In their moods of elevation they are powers to move the
“world; but, while the impulse that has gone forth from
“them in one of those moods may be still thrilling its way
“onward in wider and wider circles through the hearts of
“myriads they have never seen, they, the fountains of the
“impulse, the spirit being gone from them, may be sitting
“alone in the very spot and amid the ashes of their triumph,
“sunken and dead, despondent and self-accusing. It re-
“quires the evidence of positive results, the assurance of
“other men’s praises, the visible presentation of effects
“which they cannot but trace to themselves, to convince
“such men that they are or can do anything. Whatever
“manifestations of egotism, whatever strokes of self-assertion
“come from such men, come in the very burst and phrensy
“of their passing resistlessness. The calm, deliberate, and
“unshaken knowledge of their own superiority is not theirs.
“Not so was it with Milton. As a Christian, indeed, hu-
“miliation before God was a duty the meaning of which
“he knew full well; but, as a man moving among other
“men, he possessed, in that moral seriousness and stoic
“scorn of temptation which characterised him, a spring of
“ever-present pride, dignifying his whole bearing among
“his fellows, and at times arousing him to a kingly intol-
“crance. In short, instead of that dissatisfaction with self
“which we trace as a not unfrequent feeling with Shake-
“speare, we find in Milton, even in his early youth, a recol-
“lection firm and habitual that he was one of those servants
“to whom God had entrusted the stewardship of ten
“talents.”

We may now go a little further. If there is this natural connexion between personal strictness of character and that courageous self-reliance and habitual power of self-assertion

which we see in Milton and in men of his type,—if, in this peculiar sense, it is *conscience* that makes “cowards” (*i. e.* diffident men) of us all,—then, according to Milton’s theory, there ought to be based on this fact a rule of self-conduct for all those who meditate great enterprises, and mean, as he did, to accomplish good before they die. In studying any character it is above all satisfactory when from the man’s own recorded sayings, whether in speeches or in writings, there can be gathered certain recurring propositions, certain favourite trains of thought and phraseology, expressing what were evidently “fixed ideas” in his mind, fundamental articles in his moral creed. Wherever this is possible we have the man defining himself. Now Milton’s deepest “fixed idea,” from his youth upwards, was that of the necessity of moral integrity to a life of truly great work or truly great endeavour of whatever kind. There is no idea which occurs oftener or is more emphatically stated in the course of his writings. We have already seen it recur very strikingly several times in the course of those of his academic writings which we have had occasion to quote. Lest those passages, however, should be taken as mere gleams of vicarious rhetoric, occurring where they might be supposed fitting, let us now cite a passage the personal reference of which is avowed and undoubted. In a controversial pamphlet written in 1642, and already more than once cited by us as containing references to his early life, Milton, after speaking of his juvenile readings, and saying that his favourite authors at first were “the smooth elegiac poets,” proceeds as follows:—

“Whence, having observed them to account it the chief glory of their wit, in that they were ablest to judge, to praise, and by that could esteem themselves worthiest to love, those high perfections which under one or other name they took to celebrate, I thought with myself, by every instinct and presage of nature, which is not wont to be false, that what emboldened them to this task might, with such diligence as they used, embolden me, and that what judgment, wit, or elegance was my share would herein best appear and best value itself by how much more wisely and with more love of virtue I should choose (let rude ears be absent) the object of not unlike praises. . . . By the firm settling of these persuasions I became, to my best memory, so much a proficient that, if I found those authors [Horace and Ovid,

for example] anywhere speaking unworthy things of themselves, or unchaste of those names which before they had extolled, this effect it wrought with me:—From that time forward their art I still applauded, but the men I deplored, and above them all preferred the two famous renowners of Beatrice and Laura [Dante and Petrarch], who never write but honour of them to whom they devote their verse, displaying sublime and pure thoughts without transgression. And long it was not after when I was confirmed in this opinion, that *he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things ought himself to be a true poem*,—that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honourablest things; not presuming to sing high praises of heroic men or famous cities unless he have in himself the experience and the practice of all that which is praiseworthy. These reasonings, together with a certain niceness of nature, an honest haughtiness, and self-esteem either of what I was or what I might be (which let envy call pride), and lastly that modesty whereof, though not in the title-page, yet here I may be excused to make some beseeeming profession,—all these, uniting the supply of their natural aid together, kept me still above those low descents of mind beneath which he must deject and plunge himself that can agree to saleable and unlawful prostitutions.

“Next (for hear me out now, readers, that I may tell ye whither my younger feet wandered) I betook me among those lofty fables and romances [Spenser, &c.] which recount in solemn cantos the deeds of knighthood founded by our victorious kings, and from hence had in renown over all Christendom. There I read it in the oath of every knight that he should defend, to the expense of his best blood, or of his life if it so befell him, the honour and chastity of virgin or matron. From whence even then I learnt what a noble virtue chastity sure must be, to the defence of which so many worthies by such a dear adventure of themselves had sworn. And, if I found in the story afterward any of them by word or deed breaking that oath, I judged it the same fault of the poet as that which is attributed to Homer, to have written undecent things of the gods. Only this my mind gave me, that every free and gentle spirit, without that oath, ought to be born a knight, nor needed to expect the gilt spur, or the laying of a sword upon his shoulder, to stir him up both by his counsel and his arm to secure and protect the weakness of any attempted chastity. So that even those books which to many others have been the fuel of wantonness and loose living, I cannot think how unless by Divine indulgence, proved to me so many incitements, as you have heard, to the love and steadfast observation of that virtue which abhors the society of bordelloes.

“Thus, from the laureate fraternity of poets, riper years and the ceaseless round of study and reading led me to the shady spaces of philosophy, but chiefly to the divine volumes of Plato and his equal Xenophon. Where if I should tell ye what I learnt of chastity and love,—I mean that which is truly so, whose charming-cup is only virtue, which she bears in her hand to those who are worthy: the rest are cheated with a thick intoxicating potion which a certain sorceress, the abuser of Love’s name, carries about,—and how the first and chiefest office of love begins and ends in the soul, producing those happy twins of her divine generation, Knowledge and Virtue, with such abstracted sublimities as these, it might be worth your listening . . . This that I have hitherto related hath been to show that, though Christianity had been but slightly taught me, yet a

certain reservedness of natural disposition, and moral discipline learnt out of the noblest philosophy, was enough to keep me in disdain of far less ineontinencies than this of the bordello. But, having had the doctrine of Holy Scripture unfolding these chaste and high mysteries with timeliest care infused, that 'the body is for the Lord and the Lord for the body,' thus also I argued to myself,—that, if unchastity in a woman, whom St. Paul terms the glory of man, be such a scandal and dishonour, then certainly in a man, who is both the image and glory of God, it must, though commonly not so thought, be much more deflowering and dishonourable . . . Thus large I have purposely been, that, if I have been justly taxed with this crime, it may come upon me after all this my confession with a tenfold shame."¹

Whoever would understand Milton must take the substance of this passage along with him, whether he likes it or not. Popularly it may be expressed by saying that, whatever other authorities may be cited in support of the "wild oats" theory, Milton's authority is dead against it. It was his fixed idea that he who would not be frustrate of his hope of being great, or doing good hereafter, ought to be on his guard from the first against sensuality, as a cause of spiritual incapacitation; and he was careful to regulate his own conduct by a recollection of this principle. The fact that he held it with such tenacity is to be noted as the most characteristic peculiarity of his youth, and as explaining, among other things, his self-confident demeanour.

But it is not only Milton's erect and manly demeanour that is explained by the fact under notice. It helps to explain also another remarkable feature in his character, which the reader even of such specimens of his youthful writing as have hitherto been quoted cannot fail to have remarked,—the prevailing ideality of his conceptions, his tendency to the high, magnificent, and contemplative, rather than to what might be called the common, practical, and precise. Ideality, indeed, is the intellectual characteristic of the poet as such; but there may be an ideality of the meaner and more ordinary sort, as well as of the grander and more sublime. For some poets, accordingly, as Milton says, it might be no disqualification to be votaries of Ceres, Bacchus, and Venus. But for a poet such as *he* aspired to be it was different:—

¹ Apology for Smeectymnuus: Works, III. 269—273.

“Ay, but whoso will tell of wars and the world at its grandest,
 Heroes of pious worth, demigod leaders of men,
 Singing now of the holy decrees of the great gods above us,
 Now of the realms deep down, guarded by bark of the dog,”

for such a poet there must be peculiar regimen. Let *him* live sagely, soberly, austerely, like the anchorets and seers of old—

“All as when thou, white-robed and lustrous with waters of cleansing,
 Risest, augur, erect, facing the frown of the gods.”

Now, as it was Milton's ambition to be a poet of this order, not merely a *poeta* but a *vates*, so, in his case, the regimen prescribed seems to have had the effect anticipated. One can see how it should be so. Is it not noted that men trained too much in the social crowd are apt, even if originally well endowed, to sink to a low and vulgar pitch of endeavour, to fly near the ground with gross wing themselves, and to regard all flight in others that leaves the ground very far beneath as madness, phantasy, and extravagance? Who so incredulous of heroism, who so impatient of “high art,” as worldly wits? Who so contemptuous of any strain in any department that approaches what can be nicknamed “the romantic”? It is he who has kept his soul pure and aloof that still finds a grander world of realities to move in above the world of sense. It is to the pale solitary, stretched by his cave in the desert or on the mountain, with his beechen bowl of simple water beside him, or meditating alone in his quiet watch-tower, that nature whispers her sublimer secrets, and that the lost knowledge of things comes once more in visions and in dreams. Did we live as erst did Pythagoras, should there not begin again to resound in our ears, faint at first, but gradually more and more clear and loud, that famous sphere-music of his, to which the orbs do keep time and the young-eyed cherubs do unceasingly listen, albeit to humanity at large it has so long been a fable? So Milton argued, and so he proved in himself. When his earlier writings are compared with those of his coevals at the University, what strikes one most, next to their vastly greater merit altogether, is their more ideal tone. As, more

than any of them, he was conscious of the "*os magna soniturum*," the mouth formed for great utterances, so all that he does utter has a certain character and form of magnitude. The stars, the gods, time, space, Jove, eternity, immortality, these and all other such notions and existences of the vast, which men in general treat as belonging to the high Platonic sphere of intellect, and mention but rarely, and then apologetically and with a kind of shame, what are they but the intellectual commonplaces of young Milton, the phrases which his voice most fondly rolls, the themes to which he habitually tends? The very rhythm of his sentences corresponds. In his Latin Poems and Academic Exercises, in particular, there is a prevailing tone of the grandiose and magniloquent, which his college-fellows must have noted, and which might even then have been named or nicknamed the Miltonic. And so, when, in the course of one of those exercises, he tells to what strain in his native tongue his genius tended most, it is—

Such where the deep transported mind may soar
Above the wheeling poles, and at Heaven's door
Look in, and see each blissful deity,
How he before the thunderous throne doth lie,
Listening to what unshorn Apollo sings
To the touch of golden wires.

Along with this soaring tendency to the supra-terrestrial, there may be noted, however, as rendered compatible with it by Milton's peculiar character, a very decided dogmatism in all terrestrial matters. Here again Milton contradicts the usual theory of the poetical character. As it is supposed that the poet should be characterised by mobility of nerve rather than decision of principle, so it is supposed that the poet should not be dogmatic or opinionative, should not have definite personal conclusions leading him to dictate to men in respect of their beliefs or their conduct. "I have actually no opinions of my own whatever, except on matters of taste," is a confession of the poet Keats. Not even in his tenderest youth could this have been said of Milton. There was from the first an unusually strong element of opinionativeness in

him. He was a severe critic of what he saw; and, as he was serious and austere in the rule of his own actions, so he confronted the actions of others with a strict judicial gaze. He had his opinions as to the state of the University and the reforms there necessary, and probably also he had as decided views respecting public and political affairs. How this blending in his constitution of the poet with the man of dogma is to be reconciled with the true theory of poetical genius may be a subject for consideration at a later point.

In one quality, which sometimes comes to the rescue of men of austere conduct personally, imparting a breadth and toleration to their judgments of others, Milton was somewhat deficient. "There are and have been men, as strict and austere "as he, who yet, by means of a large endowment in the quality "of *humour*, have been able to reconcile themselves to much "in human life lying far away from, and even far beneath, "the sphere of their own practice and conscientious liking. "As Pantagruel, the noble and meditative, endured and even "loved those immortal companions of his, the boisterous and "profane Friar John, and the cowardly and impish Panurge, "so these men, remaining themselves with all rigour and "punctuality within the limits of sober and exemplary life, "are seen extending their regards to the persons and the "doings of a whole circle of reprobate Falstaffs, Pistols, "Clowns, and Sir Toby Belches. They cannot help it. They "may and often do blame themselves for it; they wish that, "in their intercourse with the world, they could more habit-
ually turn the austere and judicial side of their character to "the scenes and incidents that there present themselves, "simply saying of each, 'That is right and worthy,' or 'That "is wrong and unworthy,' and treating it accordingly. But "they break down in the trial. Suddenly some incident "presents itself which is not only right but clumsy, or not "only wrong but comic, and straightway the austere side of "their character wheels round to the back, and judge, jury, "and witnesses are convulsed with untimely laughter." It was not so with Milton. He could occasionally, when he chose, condescend to mirth and jocosity, but it was not as

one to whom the element was natural. That he had plenty of wit and power of sarcasm, and also that in a ponderous way he could revel in ludicrous images and details, we have already seen; his writings furnish proofs, here and there, that he had more of genuine humour itself than he has been usually credited with; but one would hardly single out humour as one of his chief characteristics.

“That office, however, which humour did not perform for Milton in his first intercourse with the world of past and present things was in part performed by what he did in “large measure possess,—intellectual *inquisitiveness*.” As Milton had by nature an intellect of the highest power, so even in youth he jealously asserted its rights. There was no narrowness even then in his notions of what it was lawful for him to read and study, or even to see and experience. He read, as he himself tells us, books which he considered immoral, and from which young men in general derived little that was good. He thought himself quite at liberty also to indulge in his love of art and music, and to attend theatrical performances, and laugh at what was absurd in them. Probably there was not a youth at Cambridge who would have more daringly resented any interference with his intellectual freedom from any quarter whatsoever. They might call him “The Lady” at Christ’s College with reference to his personal demeanour; but he could show on occasion that he had no need to yield to the roughest of them with respect to the extent of his information. In fine, I can say for myself, that, having read much in the writings, both in prose and in verse, both in Latin and in English, that remain to show what kind of men were the most eminent by reputation and the highest by place among Milton’s academic contemporaries from 1625 to 1632, I have no doubt whatever left that, not in promise merely, but in actual faculty and acquisition while he yet moved amidst them, Milton was without an equal in the whole University.

BOOK III.

1632—1638.

HISTORY:—CHURCH AND GOVERNMENT UNDER KING CHARLES
AND BISHOP LAUD, WITH A RETROSPECT TO 1603.

SURVEY OF BRITISH LITERATURE IN 1632.

THE REIGN OF THOROUGH FROM 1632 to 1638.

BIOGRAPHY:—HESITATIONS ABOUT A PROFESSION.

AT HORTON, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

CHAPTER I.

HESITATIONS ABOUT A PROFESSION.

WHEN Milton went to Cambridge it had been with the intention that he should enter the Church. Before he had taken his Master's degree, however, this intention had been abandoned. There exists an interesting English letter of his, written about the time when his determination against the Church had been all but completed; and in this letter he describes the reasons of his hesitation at some length. The letter, of which there are two undated drafts in Milton's handwriting in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, must have been written in 1632 or 1633; and it was clearly sent, or meant to be sent, to some friend, his senior in years, who had been remonstrating with him on his aimless course of life. It ought to be quoted here, even if we anticipate a little its exact date:¹—

SIR,—Besides that in sundry respects I must acknowledge me to profit by you whenever we meet, you are often to me, and were yesterday especially, as a good watchman to admonish that the hours of the night pass on (for so I call my life, as yet obscure and unserviceable to mankind), and that the day with me is at hand, wherein Christ commands all to labour, while there is light. Which because I am persuaded you do to no other purpose than out of a true desire that God should be honoured in every one, I therefore think myself bound, though unasked, to give you an account, as oft as occasion is, of this my tardy moving, according to the precept of my conscience, which I firmly trust is not without God. Yet now I will not strain for any set apology, but only refer myself to what my mind shall have at any time to declare herself at her best ease.

¹ I quote the second draft, which is much the longer; but both drafts are printed in Birch's *Life of Milton*, prefixed to his edition of Milton's Works (vol. I. pp. iv—vi), and there is some interest in comparing them. In the second draft, Milton is content, for the

first few sentences, with simply correcting the language of the first; but in the remaining portion he throws the first draft all but entirely aside, and rewrites the same meaning more at large in a series of new sentences. Evidently he took pains with the letter.

But, if you think, as you said, that too much love of learning is in fault, and that I have given up myself to dream away my years in the arms of studious retirement, like Endymion with the Moon, as the tale of Latmus goes, yet consider that, if it were no more but the mere love of learning, whether it proceed from a principle bad, good, or natural, it could not have held out thus long against so strong opposition on the other side of every kind. For, if it be bad, why should not all the fond hopes that forward youth and vanity are fledged with, together with gain, pride, and ambition, call me forward, more powerfully than a poor, regardless, and unprofitable sin of curiosity should be able to withhold me; whereby a man cuts himself off from all action, and becomes the most helpless, pusillanimous, and unweaponed creature in the world, the most unfit and unable to do that which all mortals most aspire to, either to be useful to his friends or to offend his enemies? Or, if it be to be thought a natural proneness, there is against that a much more potent inclination inbred, which about this time of a man's life solicits most,—the desire of house and family of his own; to which nothing is esteemed more helpful than the early entering into credible employment, and nothing hindering than this affected solitariness. And, though this were enough, yet there is another act, if not of pure, yet of refined nature, no less available to dissuade prolonged obscurity,—a desire of honour and repute and immortal fame, seated in the breast of every true scholar; which all make haste to by the readiest ways of publishing and divulging conceived merits, as well those that shall, as those that never shall, obtain it. Nature, therefore, would presently work the more prevalent way, if there were nothing but this inferior bent of herself to restrain her. Lastly, the love of learning, as it is the pursuit of something good, it would sooner follow the more excellent and supreme good known and presented, and so be quickly diverted from the empty and fantastic chase of shadows and notions, to the solid good flowing from due and timely obedience to that command in the Gospel set out by the terrible feasting of him that hid the talent.

It is more probable, therefore, that not the endless delight of speculation, but this very consideration of that great commandment, does not press forward, as soon as many do, to undergo, but keeps off, with a sacred reverence and religious advisement how *best* to undergo, not taking thought of being *late*, so it give advantage to be more *fit*; for those that were latest lost nothing when the master of the vineyard came to give each one his hire. And here I am come to a stream-head, copious enough to disburden itself, like Nilus, at seven mouths into an ocean. But then I should also run into a reciprocal contradiction of ebbing and flowing at once, and do that which I excuse myself for not doing, preach and not preach. Yet, that you may see that I am something suspicious of myself, and do take notice of a certain belatedness in me, I am the bolder to send you some of my nightward thoughts some while since, because they come in not

altogether unfitly, made up in a Petrarchian stanza, which I told you of :—

How soon hath Time, the subtle thief of youth,
 Stolen on his wing my three-and-twentieth year !
 My hasting days fly on with full career ;
 But my late spring no bud or blossom shew'th.
 Perhaps my semblance might deceive the truth
 That I to manhood am arrived so near ;
 And inward ripeness doth much less appear,
 That some more timely-happy spirits endu'th.
 Yet, be it less or more, or soon or slow,
 It shall be still in strictest measure even
 To that same lot, however mean or high,
 Toward which Time leads me, and the will of Heaven.
 All is, if I have grace to use it so,
 As ever in my great Task-Master's eye.¹

By this I believe you may well repent of having made mention at all of this matter ; for, if I have not all this while won you to this, I have certainly wearied you of it. This, therefore, alone may be a sufficient reason for me to keep me as I am, lest, having thus tired you singly, I should deal worse with a whole congregation and spoil all the patience of a parish ; for I myself do not only see my own tediousness, but now grow offended with it, that has hindered me thus long from coming to the last and best *period* of my letter, and that which must now chiefly work my pardon,—that I am

Your true and unfeigned friend, &c.

In this letter, it will be perceived, Milton says nothing of any conscientious objections he may have entertained against the doctrine or discipline of the Church. All that he says is that he did not yet see his way clear to the ministerial office, and preferred waiting, even at the risk of being late in his decision. There can be no doubt, however, that, even at the time the letter was written, the chief reason of his reluctance was that which he afterwards expressed more boldly thus :—“The Church, to whose service, by the intentions of my parents and friends, I was destined of a child, and in mine own resolutions till, coming to some

¹ This sonnet, originally published in 1645, fixes approximately the date of the letter. The sonnet must have been written on or near Milton's 24th birthday, *i. e.* the 9th of December, 1631 ;

the letter cannot have been written *very* much later. The likeliest date is between the beginning of 1632 and the middle of 1633.

"maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded the Church,—that he who would take orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withal, which unless he took with a conscience that would retch, he must either straight perjure or split his faith,—I thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking bought and begun with servitude and forswearing. Howsoever thus Church-outed by the Prelates, hence may appear the right I have to meddle in these matters, as before the necessity and constraint appeared."¹—In this striking passage Milton refers expressly to the subscriptions and oaths required from candidates for holy orders as having been among the causes that deterred him from the Church. Yet these subscriptions and oaths involved nothing that he had not submitted to already in the course of his connexion with the University. The *subscriptions* required by law from candidates for the ministry were simply subscriptions to those three articles of the Thirty-sixth Canon to which Milton had twice set his hand already in taking his University degrees (*ante*, p. 217 and p. 257); and the accompanying *oaths* were simply certain oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and canonical obedience, which might be considered as really involved in that same act of subscription. The passage just quoted, therefore, requires some latitude of interpretation. What Milton had in view, when he hesitated about becoming a clergyman, was, in all probability, less the letter of the articles to be subscribed and of the oaths to be taken than the general condition of the Church of England at the time when he had to form his resolution. That condition was such as to invest the necessary subscription and oaths with a more repulsive character than in other circumstances, or at an earlier period, he might have been disposed to discern in them. He was "*Church-outed by the Prelates*" is his own brief and emphatic phrase; and it can mean nothing else than that he had begun to detest the entire system of the Church of England as it appeared to him after Bishop Laud and his assessors had assumed the

¹ The Reason of Church-Government (1641): Works, III. 150.

rule. Observation of the Laudian rule and its effects had perhaps moved larger questions in his mind, questions going deeper and farther back, than the mere question between Laudian Prelacy and Low-Church Prelacy; but to a Church on Laud's system, at all events, he would die rather than belong.

Finding himself thus "Church-outed by the Prelates," Milton had to resolve on some totally different course of life. There is evidence in several allusions in his subsequent writings that he at least thought of Law as a profession.¹ But, though the thought may have occasionally recurred in his mind for a year or two after he had left the University, he never, so far as appears, took any steps towards carrying it into effect. Leaving it for his brother Christopher to become the lawyer of the family, he voluntarily chose for himself, or passively and gradually accepted as forced on him by circumstances, a life of less definite character and prospects, hardly recognised by any precise designation in the social or professional nomenclature of those days, though we can describe it now as the life of a scholar and man of letters.

That Milton, before leaving the University, had begun to

¹ In addition to the evidence indicated in the text, there yet exists, we learn from Mr. Hunter's *Milton Gleanings*, a copy of Fitz-Herbert's *Natura Brevium* which belonged to Milton and was among the books left by his widow at her death at Nantwich in 1727. Sir Anthony Fitz-Herbert was a famous lawyer and judge of the reign of Henry VIII.; and his *Natura Brevium*, according to Wood (Ath., I. 111), "was esteemed an exact work, excellently penned, and hath been much admired by the noted men in the common law." There were several editions of it. That under notice is of the year 1584; and the volume is still in "its original binding of dark brown calf." In 1830 it was in possession of the Rev. Dr. Stedman, whose father, the Rev. Mr. Stedman, of St Chad's, Shrewsbury, had received it as a gift from Mr. Joshua Eddowes, a bookseller of Shrewsbury, born in 1724, and having

relations with Nantwich. On the title-page, says Mr. Hunter, is this inscription in Milton's handwriting, *Johēs Milton me possidet*; and in the same hand on the fly-leaf is this Latin pentameter, *Det Christus studiis vela secunda meis*. "But this is not all," adds Mr. Hunter, "for a little lower on the same page we find, in another hand, *Det Christus studiis vela secunda tuis*. We can hardly doubt that this was written by the father, with whose handwriting I am not acquainted. It is remarkable that this copy of Fitz-Herbert appears to have been in the possession of another poet of the time, these words appearing on a later fly-leaf, *John Marston oeth this book*."—Whoever this John Marston was, he must have preceded Milton as the owner. The poet Marston died in 1634; but there were several John Marstons. One, the poet's father, was a lawyer.

have dreams of a literary career as the fittest for his powers and tastes all in all will have appeared already from the records of his occupations and musings through his later University days. In that Letter to a Friend which we have just quoted it is not difficult again to detect some such ambition lurking under his hesitations about entering the Church. But in a later reference to this period of his life he seems to reveal more distinctly the nature of his then but half-formed speculations as to his future destiny. Speaking of the care bestowed on his education, both at home and at school and the University, he says, "It was found that, whether aught was imposed me by them that had the overlooking, or betaken to of mine own choice, in English or other tongue, *prosing or versing*, but chiefly this latter, the style, by certain vital signs it had, was likely to live."¹ The interpretation of this seems to be that already in 1632, on the faith of the acknowledged success of such compositions of his in Latin and English as he had produced up to that date, whether as academic exercises or for his own recreation, he himself felt, and his friends felt also, that he had a vocation to authorship and especially to poetry. It may be well, therefore, here to take stock of the little collection of pieces, all already individually known to us, on which this judgment was formed:—

LATIN.

PROSE :—The first four of his *Epistolæ Familiares*, the first written in 1625, and the other three in 1628 ; and the seven or more Academic Themes or Exercises, entitled *Prolusiones Quædam Oratoriæ*, of which an account has been given.

VERSE :—Seventeen separate pieces, now printed in his works as follows :—

1. The seven Elegies proper which form the bulk of the so-called ELEGIARUM LIBER : viz. : 1. "*Ad Carolum Diodatum*," 1626 ; 2. "*In Obitum Præconis Academici Cantabrigiæ*," 1626 ; 3. "*In Obitum Præsulis Wintoniæ*," 1626 ; 4. "*Ad Thomam Junium, præceptorem suum*," 1627 ; 5. "*In Adventum Veris*," 1628-9 ; 6. "*Ad Carolum Diodatum ruri commorantem*," 1629 ; 7. The Elegy beginning "*Nondum blanda tuas leges Amathusia nôram*," 1628.

¹ Reason of Church Government (1641): Works, III. 144.

II. The first five brief scraps of epigram in elegiac verse, which follow the Elegies proper in the ELEGIARUM LIBER: viz.: "*In Proditionem Bombardicam*"; "*In Eandem*"; "*In Eandem*"; "*In Eandem*"; "*In Inventorem Bombardæ*."

III. The first five of the pieces, in different kinds of verse, forming the so-called SYLVARUM LIBER: viz.: "*In Obitum Procancellarii Medici*," 1626; "*In Quintum Novembris*," 1626; "*In Obitum Præsulis Eliensis*," 1626; "*Naturam non pati senium*," 1628; "*De Ideâ Platonica quemadmodum Aristoteles intellexit*."

ENGLISH.

With the exception of one Letter to a Friend, all the English remains of this period are in verse. They are fifteen pieces in all, as follows:—Paraphrases of Psalms CXIV. and CXXXVI., 1624; "On the Death of a fair Infant dying of a cough," 1626; "At a Vacation Exercise in the College," 1628; "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity," with "The Hymn," 1629; "The Passion," 1630; "On Shakespeare," 1630; "On the University Carrier," 1630-31; "Another on the same," 1630-31; "An Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester," 1631; Sonnet on his having arrived at the age of twenty-three, Dec. 1631.

This collection, if printed, would have made a sufficient little volume. Very few of the pieces, however, had as yet found their way into type, even in a separate and private form. The Latin lines "*Naturam non pati Senium*," we know for certain, had been anonymously printed in Cambridge in 1628, for distribution by the University Bedels in connexion with the Philosophical Act or Disputation at the Commencement ceremonial of that year; it is by no means unlikely that one or two of the other Latin pieces of an academic character had been similarly thrown off in type for academic circulation; and there may be a similar supposition respecting the *Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester*, if not also about the *Ode on the Nativity*, and the Epitaphs on Hobson. Practically, and with all allowance for these exceptions, Milton was still an unpublished author, a poet in manuscript and by private reputation only, in the year 1632, when he left the University. All the more interesting it is to observe that in that very year he did make his appearance for the first time in a decidedly public manner, though still without his name, in the English book-world,

and to note in what particular piece of his he thus announced his existence among his literary contemporaries. It was in his lines to the memory of Shakespeare.

By the year 1632 the thousand copies or so that had been printed of the First or 1623 Edition of Shakespeare's collected Plays had been exhausted, and a new Edition was wanted. It appeared in what is known as the Second Folio Shakespeare, which was published with this title on most of the copies :—" *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. Published according to the True originall Copies. The second Impression. London. Printed by Tho. Cotes, for Robert Allot, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Blacke Beare in Pauls Church-yard. 1632.*" This Second Folio is substantially a reprint of the more famous First Folio, though with variations in the text. It retains all the preliminary commendatory matter that had appeared in the First Folio :—to wit : Ben Jonson's Lines on the Droeshout Portrait of Shakespeare as engraved on the title-page ; the Dedication to the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery by the editors Heminge and Condell ; the address of the same editors "To the great variety of Readers" ; Ben Jonson's longer poem "To the Memory of my Beloved, the Author, Mr. William Shakespeare, and what he hath left us" ; and the three shorter pieces of metrical eulogy signed "Hugh Holland," "L. Digges," and "J. M." But the unpagéd portion at the beginning contains, in addition, three pieces of commendatory verse that had not been in the First Folio. One of these, of considerable length, is signed "J. M. S." ; the other two are anonymous and are specially printed on a leaf together just after the address "To the great Variety of Readers." It is the second of these two short anonymous pieces that is Milton's ; and it can have been by no mere accident that the lines he had been keeping by him for two years,—written, as we ventured to conjecture, on his own copy of the First Folio,—appeared now in so distinguished a place. Heminge and Condell, the editors of the First Folio, were both

recently dead, and the superintendence of the Second Folio as it passed through the press must have devolved on others. Whoever they were, it must have been by some fortunate leading of circumstances that, when they were looking about for some suitable new pieces of verse to be added to the old pieces by Ben Jonson, Hugh Holland, Leonard Digges, and J. M., for the purpose of introducing the Second Folio to the public, they were offered and accepted the lines by the young Cambridge graduate. Ben Jonson, Hugh Holland, and Leonard Digges were all still alive in 1632, and all three may have read with some interest the lines of the anonymous Shakespeare-worshiper that had thus stepped into their company. One might even risk the conjecture that the veteran laureate must have taken the trouble of inquiring and finding out who the young author was. Certain it is that to this day there is no expression of Shakespeare-worship in our language worthier to rank for ever with Ben Jonson's roughly noble outburst of eighty lines in posthumous honour of the man he had known so familiarly in life than the sixteen lines that had been written, in studious emulation of that outburst, by the Cambridge student who had been but a child when Shakespeare died, but had learnt to adore his memory. They appeared in the Second Folio in this form, differing slightly, it will be seen, from that which they assumed when Milton reclaimed them for publication with his name thirteen years afterwards in the First Edition of his *Minor Poems* :—

AN EPITAPH ON THE ADMIRABLE DRAMATICK POET
W. SHAKESPEARE.

What neede my Shakespeare for his honour'd bones,
The labour of an Age, in piled stones,
Or that his hallow'd Reliques should be hid
Under a starre-ypointing Pyramid?
Deare Sonne of Memory, great Heire of Fame,
What needst thou such dull witenesse of thy Name?
Thou in our wonder and astonishment
Hast built thy selfe a lasting Monument:
For whilst to th' shame of slow-endavouring Art
Thy easie numbers flow, and that each part,

Hath from the leaves of thy unvalued Booke,
 Those Delphicke Lines with deepe impression tooke
 Then thou our fancy of her selfe bereaving,
 Dost make us Marble with too much conceiving,
 And so Sepulcher'd in such pompe dost lie
 That Kings for such a Tombe would wish to die.

To this day, I repeat, there is no nobler expression of Shakespearc-enthusiasm in our language than this from Milton, printed in his twenty-fourth year. It is the more memorable in that respect because, though there were to be several references to Shakespeare by Milton in his subsequent writings, none of them was to rise to the same strain of boundless superlative. That fact may be worth farther attention hereafter; meanwhile the fact deserving emphasis in Milton's biography is that it was in such an enthusiastic tribute to the memory of his great predecessor that Milton began his career of public authorship.

>Had Milton destined himself to be a man of letters after the fashion of the great predecessor whom he admired so enthusiastically, he might have been said, fairly enough, to have only abandoned the Church for another recognised profession. For more than half-a-century Dramatic Authorship, especially if combined with other forms of connexion with the stage, had been an established means of livelihood in London, by which some had grown rich, while a goodly number more had at least managed to subsist and support families. It was to no such mode of literary life, however, to no such association of himself with Ben Jonson and the rest of the cluster of the professional dramatists of London in the reign of Charles, some of them surviving Elizabethans and others recent recruits, that Milton was attracted. The mode of literary life to which he had resolved to dedicate himself was very different. It was that of recluse and laborious study according to the miscellaneous promptings of his own genius, with choice of subjects and occasions on which to address his countrymen in prose or in verse at his leisure, and with the hope above all of being able to do something new and characteristic in the rarer

forms of English Poetry. Now, though there was a trade in books in those days, and money was sometimes made by the authors of books that turned out very popular, this dedication of oneself to general scholarship, with authorship as a fitful outcome, could not then pass in any sense as the choice of a profession. Such a life of scholarship and authorship was possible enough in combination with one of the regular professions, and was most frequently combined in those days with the clerical function or with fellowship or other office in one of the Universities. Milton hints that the Fellows of Christ's College, Cambridge, would have been very glad if he had remained among them after he had taken his M.A. degree. But, though he might have schemed out a life of learned leisure in this continued academic fashion, it would almost necessarily have been at his own expense and not in a fellowship or other post of emolument. Such posts were all but exclusively for those who had qualified themselves, or were to qualify themselves, by taking orders; and Milton, in declining the clerical profession, had precluded himself from every form of intellectual leisure or occupation that had shelter under that pretence. His therefore was a very peculiar case. His resolution to adopt no profession at all, but to live on as a mere student, and a volunteer now and then in the service of the muses, must have appeared little short of madness to some of those about him. Was he not, as he had himself expressed it in his Letter to a Friend, "cutting himself off from all action," straggling aside into mere aimless idleness when he ought to have been beginning the march of life in some "credible employment," constituting himself that "most helpless, pusillanimous, and unweaponed creature in the world," a literary recluse?

The person who demurred most to Milton's conclusion respecting himself, thus formed in or about 1632, was naturally enough, that good and indulgent father at whose expense he had been educated hitherto, and at whose expense, as it now seemed, he must be supported for ever. That his son, the son of his hopes, should now, in his twenty-fourth

year, after acquiring all that school and college could give, not only abandon his destined profession of a Church-of-England Clergyman, but propose nothing else for himself instead than a dreamy life of literature, could hardly but vex the excellent man. There seem to have been conversations on the subject between the father and the son, the usual reasonings between the fatherly man of business and the son who will be a poet. In this case, however, both the father and the son were such that the controversy was but a short one and ended amicably. So much we gather from Milton's memorable Latin poem *Ad Patrem*, not dated, but certainly written about our present date or not very long after. It may be thus translated :—

TO MY FATHER.

Now through my breast I should wish that all the Pierian streamlets
Windingly trickled their ways, and that through my mouth there were
rolling

Whole and in flood the river let loose from the double-topped mountain,

So that my bold-winged Muse, forgetting her trivial ditties,
Fitly might rise to the theme of the honours due to a parent.

Howsoe'er it may please thee, this poem, my excellent father,
Tasks her small utmost to-day ; nor, verily, know we at present
Any requital from us of a kind or a form that can better

Answer the gifts thou hast given, though the largest requital could
never

Answer the gifts thou hast given, nor could any gratitude rendered
Only in empty words come up to the great obligation.

Such as they are, this page exhibits all my resources ;

All the wealth I possess I have here told out upon paper,

All a nothing save what the golden Olio has given me,

What my dreams have produced in the secret cave of my slumbers,

What the bay-tree shades in the sacred Parnassian thicket.

Nay, nor do thou despise this god-given Art of the Poet,
Surest sign that there is of the seeds of the heavenly within us,

Man's ethereal birth and the source of the soul we call human,
Keeping some sparkles still of the holy Promethean torch-flame.

Poesy charms the powers above, and is able to summon

Hell's dread depths into tumult, and bind the spirits abysmal,

Even the sternest ghosts, with fetters of triple endurance.

How but by Poesy pierce they to facts in the far-lying future,
Phœbus's prophet-maids, and the pale-faced shuddering Sibyls ?

Poems attend the solemnest act of the priest at the altars,
 Whether he fells the bull while the gilded horns are in motion,
 Or when he studies the secrets the smoking flesh can discover,
 Figures of fated events inscribed on the quivering entrails.
 Ay, and we ourselves, when again in our native Olympus
 Leisures eternal are ours in that large life of the restful,
 Crowns of gold on our heads, shall walk the celestial temples,
 Fitting those poems of joy to the dulcet throb of the harp-strings
 Whereto the stars of both hemispheres ever shall sound the responses.
 That same spirit of fire that wheels the spheric rotation
 Dashes a song even now through all the sidereal mazes,
 Music more than man's and poem that cannot be uttered,
 Red Ophiuchus the while restraining the hiss of his venom,
 Fierce Orion so mild that he slackens his radiant sword-belt,
 Moorish Atlas himself not feeling his starry burthen.
 Poems were wont to grace the banquets of kings in the days when
 Luxury yet was unknown and all our measureless riot
 Merely in things to eat, and the wine on the tables was scanty.
 Then, by custom, the bard, in his seat in the festive assembly,
 Garlanded round his flowing locks with leaves from the beech-tree,
 Sang the deeds of heroes and feats of noble example,
 Sang of Chaos old and the wide world's early foundations,
 Gods when they erept all-fours and grew lusty on chestnuts and acorns,
 Unsought yet the bolt that lay in the bowels of Ætna.
 What, in fine, is the use of the voice's mere modulation,
 Severed from words and sense and the craft of articulate numbers?
 Such song suits a woodland dance, but hardly an Orpheus,
 Who, when he stopped the rivers and added ears to the oak-trees,
 Did it by poem, not lute, and the phantom forms that were round him
 Moved to tears by his singing: 'twas Poesy earned him such honours.

Do not *thou*, I beseech, persist in contemning the Muses,
 Thinking them vain and poor, thyself the while to their bounty
 Owing thy skill in composing thousands of sounds to the verses
 Matching them best, and thy cunning to vary the voice of the singer
 Thousands of trilling ways, acknowledged heir of Arion.
 Why shouldst thou wonder now if so it has chanced that a poet
 Comes to be son of thine, and if, joined in such loving relation,
 Each of us follows an art that is kin to the art of the other?
 Phœbus himself, proposing a twin bequest of his nature,
 Gifted one half to me, with the other gifted my parent,
 So that, father and son, we hold the god wholly between us.

Nay, but, pretend as thou mayest to hate the delicate Muses,
 Lo! my proofs that thou dost not. Father, thy bidding was never
 Given me to go the broad way that leads to the market of lucre,
 Down where the hope shines sure of gold to be got in abundance;
 Nor dost thou foree to the Laws and the lore of the rights of the
 nation

Sorely ill-kept, nor doom my ears to the babble of asses ;
 Rather, desiring to see my mind grow richer by culture,
 Far from the city's noise, and here in the depths of retirement
 Left at my own sweet will amid Heliconian pleasures,
 Lettest me walk all day as Apollo's bosom-companion.
 Needless here to mention the common kindness parental ;
 Greater things claim record. At *thy* cost, worthiest father,
 When I had mastered fully the tongue of the Romans, and tasted
 Latin delights enough, and the speech for which Jove's mouth was
 moulded,

That grand speech of the Grecks which served for their great elocution,

Thou 'twas advised the vaunted flowers of Gaul in addition,
 Thereto the language in which the new and fallen Italian
 Opens his lips with sounds that attest the Barbarian inroads,
 Yea, and the mystic strains which the Palestine prophet delivers.
 Further, whatever the heaven contains, and under the heaven
 Mother Earth herself, and the air betwixt earth and the heaven,
 Whatso the wave overlaps, and the sea's ever-moveable marble,
 Thou giv'st me means for knowing, thou, if the knowledge shall
 please me.

Science, her cloud removed, now offers herself to my gazes,
 Nakedly bending her full-seen face to the print of my kisses,
 Be it I will not fly her, nor count her favours a trouble.

Go and gather wealth, what madman thou art that preferrest
 Austria's treasures ancestral and all the Peruvian kingdoms !
 What could a father more have bestowed on a son, were he even
 Jove himself, and had given his universe, heaven excepted ?
 Nothing nobler the gift, its safety presumed, which the Sun-God
 Gave to his boy when he trusted the world's great light to his guidance,

Trusted the gleaming car and the reins of the radiant horses,
 Trusted the spiky tiar which pulsates the rings of the day-beams.
 Therefore shall I, however low in the regiment of learning,
 Sit even now 'mid victorious wreaths of ivy and laurel,
 Now obscure no more nor mixed with the herd of the lazy,
 Eyes profane forbidden from every sight of my footsteps.
 Anxious cares begone, and begone all quarrels and wranglings,
 Envy's sharp-beaked face with eyes askew at the corners ;
 Savage Calumny stretch not her snaky mouth to annoy me !
 Me, ye disgusting pack, your efforts avail not to injure ;
Your jurisdiction I scorn, and, secure in the guard of my conscience,
 Henceforth shall walk erect away from your viperous insults.

So, my father dear, since the perfect sum of your merits
 Baffles equal return, and your kindness all real repayment,
 Be the mere record enough, and the fact that my grateful remembrance

Treasures the itemed account of debt and will keep it for ever.

Ye too, my youthful verses, my pastime and play for the present,
Should you sometimes dare to hope for eternal existenee,
Lasting and seeing the light when your master's body has mouldered,
Not whirled down in oblivion deep in the darkness of Oreus,
Mayhap this tribute of praise and the thus sung name of my parent
Ye shall preserve, an example, for ages yet in the future.

The fact that Milton thought such a poem a suitable means of expressing himself to his father and reconciling his father to what was proposed suggests more about the scrivener's tastes and accomplishments than we should perhaps have inferred otherwise. We should have been prepared to expect that the "ingeniose" man, who had taken such pains with the education of his sons, and especially of his elder son, was able to read a piece of ordinary Latin; but that his elder son should have credited him with the ability to relish and duly interpret such a piece of Latin as the foregoing, with its highly poetic Miltonisms, and its figures and flowers from classic mythology, raises our estimation. Possibly, however, the poem was written by Milton more for himself than for his father, and with the idea that, if his father held it in his hands, and understood its purport generally, he would take the philological details for granted, and smilingly accept the practical compliment. Doubtless, too, the substance of all that is here expressed poetically had passed between father and son often enough in more prosaic colloquies. As the poem itself indicates, any little controversy on the subject was over, and the agreement already complete. Trnsting his son, proud of his son, and accustomed by this time, with his wife, to regard this son as the principal person in their household, the scrivener was willing, since so it must be, to let him have his own way.

Circumstances permitted in this case what might have been impossible in others. The scrivener, now about sixty-nine years of age, had been thirty-two years in business, and had accumulated a tolerably ample fortune. Accordingly, with the view of "passing his old age" more serenely, as his son expresses it (*"transigendæ senectutis causâ"*), he

had arranged practically to retire from his London business, not entirely ceasing to have an interest in it, but handing over the active management to a younger partner. The partner he had chosen was that Thomas Bower whom we had casually to note as long ago as 1623, as then one of his apprentices, witnessing a deed for him. There are records proving that this Thomas Bower had been duly admitted a full member of the Scriveners' Company in 1624, on the conclusion of his apprenticeship with Milton; and, though the precise year in which the partnership was formed between him and his old master is uncertain, evidence will appear in due time that it had been formed before 1632. The evidence bears indeed that the partnership was complete in 1631, the very year in which the old scrivener's resolution of retirement from active business seems to have been taken. For the purpose of such retirement, he had then acquired, if he had not already possessed, a country house in the little village of Horton, in Buckinghamshire; and this, in fact, seems to have been the retreat "far from the city's noise" referred to so enthusiastically by Milton in his Latin poem.¹

¹ The evidence as to the date of the partnership between old Mr. Milton and his former apprentice Bower will be produced hereafter; meanwhile this may be the place for some facts in the history of old Mr. Milton's scrivenership in the Bread Street premises additional to those already mentioned in these pages. The facts are supplied by an interesting communication by Mr. Henry J. Sides of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, to the *Athenæum* of May 1, 1880, and by a sequel by Mr. Hyde Clarke in the *Athenæum* of June 10 following:—In the Bodleian, it appears, there is a MS. volume (Rawl. Miscell., 51) consisting of collections made in the latter part of the seventeenth century from the official records of the Scriveners' Company of London; and Mr. Sides, having examined this volume for traces of the scrivener Milton, gives the results as follows:—Under date "1599, 42 Eliz." the admission of John Milton to the freedom of the Company is duly entered, with the addition, as in the entry in the Scriveners' Books found long ago by Mr. Hyde Clarke, that he had been apprentice to "James Cole-

bron." From that date there is no mention of him in the Bodleian MS. till 1621, when a WM. BOWER and a RICHARD MILTON are noted as admitted to the Company after having been apprentices of his. This RICHARD MILTON, who is found in business as a scrivener as late as 1633, is ascertained to have been the son of a Thomas Milton. He was very probably one of *our* scrivener's kin, and it is, at all events, interesting to know that there was a Richard Milton practising as a scrivener in London from 1621 to 1633, by the side of John Milton, after having been his apprentice. Indeed, from 1629, there was a third Milton among the London scriveners,—one James Milton, whom Mr. Sides finds admitted in that year as having been apprentice of Francis Strange. Apprentices of John Milton, reported by Mr. Sides as mentioned in the Bodleian volume, besides the above Wm. Bower and Richard Milton, are JAMES HODGKINSON and THOMAS BOWER, both admitted of the Scriveners' Company in 1624, and JOHN HATTON, admitted in 1628. It was the second of these that became afterwards

One infers that he was already there and that the poem was written there, if not also that Letter to a Friend which has given the key to our present chapter. Horton, at all events, was to be his main residence for nearly six years after his leaving the University, or from his twenty-fourth year to his thirtieth. Before we follow him thither it may be well to have some more distinct ideas respecting that condition of Church and State which had repelled him for the present from public into private life, but which was to implicate all his future career more openly and engrossingly than he could yet foresee, and also respecting the condition in 1632 of that Literature of the British Islands with which, in an independent way of his own, it was his present purpose to connect himself.

Milton's partner; and the fact that the third, Hatton, is designated in 1628 as "apprentice of John Milton" only would seem to indicate that the partnership between Milton and Thomas Bower had not then been formed.— Besides this information as to apprentices of Milton who became eventually scriveners themselves, the Bodleian volume furnishes, Mr. Sides reports, some particulars as to Milton's standing and reputation in the Scriveners' Company. Though found elected an "Assistant" of the Company, *i. e.* one of the court or governing body, as early as April 1615, he seems to have rather held aloof from the official or corporate business of the company after its reorganization by its new charter in the following year. They did, however, in 1622 re-elect him to be one of the two "Assistants taken in" as coadjutors to the "Master" and the two "Wardens" of the Company, and he appears then to have served. In 1625 he was chosen one of the two "Stewards" of the Company, along with a Thomas Hill, and seems again to have served. In 1627 they elected him as one of the "Wardens" for the year, the next rank under the Mastership; but, if Mr. Sides rightly interprets an asterisk put opposite his name, and also opposite that

of his former comrade in the Stewardship, Thomas Hill, together with the fact that the names of the two persons who did actually serve the Wardenship that year are given as Francis Mosso and Jeffery Bower, we have to conclude that he declined to serve that year and either was excused or preferred paying the statutory fine of £20 exacted from every elected Master or Warden who refused the trouble of office. Finally (though we here anticipate a little in date) Mr. Sides finds that in 1634 John Milton was the person elected to the Mastership, or highest office, of the Scriveners' Company, but that again he avoided office, whether by excuse or by payment of the required fine, leaving the Mastership to a Charles Yeomans. Mr. Sides thinks that this election to the Mastership in 1634 rather militates against the supposition that the scrivener had retired from business in 1632. It seems certainly to imply that he had not wholly ceased to be a recognised London scrivener and to have an interest in the Bread Street shop; but it is quite consistent with the fact of his retirement to Horton in 1631 or 1632, leaving the active management of the Bread Street business thenceforward to his younger partner, Thomas Bower.

CHAPTER II.

CHURCH AND GOVERNMENT UNDER KING CHARLES AND BISHOP LAUD: WITH A RETROSPECT TO 1603.

THE entire population of England in 1632 may be reckoned at something under five millions. Though all of these were considered to belong legally to the Church of England, there were exceptions in fact.

One of the exceptional classes consisted of THE PAPISTS, called also, in a special sense, THE RECUSANTS. The proportion of these to the entire population cannot be exactly estimated. In the early part of Elizabeth's reign they are said to have amounted to one-third, but this proportion had been vastly diminished during her reign and that of her successor. The degree of rigour with which the laws against Roman Catholics were enforced had varied from time to time in both reigns, according to ideas of state necessity, and more particularly according to the varying relations in which England stood to the Catholic powers abroad. About the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, when the Pope had excommunicated her and her subjects, and the English Roman Catholics were supposed to be in traitorous correspondence with the Spanish invader, many priests and Jesuits had been executed; but, on the whole, towards the end of her reign, though the minor penalties of fine and imprisonment continued to be inflicted annually on considerable numbers of the Recusants, their condition had been such as to increase their confidence. Under James the Gunpowder Plot had furnished for many years a reason for renewed severity; but about the year 1622, when the Spanish Match was on hand, there had begun a tendency the other way. While the match was pending meetings for

Roman Catholic worship were openly held in London, Jesuits and friars went about freely, nunneries were established, and Richard Smith, as Bishop of Chalcedon, came over from the Continent to exercise jurisdiction over the English Roman Catholics and appoint subordinates. Even after the Spanish Match was broken off, and Charles I. sat on the throne, with the French Henrietta Maria for his queen, the same reasons of state operated in favour of the Papists. While the Queen had her private chapel and confessors it was not to be expected that her husband would be more severe against his Roman Catholic subjects than he could help. At all events, after Charles had dismissed his Parliament in March 1628-9, and had been governing by his own authority, he showed no extraordinary readiness against the Roman Catholics. From that time, on the contrary, they were regarded as a class of his subjects whose loyalty it would be worth while to cultivate against a possible emergency. According to a Remonstrance which had been drawn up by the Commons, there were about ninety Papists, or suspected Papists, some of them noblemen and the rest knights or gentlemen, in places of political or civil trust about the court or elsewhere; and Catholic historians give a list of 193 gentlemen of property and distinction who from this time forward, through the rest of Charles's reign, represented Roman Catholicism in a more or less resolute manner in different English counties.¹

The second exceptional class of the English population consisted of the PROTESTANT SEPARATISTS. These were but a handful numerically, composed of such extreme Puritans as had considered themselves bound, whether on doctrinal or on ritual grounds, to separate from the Church of England and set up a worship of their own. The majority of those whose Puritanism had led them thus far had found it necessary to emigrate to Holland or to America; but some remained at home, a peculiar leaven in English society. The congregation of Independents, as they were afterwards called, which had been founded in London in 1616 by

¹ Dod's Church History: *temp.* Charles I.

Henry Jacob, still continued to exist under the ministry of Mr. John Lathorp, formerly a Church clergyman of Kent; distinct from these Independents were a few scores of Baptists, in London, in Norwich, and elsewhere, who met secretly for mutual encouragement in brewhouses and barns; and distinct from both these sects were the so-called Familists.

The Roman Catholics and the Protestant Separatists were exceptional bodies, existing at the peril of the law; and the theory that the whole population of England belonged to the Church of England was still in substantial correspondence with the fact. There were, in all, 9,284 parish-churches in England, endowed with glebe and tithes, and each provided with its minister appointed to the spiritual charge of all within his parish.¹ Of these parochial charges only 5,439 were filled by "rectors," regularly appointed by patrons, and enjoying the full rights of the benefices. The remaining 3,845 were either *appropriated* (*i. e.* in the possession of Bishops, Cathedrals and Colleges, who, being themselves therefore both patrons and rectors, performed the duties generally by means of deputies named "vicars," to whom they allowed only a part of the tithes), or *impropriated* (*i. e.* in the possession of laymen to whose ancestors or legal antecessors they had been given at the Reformation, and who also paid "vicars" to do the work, retaining the rest of the fruits for themselves). In addition, however, to these 9,284 parish clergymen known as "rectors" or "vicars," there were the two Archbishops, the twenty-five Bishops, the Deans, the Archdeacons, &c., and the great body of "curates" or assistants to the parochial clergy. Moreover, a class of ministers of considerable importance at this time, though not very numerous, were the so-called "Lecturers." These were men who, having obtained the necessary licence from the ecclesiastical authorities, were supported by voluntary contributions, and employed simply as preachers in localities where there was a deficiency of the ordinary clerical

¹ Fuller, Church History: *sub anno* 1630.

means, or where the people were unusually zealous. They had no local cure of souls, and did not perform Church rites, but confined themselves to religious teaching and discoursing on market-days or on Sunday afternoons. They were first heard of in Elizabeth's reign, when the Puritan laity in towns, on the one hand, were glad to have such a lawful means of access to doctrine more to their taste than was always supplied by the parish clergy, and when, on the other hand, many Puritans, educated for the ministry, were glad to have the opportunity of following their calling without such a degree of conformity to Church discipline as would have been necessary if they had taken full priest's orders and accepted parochial livings. About the beginning of the reign of Charles there was a movement among the Puritans for their increase, and a scheme for that purpose, among others, had been set on foot by the Puritan leader, Dr. Preston. A committee of twelve persons was appointed, four of whom were divines, four lawyers, and four London merchants. Among the clerical members of the committee were Sibbes of Cambridge and Mr. Stocke of London. The twelve, acting as trustees, were to apply such funds as might be collected by themselves or others to the purchase of lay impropriations as they came into the market. When a lay impropriation was thus bought, it was in the power of the trustees not only to appoint a minister of the right sort, but also to apply the residue of the tithes to their proper spiritual destination by using them for the support of "lecturers" over the country. The scheme was effective. In the course of five years, it is true, only thirteen impropriations were bought in, at an expense of between five and six thousand pounds, supplied chiefly by wealthy Puritans of London; but it was calculated that in the course of fifty years *all* would be bought in and the Church thus rid of one particular scandal.¹

Such, as regards the number and classification of the clergy, was the Church of England in 1632. But the grand fact in

¹ Fuller's Church History, *sub anno* 1630; and Neal's Puritans, II. 221-2.

the constitution of the Church was the division of the clergy and the people alike into the two great parties of the Prelatists or friends of the Hierarchy and the Puritans or Non-conformists. This division was as old as the Reformation itself, and had been bequeathed in full vigour out of the reign of Elizabeth into that of James.

ENGLISH CHURCH-GOVERNMENT FROM 1603-1625.

The condition and the aims of the Puritan party in the Church of England at the time of James's accession are best inferred from the "Millenary Petition" which they presented to the King on his coming to England. The petition was signed by 750 ministers out of five-and-twenty counties, but was said in the petition itself to represent the views of "more than a thousand ministers" altogether. Numerically, therefore, the ascertained Puritans in the Church in 1603 were about a ninth part of the whole parish clergy. Some of the reforms for which they pressed were of a kind relating more to the general management of the Church than to the relief of their own consciences. They prayed, for example, that none should be admitted into the ministry but able men, that all ministers should be required to preach, and that ministers incapable of preaching should be removed or obliged to provide preachers, that non-residency should not be allowed, that bishops should not hold additional livings *in commendam*, that impropriations annexed to bishoprics and colleges should be converted into regular rectorial livings and lay impropriations mulcted of a portion of their profits for the support of preachers, that there should be no more excommunication "for twelve-penny matters," and that the ecclesiastical courts should be kept under better control. Some parts of the Petition, however, were of a nature more closely affecting the consciences of the petitioners. They petitioned that in future no subscription should be required from ministers except to the Thirty-nine Articles and the Royal Supremacy. They petitioned farther, "that the cross in baptism, the interrogatories to

“infants, baptism by women, and confirmation be taken away; that the cap and surplice be not urged; that the ring in marriage be dispensed with; that the service be abridged; that church songs and music be moderated to better edification; that the Lord’s Day be not profaned, nor the observation of other holidays strictly enjoined; that ministers be not charged to teach their people to bow at the name of Jesus; and that none but Canonical Scriptures be read in the Church.” In all this scarcely any dissatisfaction was expressed with the essential doctrines of the Church, but only with certain of its rites and ceremonies.

With the exception of one or two small concessions, the Puritans gained nothing by their Millenary Petition, or by the Hampton Court Conferences which grew out of it. On the contrary, they lost by them. The King declared himself at once against the Puritans; and, the Bishops, the Universities, and the hierarchical clergy having rallied all their strength under his encouragement, there were passed in the Convocation of 1603-4, and ratified by royal authority, the famous 141 Canons which settled for that reign and for a portion of the next the whole constitution of the English Church. We have seen that by the 36th of these Canons the practice of subscription was made more stringent than ever; but one or two of the other Canons may here be quoted:—

Canon VI. Whosoever shall affirm that the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England by law established are wicked, anti-Christian, superstitious, or such as, being commanded by lawful authority, men who are zealously and godly affected may not with any good conscience approve them, use them, or, as occasion requireth, subscribe unto them, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, &c., till after his repentance, &c.

Canon VII. Whosoever shall affirm the government of the Church of England by archbishops, bishops, deans and arch-deacons, and the rest that bear office in the same, is anti-Christian or repugnant to the word of God, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, &c.

Canon X. Whosoever shall affirm that such ministers as refuse to subscribe to the form and manner of God’s worship in the Church of England, and their adherents, may truly take to themselves the name of another Church not established by law, and shall publish that their pretended Church has groaned under the burden of certain grievances

imposed on them by the Church of England, let them be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, &c.

Canon XVIII. In the time of divine service and of every part thereof all due reverence is to be used. . . . And likewise, when, in time of divine service, the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present, as it hath been accustomed. . . .

Canon XXVIII. If any minister, after he hath once subscribed to the said Three Articles, shall omit to use the form of prayer or any of the orders or ceremonies prescribed in the Communion Book, let him be suspended ; and if, after a month, he do not reform and submit himself, let him be excommunicated ; and then, if he shall not submit himself within the space of another month, let him be deposed from the ministry.

Canon LVIII. Every minister, saying the public prayers, or ministering the sacraments or other rites of the Church, shall wear a decent and comely surplice with sleeves, to be provided at the charge of the parish ; and, if any question arise touching the matter, decency, or comeliness thereof, the same shall be decided by the discretion of the Ordinary. Furthermore, such ministers as are graduates shall wear upon their surplices at such times such hoods as by the orders of the University are agreeable to their degrees ; which no minister shall wear, being no graduate, under pain of suspension. Notwithstanding, it shall be lawful for such ministers as are not graduates to wear upon their surplices, instead of hoods, some decent tippet of black, so it be not silk.

Canon LXXIV. The true, ancient, and flourishing Churches of Christ, being ever desirous that their prelacy and clergy might be had, as well in outward reverence as otherwise, regarded for the worthiness of their ministry, did think it fit, by a prescript form of decent and comely apparel, to have them known to the people, and thereby to receive the honour and estimation due to the special messengers and ministers of Almighty God. We, therefore, following their grave judgment and the ancient custom of the Church of England, and hoping that in time newfangledness of apparel in some factious persons will die of itself, do constitute and appoint that the archbishops and bishops shall not intermit to use the accustomed apparel of their degrees ; likewise all deans, masters of colleges, archdeacons, and prebendaries in cathedral and collegiate churches (being priests or deacons), doctors in divinity, law, and physic, bachelors in divinity, masters of arts, and bachelors of law, having any ecclesiastical living, shall usually wear gowns with standing collars and sleeves straight at the hands, or wide sleeves, as is used in the Universities, with hoods or tippets of silk or sarcenet, and square caps ; and that all other ministers admitted or to be admitted into that function shall also usually wear the like apparel, as is aforesaid, except tippets only. We do further, in like manner, ordain that all the said ecclesiastical persons above mentioned shall usually wear in their journeys cloaks with sleeves, commonly called priests' cloaks, without guards, welts, long buttons, or cuts. And no ecclesiastical person shall wear any coif or wrought nightcap, but only plain nightcaps of black silk, satin, or velvet. In all which particulars concerning the apparel here prescribed our meaning is not to attribute any holiness or special worthiness to the said garments, but for decency, gravity, and order, as is above specified. In private houses, and in their studies, the said

persons ecclesiastical may use any comely and scholar-like apparel, provided it be not cut or pinked, and that in public they go not in their doublet and hose, without coats or cassocks, and also that they wear not any light-coloured stockings. Likewise, poor beneficed men and curates, not being able to provide themselves long gowns, may go in short gowns of the fashion aforesaid.

For six years after the promulgation of the Canons the Puritans had need of all their patience. Bancroft, who succeeded Whitgift as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1604, and who held the primacy till his death in 1610, was perhaps the most zealous for conformity of all the prelates in the Church; and during his primacy it was the part of the King and his chief counsellors rather to moderate than stimulate his activity. Many Nonconformists were deprived and imprisoned, or driven into exile. The consequence was that the controversy became hotter and deeper. Pamphlets were printed secretly at home, or imported from Holland, in which opinions were broached far in advance of any that had appeared in the Millenary Petition. Some of the more daring began to discuss the lawfulness and necessity of separation from the Church of England altogether; and propositions such as the following found favour with at least a section:—"That every congregation or assembly of men ordinarily joining together in the true worship of God is a true visible Church of Christ"; "That there are not, by divine institution, any ordinary, national, provincial, or diocesan pastors, to whom the pastors of particular churches are to be subject." Here, as held by the extremest sect of the Puritans of the day, we have already the full theory of English Independency. Others, however, did not go farther than a modified Presbyterianism, while others, again, approved the hierarchical organization as the best in itself, and were aggrieved only by certain excesses in the Church of England. English Puritanism was in this stage when Milton was born.

In 1611 Bancroft was succeeded in the primacy by Archbishop GEORGE ABBOT, a man of very different temper. Whereas Bancroft had "understood the Church excellently, "and almost rescued it out of the hands of the Calvinian "party, and very much subdued the unruly spirit of the

"Nonconformists," Abbot, as Clarendon describes him, brought "none of this antidote" with him. "He considered the Christian religion no otherwise than as it abhorred and reviled Popery, and valued those men most who did that the most furiously. For the strict observation of the discipline of the Church, or the conformity to the Articles or Canons established, he made little inquiry and took less care; . . . he adhered only to the doctrine of Calvin, and, for his sake, did not think so ill of the discipline as he ought to have done. But, if men prudently forbore a public reviling and railing at the hierarchy and ecclesiastical government, let their opinions and private practice be what it would, they were not only secure from any inquisition of his, but acceptable to him, and at least equally preferred by him."¹ In other words, Abbot was what we should now call a Low-Church Archbishop, and so long as he wielded an authority in the Church corresponding to his position the Puritans had reason to congratulate themselves.

After the first ten years, however, of Abbot's primacy, his real power in ecclesiastical matters had ceased to be co-extensive with his nominal functions. As early as 1616, when Lord Chancellor Ellesmere died and was succeeded by Bacon, and when young Villiers was taking his first steps towards the supreme place in the King's counsels, it had been found necessary to manage a good deal of Church business through other prelates than Abbot; and in 1621, when Buckingham was absolute minister, and Abbot's anti-popish zeal led him to oppose the Court on the two great questions of the Palatinate War and the Spanish Match, the awkwardness of having such a man for primate had been still more seriously felt. An accident that year had rid the Court of much of the inconvenience. Going out in a luckless hour to shoot a buck with Lord Zouch in Hampshire, the Archbishop, unskilled in the cross-bow, sent his arrow into one of the keepers instead of the deer; and, as the man died, it became a question with the canonists whether

the homicide could continue to be Archbishop. The King, who had a liking for Abbot personally, was very kind on the occasion; and, after much consultation, Abbot was acquitted under the broad seal, and restored to the full exercise of his office. But from that time the misfortune hung heavily on his memory. He appeared at Court but seldom, and survived only as a broken primate, walking in gloom among his shrubberies at Lambeth, abhorring the sight of a cross-bow, and keeping a Tuesday every month as a day of fast and humiliation. He was very popular, not only in England, but also in Scotland, where he had spent some time in his earlier life and had preached very often in public.

From the date of Abbot's misfortune to the end of James's reign the chief man in the realm after James himself and Buckingham was JOHN WILLIAMS, Bishop of Lincoln, and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. He is one of those men to whom, from various causes, history has hardly done justice.

A Welshman by birth, and placed, by a singular accident in his childhood, in the same category physically as Origen, Narses, and some other eminent men whose names may be known to the curious, he had led from his youth upwards a life of prodigious activity. At St. John's College, Cambridge, where he was educated under the tutorship of his countryman Owen Gwynne, and where he was at first much laughed at for his ungainly Welsh tongue, he soon distanced all his coevals, not only in the art of speaking English, but in most things besides. He had a handsome and stately look, was lavish of his money, dressed well, and won everybody's good opinion by a kind of fiery imperiousness, coupled with a courtly talent of the first order. His power of labour was incredible. He required, we are told positively, but three hours of sleep out of the twenty-four; and every day, from four o'clock till midnight, he was incessantly at work, reading, making notes, or writing letters, doing secular College business, or whetting his wits in disputations and table-talk. His scholarship was great and various; but his

chief delight was in History, in the study of which he was served by a miraculous memory. He had also a passion for music and considerable skill in it. Altogether, he was the pride of the Welshmen at Cambridge, and they had come to look on him as their rising man. His rise had been unusually rapid. A Fellow of his College from the time of his taking his B.A. degree, he used to go once a year to London on a visit to his kinsman, Bishop Vaughan, through whom he made some useful acquaintances. Old Lord Lumley, to whom the Bishop had introduced him, supplied him with money which enabled him, when he took his M.A. degree in 1605, to give a feast like any nobleman. Four years afterwards, at the age of twenty-seven, he took priest's orders, and became vicar of a small parish at some distance from Cambridge; in 1610 he had the honour of preaching before the King and Prince Henry at Royston; and in 1611-12, when he was junior Proctor of the University, he performed his office in princely style. In particular, "he gave so noble and generous entertainment, as well in scholastical exercises as in edibles and potables," to the Spanish Ambassador, then on a state visit to the University, that Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, who accompanied the ambassador, pronounced him a man "fit to serve a king." Ellesmere helped to fulfil his own prognostication by making him his chaplain; and till Ellesmere's death in 1616 Williams remained in attendance upon him in London and at Court. Understanding "the soil on which he had thus set his foot, that it was rich and fertile," he made the most of his opportunities. "He pleased his master with his sermons; he "took him mainly with his sharp and solid answers to such "questions as were cast forth at table to prove his learning; "his fashion and garb to the ladies of the family, who were "of great blood and many, was more courtly a great deal "than was expected from a scholar; he received strangers "with courtesy, and laboured for their satisfaction; he inter- "posed gravely, as became a divine, in the disorders of the "lowest servants." In brief, he became Ellesmere's most valued secretary, and helped him in all his business. When

Ellesmere was dying, he sent his messages to the King through Williams; and, at his death, he left Williams his private papers and collections, with the words, "I know you are an expert workman: take these tools to work with; they are the best I have." Already, by favour of the Lord Chancellor, Williams had had his share of Church preferments. He was rector of Walgrave in Northamptonshire, and of two other parishes near; he was a prebendary and canon-resident in the cathedral church of Lincoln, and chanter in the same; and he had choral places in the minster of Peterborough and in the churches of Hereford and St. David's. It might have been well for Bacon in his Keepership and Chancellorship had Williams complied with his request that he would continue to serve *him* in the capacity in which he had served his predecessor. But Williams preferred his rectory in Northamptonshire, where he lived more like a bishop than a rector. Patronage pursued him. He was made chaplain in ordinary to the King, rector of the Savoy in London, and at length, in 1619, Dean of Salisbury. There was not an ecclesiastic whom the King so much liked to have about him as his frank and ready-witted Welsh chaplain. James was as fond of hunting his courtiers and ecclesiastics in disputations at his table as of running down deer in the field; and no one gave him such sport as Williams. "There was not," says his panegyrist, "a greater master of perspicuity and elucidate distinctions; which looked the better in his English, that ran sweet upon his tongue, especially being set out with a graceful facetiousness that hit the joint of the matter." Above all was the King pleased with his answers when he "led him quite out of the road of verbal learning, and talked to him of real and gubernative wisdom." But, though the King might like Williams, all depended on Steenie. "Upon this tree or none must the ground-ivy clasp" in that day "in order to trail and climb." The King himself having taken means to bring the two men together, Williams did Buckingham several services which completed an understanding between them. Hence, in 1620, the Dean of Salisbury became Dean

of Westminster and a Privy Councillor. Even such promotion could not have prepared the public for what followed. On the conviction and disgrace of Lord Chancellor Bacon in 1621 the Court waited anxiously to learn who was to be his successor. Several great personages were confidently named; and, when it was announced that the King, passing over all these, had given the great seal to the Dean of Westminster, the news could hardly be credited. It would have been a surprise in any case to see the highest law office and all but the highest lay dignity in the realm conferred on a churchman, and a custom thus revived which was supposed to have ceased in the preceding century. It was a greater surprise to see the office conferred on a churchman who had not passed his thirty-ninth year and whose special qualifications were so problematical. Nevertheless, on the 9th of October 1621, Williams was inaugurated as Lord Keeper in Westminster Hall. The Bishopric of Lincoln having fallen conveniently vacant, he was also consecrated to that Bishopric on the 11th of the following month.¹

Lord Keeper, Privy Councillor, Bishop of Lincoln, &c., Williams was, in fact, from 1621 to the death of James in March 1625, the working partner of Buckingham in Church and State. One can trace to his influence a certain difference in the policy of the government in the last years of James's reign from the policy in the earlier part of it. In state matters the aim of Williams seems to have been to bring the prerogative, if possible, into greater harmony with popular feeling. In all his own speeches and correspondence, and in every public paper drawn up by his pen, there is a fearless directness of language, contrasting strongly with the usual style of official documents; and he seems to have infused something of this frankness into the intercourse between James and his last two Parliaments. In Church politics he was in favour of an inclusive rather than a

¹ Bishop Hacket's *Life of Williams*, 1693. Whoever wants a folio of the seventeenth century for light historical reading cannot do better than procure this book. Although a continuous and extravagant panegyric, it is a most

lively piece of biography, and is full of interesting and exact information not to be easily found elsewhere. In copiousness of allusion and in wit, Hacket somewhat resembles Fuller.

coercive system. In modern language, his policy was rather that of the Broad Church than of either the High Church or the Low Church. This arose mainly from the eminent secularity of his mind. The statesman predominated in him over the churchman. At College, though he inclined decidedly to the Augustinian side in purely theological controversies, and though he was an advocate for established ceremonies in worship, he had been notoriously so general in his friendships, and so tolerant of all differences in non-fundamentals, that many called him "neutral." As he rose in the Church, he still argued against the necessity of being either a Guelph or a Ghibelline. When, therefore, he became the King's chief adviser in Church affairs, he had neither Abbot's hostility to the Papists nor Bancroft's to Puritans. "In the relaxation of Roman Catholics' penalties," he writes to Buckingham at Madrid, "I keep off the King "from appearing in it as much as I can, and take all upon "myself, as I believe every servant of his ought to do in "such negotiations." But, though he reaped much unpopularity in consequence, his reasons were purely political; and he was ready, as soon as the Spanish marriage should be concluded, to relapse into a more popular policy. Thus, writing to Buckingham, still at Madrid, to inform him that the new Roman Catholic Bishop of Chalcedon has come privately to London, and that he is much perplexed what to do, he concludes characteristically, "If you were shipped "with the Infanta, the only counsel were to let the judges "proceed with him presently, hang him out of the way, and "the King to blame my Lord of Canterbury or myself for "it." In his relations to the Puritans there was more of personal kindness. In very flagrant cases of nonconformity in his own diocese he did not hesitate to punish; but his general practice was to overlook what could be overlooked and to trust to mild measures with delinquents who were reported to him. "Men that are sound in their morals," says his biographer Hacket, "and, in minutes, imperfect in "their intellectuals, are best reclaimed when they are "mignarized and stroked gently." And so in Williams's

direction of the Church generally. In some cases he prevailed on his colleagues in the prelacy to abandon prosecutions which they had begun, and in others he worked upon the King's good humour to obtain pardon for offenders. In short, the chief fault that the Puritans had to find with Williams was not that he was severe towards themselves, but that he was too tolerant of the Papists.

When Milton went to Cambridge in 1625 the Church was still regulated by the comparatively broad policy which resulted from the paramount influence of Williams, combined with whatever degree of official power still remained in the hands of the crippled but popular Abbot. That Milton was fully prepared at this time for such a degree of conformity as was necessary for his quiet admission into the Church is a fact worth recollection. Not only were the same subscriptions exacted from students on taking their degrees that were required from the clergy; but those forms and ceremonies to which the Puritans most objected were as rigidly enjoined by the Canons in colleges as in churches. Thus, by Canon xvi., it is enjoined that in divine service in College-chapels "the order, form and ceremonies shall be duly observed as they are set down in the Book of Common Prayer, without any omission or alteration"; by Canon xvii. it is enjoined that all students in colleges shall wear surplices, and all graduates surplices and hoods, in chapel, on Sundays and holidays; and by Canon xxiii. it is enjoined that all students in colleges shall receive the communion four times a year at the least, "kneeling reverently and decently upon their knees." In process of time, as we have seen, those rules had been relaxed, and in some colleges they were ostentatiously disregarded. In Christ's, however, they were decently observed; and Milton, while there, must have worn his white surplice on Sundays, and received the communion kneeling, as punctually as the rest.

But, though the state of the Church under Williams was such that young men of Puritan principles did not feel themselves debarred from the ministry, there were not wanting new signs of alarm. Hitherto, as we have said,

the difference between the Puritans and the Prelatists had been mainly on points of Church government and ritual. The most strenuous partisans of Episcopacy had not, in general, exhibited any hostility to the Calvinistic *doctrines* of their opponents. In this respect, however, a change had now begun to be noted. As if, after all, there was an organic connexion between the Calvinistic theology and the Calvinistic Church polity and ritual, it began to be observed that strong Calvinistic doctrine was to be found chiefly among the Puritan preachers, and that a good many of the hierarchial party tended towards a Romish or Arminian interpretation of the Articles. It was after the Synod of Dort in 1619 that this tendency to a doctrinal divergence of the two Church parties became most evident. The English divines whom James had sent over to represent the English Church in the Synod had, as James intended, taken the Calvinistic side on the famous "five points" in dispute,—to wit, Election, Redemption, Original Sin, Irresistible Grace, and the Perseverance of the Saints,—and had thus contributed to the victory of the Dutch Calvinists over the Dutch Arminians. In the main, King James and the English clergy were highly satisfied with the manner in which the deputies had discharged their trust. Here and there, however, throughout England, there were divines who, debating the "five points" over again on their own account, were not so satisfied as the majority with the issue of the Dort Conferences, and showed themselves to be "tainted" with that very heresy of Arminianism which the Synod of Dort had been assembled to condemn, as well as with corresponding opinions held by the Church of Rome. Some of these divines were in fellowships or other important places in the Universities; nay, one or two of the bishops were supposed to be infected. In short, an Anti-Calvinistic spirit had been quietly forming itself in the English Church for many years, and was now openly spreading, more particularly among the younger clergy. The phenomenon was the more perplexing to the King because these "Arminians" and "Popishly-inclined Doctors" were generally the most

zealous and thorough-going supporters of the royal prerogative in the State and of hierarchical forms in the Church. Pledged against their theology, but enamoured of their principles of polity, which should James prefer? As was to be expected, his liking for their principles of polity overcame his theological prejudices; and, just at the time when the Spanish Match was dragging on its slow length and the people were sufficiently excited already by the concessions made in its behalf to the Papists, it began to be a matter of complaint that divines notoriously Arminian or Popish in their theological tendencies were admitted to intimacy with the King and favoured with preferments. The pulpits became the organs of the popular feeling. Over the whole country the Calvinistic clergy, whether Puritans or not, betook themselves to expositions of the "five points," just as soldiers leave the safe parts of the fortress to rush where the breach is being made; and with these expositions were mixed up denunciations of Arminianism and Popish error, lamentations of their increase in the Church, reflections on the Government for the toleration accorded to the Papists, and allusions to the Spanish Match. The steady Calvinistic fire from one set of pulpits was returned by Arminian sharpshooting from another. Arminian tenets, if not directly inculcated, were insinuated; and what could not be safely done in the way of attack on Calvinistic doctrine on the "five points" was compensated by abundant dissertation on the evils of Nonconformity.

To allay this speculative storm which was passing over the Church, the King resolved on a characteristic measure. It was to "command silence on both sides, or such a moderation as was next to silence." The secularity of Williams's mind made him the very man to acquiesce in such a policy and to calculate on its success; and, in 1622, a circular paper of *Directions to Preachers* was accordingly drawn up by him, and sent by His Majesty's command to Archbishop Abbot, to be by him forwarded to all the bishops, with instructions that every clergyman or preacher in their dioceses should receive a copy, and be obliged to obey

its injunctions. Among the directions were the following :—

1. That no preacher, under the degree and calling of a Bishop or Dean of a Cathedral or Collegiate Church (and they upon the King's days and set festivals), do take occasion, by the expounding of any text of Scripture whatsoever, to fall into any set discourse or commonplace, otherwise than by the opening the coherence and division of the text, which shall not be comprehended and warranted, in essence, substance, effect, or natural inference, within some one of the Articles of Religion set forth in 1562, or in some of the Homilies set forth by authority of the Church of England. . . .

2. That no parson, vicar, curate, or lecturer shall preach any sermon or collation hereafter upon Sundays and holidays in the afternoon in any cathedral or parish church throughout the kingdom, but upon some part of the Catechism or some text taken out of the Creed, Ten Commandments, or the Lord's Prayer,—funeral sermons only excepted. And that those preachers be most encouraged and approved of who spend the afternoon's exercise in the examination of children in their Catechism [*i. e.* not in preaching sermons at all]; which is the most ancient and laudable custom of teaching in the Church of England.

3. That no preacher, of what title soever, under the degree of a Bishop or Dean at the least, do from henceforth presume to preach in any popular auditory the deep points of Predestination, Election, Reprobation, or of the Universality, Efficacy, Resistibility, or Irresistibility of God's grace, but leave these themes rather to be handled by learned men, and that moderately and modestly, by way of use and application, rather than by way of positive doctrines, being fitter for the schools than for simple auditories.

4. That no preacher, of what title or denomination soever [*i. e.* not even a Bishop], shall presume, in any auditory within this kingdom, to declare, limit, or bound out, by way of positive doctrine, in any lecture or sermon, the power, prerogative, and jurisdiction, authority or duty, of sovereign princes, or otherwise meddle with matters of State than as &c.

5. That no preacher, of what title or denomination soever, shall presume causelessly, or without invitation from the text, to fall into bitter invectives and undecent railing speeches against the persons of either Papists or Puritans.¹ . . .

The effect of these injunctions may be easily conceived. Here was a king whose sovereign method for preserving the peace of the Church was that of abridging the liberty of preaching! Scripture itself had declared all Scriptures to be profitable; but here human authority had ventured to declare what Scriptures were profitable and what not, what doctrines were to be expounded and worked into the human soul, and what left dormant in the sealed Bible! Such were

¹ Rushworth, I. 64, 65.

the complaints of the Puritans and all the Calvinistic clergy, —the paraphrase in that age of our more general claim of the right of free speculation. True, the injunctions were two-edged, and, as they cut down high Calvinistic preaching on the one hand, so they cut down Arminian or Popish counter-preaching on the other. But the impartiality, it was said, was more apparent than real. The liberty which was abrogated was one for which the Calvinistic ministers cared more than their opponents. To the Calvinistic preachers, or at least to many of them, it was a matter of conscience to propound at full length, and without any abatement, the doctrines of election, predestination, and justification by faith. These were to them the deep points of the Gospel. They might be called metaphysical subtleties by their opponents, and the teaching of them from the pulpit might be reproached as an unnecessary troubling of the common mind; but why had the Christian Revelation been given but to import this very *metaphysic* into the world, this one supernatural sword for piercing the carnal heart? From the very nature of the other system of Divinity, as well as from the circumstances of the time, it was of less vital concern to the opponents of Calvinism to press *their* interpretations of the “five points,” unless by way of controversy. Hence, towards the end of James’s reign, arose a new distinction of names among the English clergy, superseding to some extent the traditional distinction into Prelatists and Puritans. On the one hand, those of the prelatie or hierarchical party who were most easy under the recent policy of the Court with respect to the Catholics were denounced as *Arminians* and *Semi-Papists*; and, on the other hand, the new name of *Doctrinal Puritans* was invented as a term of reproach for those who, though not accused of disaffection to the forms of the Church, held high Calvinistic views, and shared in the popular alarm at the concessions to Romanism.

It was at this point that a man appeared prominently on the stage who was to supersede Williams in the government of the Church, and whose life was to be identified in a very

memorable manner for the next twenty years with the civil and ecclesiastical history of England. This was WILLIAM LAUD, as yet only bishop of the poor Welsh diocese of St. David's, but already noted as an ecclesiastic in whom, more than in any other, the spirit of the new Anglican Anti-Calvinism was incarnate.

Laud was nine years older than Williams, having been born at Reading in 1573. His rise in the Church had been much more slow and difficult than that of the aspiring Welshman. Elected a scholar of St. John's College, Oxford, in 1590, he became a Fellow of the College in 1593, and took his M.A. degree in 1598; "at which time," says Wood, "he was esteemed by those that knew him a very forward, confident, and zealous person." He was of very small stature, and was known therefore to the wits of the University as "*parva Laus*" or "little Laud." He became deacon in 1600, priest in 1601, and held a Divinity lectureship in his College in the following year. In 1604 he was one of the Proctors of the University of Oxford, and in the same year he became chaplain to the Earl of Devonshire. In 1607, being by that time B.D., he became vicar of Stanford in Northamptonshire; in 1608 he had the advowson of North Kilworth in Leicestershire given him; in the same year, being then D.D., he became chaplain to Neile, Bishop of Rochester, in order to be near whom he exchanged the advowson of North Kilworth for that of West Tilbury in Essex; and in 1610, on being presented by Neile to the rectory of Cuckstone in Kent, he resigned his fellowship. His connexion with Oxford, however, was almost immediately renewed by his election in 1611, though not without much opposition, to the presidency of St. John's. In this office he remained for ten years, becoming in that time, chiefly through the influence of Neile, who had been transferred to the see of Lincoln, successively chaplain to the King, Prebendary of Bugden in Lincoln, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, Dean of Gloucester, Rector of Ibstock in Leicestershire, and Prebendary of Westminster. "In some sort," says Fuller, "he had thus served in all the offices of the Church,

from a common soldier upwards," and so had "acquired an experimental knowledge of the conditions of all such persons as were at last to be subject to his authority."¹ And yet he "bare no great stream," but flowed on in a kind of sombre privacy, "taking more notice of the world than the world did of him." Those who knew him best do not seem to have liked him, or to have been able to make out exactly what he meant. "I would I knew," says Hall, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, "where to find you: to-day you are "with the Romanists, to-morrow with us; our adversaries "think you ours, and we theirs; your conscience finds you "with both and neither: how long will you halt in this "indifferency?"² To the same effect, but with more hostility, spoke Dr. Robert Abbot, brother of Archbishop Abbot, and King's Divinity Professor at Oxford, who, in a sermon publicly preached at the University in the year 1614, made the President of St. John's the object of a direct attack. "Men," he said, "under pretence of truth and "preaching against the Puritans, strike at the heart and "root of faith and religion now established among us." Such men, he added, saved their credit as churchmen by attacks on the Puritans, leaving the Papists alone; "or, if they do "at any time speak against the Papists, they do but beat a "little upon the bush, and that softly too, for fear of troubling or disquieting the birds that are in it." Laud, who himself reports these passages of the sermon to his patron Neile, says that he "was fain to sit patiently and hear himself thus abused almost an hour together, being pointed at as he sat." He adds that the whole University was talking of the affair, and that his friends were telling him his credit would be gone if he did not answer Abbot in his own style; "nevertheless," he says, "in a business of this kind, I will not be swayed from a patient course."³ Archbishop Abbot, in his memoir of his own experiences left for the instruction of posterity, is not less severe on Laud than his brother had

¹ Church Hist.; Book X. p. 90, and Book XI. p. 216.

² Quoted by Neal, History of the Puritans, II. 152.

³ Rushworth, I. 62.

been to Laud's face. "His life in Oxford," says the Archbishop, "was to pick quarrels with the lectures of the public readers, and to advertise them to the then Bishop of Durham [*i. e.* to Neile, transferred from Lincoln to Durham in 1617], that he might fill the ears of King James with discontents against the honest men that took pains in their places and settled the truth, which he called *Puritanism*, on their auditors. He made it his work to see what books were in the press, and to look over Epistles Dedicatory, and Prefaces to the Reader, to see what faults might be found."¹ This, it is to be remembered, is the testimony of a man who had reason to regard Laud as his chief enemy, and whom, on the other hand, Laud mentions in his Diary as already in 1611 *his* enemy and the "original cause of all his troubles." But even Laud's biographer, Heylin, admits that it was thought dangerous at Oxford to be much in his company; and there is abundant evidence that, from the first, Laud *had* that habit of ferreting out the faults of his fellow-clergymen and reporting them privately in higher quarters which the unfriendly Archbishop attributes to him, and which, with all allowance for any overstrained sense of canonical duty as obliging to such work, men of no party are accustomed to think compatible with a wholesome or generous nature. The truth is, what with nature and what with education, Laud had, from his earliest connexion with the Church, resolved on a patient course from which he never swerved. He might be an enigma to others, who saw that, without belonging to Rome, he was a little over the frontier of the Church of England on that side from which the Vatican was visible; but he was perfectly clear and sure in himself. "I have ever," he said afterwards,² "since I understood aught in Divinity, kept one constant tenor in this my profession, without variation or shifting from one opinion to another for any worldly ends." What that "tenor" was he proceeds to explain. "Of all diseases," he says, "I have

¹ Rushworth, I. 440.

² On his trial, 1643; see Wharton's Laud, p. 224.

“ever hated a palsy in religion, well knowing that too often
“a dead-palsy ends that disease in the fearful forgetfulness
“of God and his judgments. Ever since I came in place I
“laboured nothing more than that the external public
“worship of God, too much slighted in most parts of the
“kingdom, might be preserved, and that with as much
“decency and uniformity as might be; being still of opinion
“that *unity* cannot long continue in the Church where
“*uniformity* is shut out at the church-door. And I evidently
“saw that the public neglect of God’s service in the outward
“face of it, and the nasty lying of many places dedicated to
“that service, had almost cast a damp upon the true and
“inward worship of God; which, while we live in the body,
“needs external helps, and all little enough to keep it in
“any vigour.” From the first, according to this account,
Laud had made up his mind in favour of a punctual conformity throughout the Church, to be enforced by law and canon, and also in favour of a ceremonial of worship in which advantage should be taken of every external aid of architecture, decoration, furniture, gesture, or costume, either actually at the time allowed in the Church of England, or for which there was good precedent in more ancient ritual. Thus, from the first, he was predetermined against the Puritans to a degree peculiarly intense. But his Anti-Puritanism involved more than the mere passion for uniformity and fondness for ceremonial. He was one of those, he tells us, who believed in the “divine Apostolical right” of Episcopacy, and who therefore could not recognise as a true portion of the Catholic Church of Christ any community or set of men who pretended to have emancipated themselves from Bishops. “There can be no Church without diocesan bishops,” he had said in 1603; and again, in 1614, “The Presbyterians are as bad as the Papists.” In the tenacity with which he held this doctrine, and the persistency with which in his own mind he urged it to its consequences as regarded the Anglican Church, in itself and in its relations to other Churches, he seems to have been singular even among his prelatie English contemporaries. He seems

also to have carried farther than any of them the notion of the superior value of public worship over preaching in the ordinary service of the Church. In all this, too, he was a predetermined Anti-Puritan. But perhaps that which gave his Anti-Puritanism its peculiar colour was the ingredient of doctrinal antipathy which he infused into it. That he held Popish tenets in theology is not true to the extent that was asserted by his adversaries. His belief in the divine right of Episcopacy led him to regard the Church of Rome as a true Church, which judgment he could not extend to the "conventicles" of Protestant sectaries; he also revered the antiquity of the Romish Church, and liked parts of its ritual; but he thought it a true Church with such "gross corruptions," as well in doctrine as in practice, that much purgation of it would be necessary before the Anglican Church could re-unite with it, and that, as it was, everything should be done to prevent it from obtaining converts in England. At the same time his estimate of the doctrinal differences which separated the two Churches was decidedly under the mark of general English opinion; and on one or two doctrines, such as those of the Eucharist and of Justification, his interpretation of the Articles of the Church of England had a Popish tinge. With this Romish tendency on some Articles he combined an Arminian tendency on the points appertaining to the Predestinarian controversy. Not that he had imbibed his opinions on those points from Arminius himself or his disciples; for, as Clarendon says, "he had eminently opposed Calvin's doctrine in those controversies before the name of Arminius was taken notice of, or his opinions heard of." But the opinions themselves were of the kind called Arminian; and Laud's antipathy to the Calvinists in behalf of them was even greater than that which the Arminians of Holland entertained against their Calvinistic compatriots. "He had," says Clarendon, "from his first entrance into the world, without any disguise or dissimulation declared his own opinion of that *classis* of men." In fact, at a time when Calvinism was still in the ascendancy in the English Church,

Laud had formed for himself a new standard of Anglican orthodoxy, to which he hoped to see the whole Church yet conform; and he it was who, at a later period, when James's Calvinistic predilections were weakened by the events of the Spanish Match, invented and put in circulation the term *Doctrinal Puritans*, as a synonym for all in the Church of England who adhered to Calvin doctrinally, even though they might have no affection for the Genevan discipline.

Till the year 1621 this man of most peculiar fibre was known only within a limited circle, and there rather as an intense and restless than as a powerful or massive personality. He was forty-eight years of age; he was President of St. John's College, Oxford, where his rule was strict; he was chaplain to the King, Dean of Gloucester, and a Prebendary of Westminster; but he was still only "little Laud," going and coming about the Court, the smallest in body of all the ecclesiastics there to be seen, with a red face and a kind of cheery quickness of expression, his eyes sharp and piercing, his speech somewhat testy and irascible, his garb plain, and his hair cut unusually close.¹ The King did not like him nearly so well as Williams. Buckingham, however, liked him better.

Some changes in the English Episcopate having been required at the time when Williams came into political office, it had been consistent with his broad policy, and also, it seems, with his private interests,² to recommend Laud to the King for the bishopric of St. David's, in balance to his nomination of the Calvinistic Dr. Davenant for the bishopric of Salisbury. It had not been without difficulty that Williams gained his point. Archbishop Abbot was against Laud, and the King had strong personal objections. Williams, in arguing with the King, reminded him of Laud's persevering services in the cause of Conformity, which had begun as far back as the days of the Millenary Petition; and he represented at the same time that, in spite of all that was said to the contrary, the man was a good Protestant.

¹ Fuller, Church Hist. Book XI. p. 119; and other accounts.

² Wharton's Laud, Preface.

The King, after stating minor objections, burst forth as follows:—"Because I see I shall not be rid of you unless I tell you my unpublished cogitations, the plain truth is that I keep Laud back from all place and authority because I find he hath a restless spirit, and cannot see when matters are well, but loves to toss and change and to bring things to a pitch of reformation floating in his own brain." To prove that he was not speaking at random, he informed Williams that Laud had been privately pressing on him the project of bringing the Scots to "a nearer conjunction with the Liturgy and Canons" of the English Church, and this notwithstanding that, after their General Assembly of 1618, he had pledged his royal word that he would "try their obedience no farther anent ecclesiastical affairs." He had rebuffed Laud when the subject was first mentioned; but "for all this he feared not mine anger, but assaulted me again with another ill-fangled platform to make that stubborn Kirk stoop more to the English pattern. He knows not the stomach of that people, but I ken the story of my grandmother, the Queen Regent, that, after she was inveigled to break her promise made to some mutineers at a Perth meeting, she never saw good day, but from thence, being much beloved before, was despised of all the people." Williams still urging the matter, and saying that Laud would prove tractable, "Then take him to you," said the easy sovereign, "but on my soul you will repent it."¹ Accordingly, on the 18th of November 1621, Laud was consecrated Bishop of St. David's.

Except that Laud had now a diocese in which to carry out his principles, his power was not much increased so long as James lived. Events, however, were laying a foundation for his future pre-eminence. Most important of these was his intimacy with Buckingham. It so happened that, about the beginning of 1622, the mother of the favourite was shaken in her religion and gained over to the Romish Church, and that, "between the continual cunning labours of Fisher the Jesuit and the persuasions of the lady his

¹ Hackett, Part I. p. 64.

mother," Buckingham himself "was almost lost from the Church of England." The perversion of two such personages at such a time would have been a great scandal; and the King, much concerned, employed Laud in the affair. He had conferences with the waverers, engaged in a debate in their presence with Fisher (May 24, 1622), wrote expositions for their private perusal, and, on the whole, succeeded. "I had God's blessing upon me so far as to settle my lord duke till his death; and I brought the lady, his mother, to the Church again, but she was not so happy as to continue with us."¹ Doubtless, at this time Laud indoctrinated the Marquis with his theory of Anglican orthodoxy, which may have been found sufficiently satisfactory to the family to render migration to Rome unnecessary. At all events, from that hour, Laud and Buckingham were pledged to each other. "June 9, being Whitsuntide," writes Laud in his Diary, "my Lord Marquess Buckingham was pleased to enter upon a near respect to me: the particulars are not for paper." Their nature, however, may be gathered from the sequel. Laud became Buckingham's chaplain; during Buckingham's absence in Spain with the Prince, from Feb. 1622-3 to Oct. 1623, Laud and he corresponded, so that Williams took the alarm; and after the Duke's return Laud and he were continually together. At that time, in consequence of the disaffection of the Prince and the Duke to the Spanish Match, while the King still had his heart set upon it, there were whispers about the Court, according to Clarendon, that the King and Steenie were no longer on such amicable terms as before, and that the King "wanted only a brisk and resolute counsellor to assist him in destroying the Duke." The Lord Keeper Williams was the nearest approach to this desirable being; and, accordingly, there is evidence that, in the last year of James's reign, when he was obliged by his people and Parliament to consent to the Spanish War, the King and Williams stood together against the powerful coalition of Steenie, "Baby Charles," and popular feeling. An extract or two from Laud's Diary

¹ Laud's statement in 1643; Wharton's Laud, p. 226.

during this period will give a clearer idea of the character of the man :—

“*Octob. 31, 1623.*—I acquainted my Lord Duke of Buckingham with that which passed between the Lord Keeper and me.”

“*Decemb. 14 : Sunday night.*—I did dream that the Lord Keeper was dead : that I passed by one of his men that was about a monument for him : that I heard him say his lower lip was infinitely swelled and fallen, and he rotten already. This dream did trouble me.”

“*Decemb. 15.*—On Monday morning I went about business to my Lord Duke of Buckingham. We had speech in the Shield Gallery at Whitehall. There I found that the Lord Keeper had strangely forgotten himself to him [the Duke], and I think was dead in his affections.”

“*Januar. 14, 1623-4.*—I acquainted my Lord Duke of Buckingham with that which passed on the Sunday before between the Lord Keeper and me.”

“*Januar. 25.*—It was Sunday. I was alone and languishing with I know not what sadness. I was much concerned at the envy and undeserved hatred borne to me by the Lord Keeper. I took into my hands the Greek Testament, that I might read the portion of the day. I lighted, however, upon the 13th Chapter to the Hebrews ; wherein that of David (Psalm lvi.) occurred to me then grieving and fearing :—‘The Lord is my helper : I will not fear what man can do unto me.’ I thought an example was set to me ; and who is not safe under that shield ? Protect me, O Lord my God.”

“*Februar. 1 : Sunday.*—I stood by the most illustrious Prince Charles at dinner. He was then very merry, and talked occasionally of many things with his attendants. Among other things, he said that, if he were necessitated to take any particular profession of life, he could not be a lawyer, adding his reasons : ‘I cannot,’ saith he, ‘defend a bad, nor yield in a good cause.’ May you ever hold this resolution and succeed, most serene Prince, in matters of great moment, for ever prosperous !”

“*Februar. 18 : Wednesday.*—My Lord Duke of Buckingham told me of the reconciliation and submission of my Lord Keeper, and that it was confessed unto him that his [the Duke’s] favour to me was the chief cause [of the disagreement between them].”

“*May 1, 1624 : Saturday.*—E. B. married : the sign in Pisces” [E. B. is a mysterious personage mentioned often in the Diary, and first thus :—‘My great business with E. B. began *Januar. 22, 1612* ; is settled as it could *March 5, 1612, Comp. Angl.* It hath had many changes, and what will become of it, God knoweth.’ From another entry it appears that on ‘Wednesday night, June 4, 1623,’ Laud had a dream, in which dream ‘was all contained that followed in the carriage of E. B. towards me’].

“*Decemb. 23 : Thursday.* . . . I delivered my Lord a little tract about *Doctrinal Puritanism*, in some ten heads ; which his Grace had spoken to me that I would draw up for him, that he might be acquainted with them.” [The ten heads, we learn from another source, were these :—‘1. The Lord’s Day or Sabbath ; 2. The indiscrimination of bishops and presbyters ; 3. The power of sovereign princes in ecclesiastical matters ; 4 and 5. Doctrines of confession

and sacerdotal absolution ; 6 to 10. The five points of the Predestinarian controversy.]

"*Januar. 23, 1624-5.*—The discourse which my Lord Duke had with me about witches and astrologers."

"*Januar. 30 : Sunday night.*—My dream of my blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ : one of the most comfortable passages that ever I had in my life."

"*March 27, 1625 : Mid-Lent Sunday.*—I preached at Whitehall. I ascended the pulpit much troubled and in a very melancholy moment, the report then spreading that His Majesty King James, of most sacred memory to me, was dead. Being interrupted with the dolours of the Duke of Buckingham, I broke off in the middle. . . . That same day, about five o'clock, Prince Charles was solemnly proclaimed King. God grant to him a prosperous and happy reign !"

ENGLISH CHURCH GOVERNMENT FROM 1625 TO 1628.

Buckingham, who was all to King Charles that he had been to King James, confided to Laud the ecclesiastical department of affairs under his government. The relation that subsisted between the two ministers from the first day of Charles's reign till the death of the Duke may be expressed by saying that, while Buckingham was the all-powerful Vizier, Laud was the confidential Mufti. The nature and progress of his influence through those three important years can be better understood now through documents than was possible at the time by actual observation.

From Charles's Accession, March 27, 1625, to the Dissolution of his First Parliament, Aug. 12, 1625.—As early as the 5th of April, or within nine days after the death of James, Laud, as his Diary informs us, exhibited to the Duke "a schedule in which were wrote the names of many churchmen marked with the letters *O* and *P*." This was a list of the chief clergymen of the English Church, so far as they were known to Laud, divided into *Orthodox* and *Puritanical*, that the King might know which to promote and which to keep back. From the first, therefore, Laud's theory of Anglican orthodoxy was adopted by Charles as the royal rule in Church matters. But not even so was Laud satisfied. Before Charles's First Parliament met (June 18) he did his utmost to get Bishop Andrewes to go along with him in a scheme for bringing the general state of the

Church before the Convocation which was to meet contemporaneously with the Parliament. His object was to drive the question of Arminianism or Calvinism to an issue, and secure some new synodical deliverance on the five Calvinistic points, which, when ratified by the King, should put the *O*'s statutably in the right and the *P*'s statutably in the wrong.¹ Andrewes, though his ecclesiastical theories were in many respects a rich anticipation of those of Laud, was too wise a man thus to divide the Church upon them by a formal vote, and Laud was obliged to content himself with more secret methods. He it was who, sometimes alone, and sometimes in conjunction with Neile and other bishops, instructed the King and the Duke in the proper mode of resisting the Parliament on the Religious Question generally, and especially in the matter of their prosecution of the King's chaplain, Montague, for his "Arminian and Popish" book. "Some of Montague's alleged heresies," said Laud, in a letter to the Duke on the subject, were "the resolved doctrines of the Church of England," whereas some of the opinions urged in Parliament were of a kind to "prove fatal to the government, if publicly taught." True, these destructive Calvinistic notions had of late "received countenance from the Synod of Dort"; but that was a Synod "whose conclusions have no authority in this country, and, it is hoped, never will." Besides, whether Montague were right or wrong, was it for Parliament to meddle in the case? When the English Clergy had acknowledged the Royal Supremacy in the time of Henry VIII., had it not been on the understanding that, in the event of any ecclesiastical difference, it should be for the King and the Bishops to determine it in a national Synod, apart from the secular Parliament?² Indoctrinated with these views, the King and the Duke stood firm, and the refractory Parliament was dissolved on the Tonnage and Poundage question.

From the Dissolution of the First Parliament, Aug. 12, 1625, to the Dissolution of the Second, June 11, 1626.—Laud was still working; nor was there now any hesitation in

¹ Laud's Diary: April 9, 1625.

² Rushworth, I. 176-7.

acknowledging him publicly as the favoured Court prelate, though yet but bishop of a second-rate diocese. Williams, who had been in disgrace from the first day of the new reign, was formally deprived of the great seal in October 1625, and retired, in a splendid Welsh rage, to his diocese of Lincoln, there to expend his waste energy on cathedral repairs and decorations, and in episcopal hospitalities and concerts of music such as Lincolnshire had hardly known before, letting loose his epigrammatic and aphoristic tongue in sayings respecting the Duke and national affairs which were duly caught up by talc-bearers and reported at Court. He began more and more to cultivate the Puritans, and, when informed of acts of nonconformity in his diocese, positively refused to proceed against the delinquents. Being "already under a cloud," he had nothing, he said, to get by such severities, and his private impression was that the less he or anybody else offended the Puritans the better, as "they would carry all things at last." It was part of his disgrace that he was forbidden to be present at the King's coronation (Feb. 2, 1625-6), and that the place which he should have occupied officially in the ceremonial, as Dean of Westminster, was occupied by Laud. Four days after the coronation the Second Parliament met; and for four months there was a fierce renewal of the parliamentary war against Arminianism, Popery, illegal taxation, Montague, and Buckingham. Had the Parliament triumphed, Laud would have gone down in the whirlpool along with the favourite; but, the King having rallied in time, Buckingham was saved, and the Second Parliament was sent adrift like the First. The dissolution was accompanied by a royal proclamation, in which, while it was asserted that the outcry respecting Popery and Arminianism was frivolous, strict charge was given to all persons, lay or clerical, to refrain from controversy on subtle points and to keep quietly to the standards.

From the Dissolution of the Second Parliament, June 11, 1626, to the Meeting of the Third, March 17, 1627-8.—During these twenty-one months of experimental government with-

out Parliament, while the King and the Duke were raising money for the French war by forced loans, and the people were everywhere resisting the loans and gathering wrath on that and other subjects, Laud's advice was much in request, and he had a rapid succession of preferments. In June 1626 he was transferred from the Bishopric of St. David's to that of Bath and Wells; in September in the same year he succeeded Bishop Andrewes as Dean of the Chapel Royal, and at the same time received notice of the king's intention that, in case of Abbot's death, he should be Archbishop of Canterbury; and in April 1627 he and Neile, Bishop of Durham, were sworn of the Privy Council. This last preferment brought him necessarily into closer contact with civil affairs; and it seems to have been by his advice that Government adopted the plan of circulating, in aid of the measures for forced revenue, tracts expounding and enforcing the true doctrine of the royal prerogative. Dr. Sibthorp, a Northamptonshire vicar, having preached an assize-sermon in which he maintained that, "if princes command anything which subjects may not perform because it is against the law of God, yet subjects are bound to undergo the punishment without either resisting or railing," the Court sent the sermon to Archbishop Abbot to be licensed for publication. Abbot refused, and stated his reasons in a letter to the King, which "did prick to the quick." Laud was commanded to answer Abbot's objections; Sibthorp's sermon was licensed by Mountain, bishop of London; and the opportunity was taken to suspend Abbot and banish him from Court, and to vest the archiepiscopal functions in a commission of four bishops, of whom Laud was one. Having once sprung this idea of exhibiting to the Government the superior potency of the Arminian pulpit over the Calvinistic for Exchequer purposes, Laud gave it a second trial by himself licensing Dr. Roger Mainwaring's celebrated two sermons preached at Court. Mainwaring far outdid Sibthorp. "The King," he said, "is not bound to observe the laws of the realm concerning the rights and liberties of his subjects, but his royal will and command doth oblige the

“subjects’ conscience upon pain of eternal damnation”; moreover, “the authority of Parliament is not necessary for “the raising of aids and subsidies,” and “the slow proceedings of such great assemblies are not fitted for the supply “of the state’s urgent necessities.” Despite the doctrine of Sibthorp and Mainwaring, and despite the stronger physical suasion used for the same end, money was not to be extracted in sufficient quantity, and Charles reluctantly called his Third Parliament.

From the Assembling of the Third Parliament, March 17, 1627-8, to its Prorogation, June 26, 1628.—These were three months of unparalleled danger both for the Mufti and for the Vizier. Nothing could resist the wise energy of that noble Parliament, the most memorable of all Charles’s parliaments till his last and longest. The schemes of the courtiers went down like reeds before them. Again they rolled their denunciations of Arminianism and Popery, their protests against illegal exaction of money, their claims of Calvinistic liberty, and all the varied discontent of the nation, to the foot of the throne. For a moment they recoiled reverentially to receive the king’s answer; but, that answer having been unfavourable, they advanced again with doubled courage, and even with passions of tears, their vengeance mounting from the meaner prey of the Montagues, and Sibthorps, and Mainwarings, to Laud, and Neile, and Buckingham himself. At last, when it seemed as if those victims would be dragged to ruin before his very eyes, the King had no option but to yield. Not even while rejoicing over this result, and passing from sobs to acclamations of satisfied loyalty, did the Parliament forget its work. When Mainwaring was punished, Laud narrowly escaped punishment with him for having licensed his book; and in the great Remonstrance which the Parliament drew up between their reconciliation with the King on the 7th of June and their prorogation on the 26th, in order that the King might have a full statement of the national grievances to consider at his leisure before they again met, Laud and Neile were again named as men of whom it would be necessary to take farther account.

From the Prorogation of the Third Parliament, June 26, 1628, to the Assassination of the Duke, Aug. 23, 1628. These two months wrought a great change. Scarcely had the Parliament dispersed when the King and the People were again at strife. In contempt of the Remonstrance, Laud was promoted to the Bishopric of London (July 15, 1628); Montague was made Bishop of Chichester; Mainwaring was pardoned, and preferred to one of the richest livings in the gift of the crown; and again there were rumours of distrains of goods for illegal tonnage and poundage. It was clear that the King and the Court had resolved on a relapse into the arbitrary system, and did not despair of making all suitable arrangements against the time that Parliament met. Buckingham was the man who made this crisis and who expected to go through it as leader. But Felton's knife removed him before he could well measure the difficulty, and the work and the danger devolved chiefly upon Laud.

ENGLISH CHURCH AND GOVERNMENT FROM 1628 TO 1632.

Laud's advent to power on his own account, after his preliminary period of subordinate authority in alliance with Buckingham, dates from August 1628, when he had been Bishop of London somewhat more than a month, and Privy Councillor nearly a year and a half. Not that even yet his power was assured. The death of Buckingham had left Charles in a kind of maze, deprived of the one man to whom, by the antecedents of his life, he had been tied as friend to friend rather than as sovereign to minister; and whatever new arrangements were to succeed had to be formed gradually out of elements that remained. Laud had been close to Buckingham and Charles; but there were others in the Privy Council with different claims and aptitudes, and it was expressly announced by Charles that there should thenceforward be no single or supreme minister, but that he himself would govern and allot each his part. Accepting these conditions, Laud, as we shall find, did become very efficiently the single ruling minister, holding Charles in his

grasp while seeming to serve him; but this was a work of time. Meanwhile it contributed to establish Laud's influence that the department of affairs which was already his by inheritance from Buckingham's viziership,—to wit, the ecclesiastical department,—was that which had first and most violently to bear the shock of collision with Parliament when it reassembled after the prorogation.

While sharing with the rest of the Council the responsibility for new illegal arrests, seizures of goods, &c., Laud and his associate Neile signalized the period between Buckingham's death and the reassembling of Parliament by a new document in their own department, intended as a manifesto of the policy that was to be pursued with respect to religion from that date forward. The document was in the form of a "Declaration" ordered by the King to be prefixed to an authorized reprint of the Thirty-nine Articles. It is still always printed as a preface to the Articles in the Book of Common Prayer, but without any date, or indication of the circumstances in which it originated, or even of the reign or century when it was first published. So read, the document has none of the fell significance which the Calvinists and Puritans of England detected in it in 1628. It is a document in seven paragraphs. In the first the King, as "Defender of the Faith and Supreme Governour of the Church," claims it as his right "to conserve and maintain the Church in Unity of true Religion and in the Bond of Peace." The second ratifies the Thirty-nine Articles and prohibits "the least difference" from them. The third announces that, in case of any differences respecting the external polity of the Church, it shall be for "the Clergy in their Convocation to order and settle them, having first obtained leave under our Broad Seal so to do," and submitting what they determine to the royal approbation. The fourth permits the Bishops and Clergy, accordingly, "from time to time in Convocation, upon their humble desire," to have licence under the Broad Seal to deliberate on Church matters. The fifth alludes to "some differences" as recently "ill raised," but hopes that, as these are "on curious points,"

and as all clergymen, however they differ on these, accept the letter of the Thirty-nine Articles, no rupture will follow. To that end, the sixth commands that "all further curious search be laid aside, and these disputes shut up in God's promises," and that no man hereafter shall either print or preach to draw an Article aside any way, "but shall submit to it in the plain and full meaning thereof," not putting his own comment for the meaning, but taking it "in the literal and grammatical sense." Finally, it is threatened in the closing paragraph that whoever, in the Universities or elsewhere, shall preach, print, or publicly dispute on any of the Articles, to affix any sense to them either way, other than already established, shall be liable to censure in the Ecclesiastical Commission and to other pains and penalties.

When Parliament did reassemble (Jan. 20, 1628-9), they fell upon this Declaration as the chief grievance of all. Tonnage and poundage, violations of the Petition of Right, Montague, Mainwaring, Arminianism, Popery, all came up again; but in the centre of the discussion was the new Declaration. In Rushworth we still read how fervid, how terrible in menace and in directness, were the speeches of the leaders on the rights of Parliament in matters of Religion. We read how Francis Rous of Truro spoke as a man nearly frantic with horror at the increase of that "error of Arminianism which makes the grace of God lackey it after the will of man," and called on the House to postpone questions of goods and liberties to this question which concerned "eternal life, men's souls, yea God himself"; how Cromwell stuttered and stamped his maiden speech, inquiring whither matters were drifting; how Pym avowed that "it belonged to the duty of a Parliament to establish true religion and to punish false"; how Eliot repudiated the claim that the Bishops and Clergy alone should interpret Church doctrine, and, professing his respect for some bishops, declared that there were others, and two especially, from whom nothing orthodox could come, and to empower whom to interpret would be the ruin of national belief; how the calmer Selden referred to cases in which Popish and Arminian books were allowed,

while Calvinistic books were restrained, notwithstanding "that there was no law in England to prevent the printing of any books, but only a decree in Star-chamber"; and how, on one occasion, the whole House stood up together and vowed a vow against innovations in the Faith. As the King, on the other hand, persevered unflinchingly, the only effective issue of the struggle would have been a Civil War. For this men's minds were not yet made up. The victory, therefore, was with the King. On the 10th of March Parliament was ignominiously dismissed, the Commons leaving as their last words to the English people these three famous resolutions, passed on the 2d in uproar and with closed doors:—

"1. Whoever shall bring in innovation of religion, or by favour or countenance seem to extend Popery or Arminianism or other opinion disagreeing from the true and orthodox Church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to this kingdom and commonwealth.

"2. Whosoever shall counsel or advise the taking or levying of the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by Parliament, or shall be an actor or instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed an innovator in the government, and a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth.

"3. If any merchant or person whatsoever shall voluntarily yield or pay the said subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by Parliament, he shall likewise be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England and an enemy to the same."

From the time when these words were uttered England was to be without a Parliament at all for eleven whole years. Through those eleven years (March 1628-9 to April 1640) Charles and his Ministers were to govern the country as they best could on the very methods on which Parliament had left so emphatic a stigma. It is with the first three years and four months of this period of arbitrary rule, called euphemistically *THE PERSONAL GOVERNMENT OF CHARLES I.*, that we are especially concerned in what remains of this chapter. The facts may be summed up, by anticipation, by saying that the Church was then subjected to the Laudian rule pure and simple, while Laud had also his prominent share, with the other ministers of Charles, in the management of state affairs. It is necessary, however, to descend to particulars.

The sole deliberative and legislative, as well as the chief executive body in the realm, was now, it is to be remembered, the King's Ministry and Privy Council, consisting of the great officers of State and of the Royal Household, together with such other persons, lay or ecclesiastical, as the King chose to associate with them.¹ The following is a list of this body between 1628 and 1632, as nearly complete as I can make it:—

ABBOT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY : seldom present.

HARSNET, Archbishop of York : sworn of the Council 1628. He died in 1631.

LAUD, BISHOP OF LONDON : sworn April 29, 1627, while he was Bishop of Bath and Wells.

NEILE, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER (afterwards Archbishop of York) : sworn April 1627, while he was Bishop of Durham.

WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN, Ex-keeper of the Great Seal : now a nominal member only, having been ordered to keep away.

THOMAS, 1ST LORD COVENTRY, *Keeper of the Great Seal*. He had been put into that place in 1625 instead of Williams. He had previously been a lawyer in great practice and successively Recorder of London, Solicitor General, and Attorney General. He retained the Great Seal till his death, Jan. 14, 1639-40 ; and, during this unusually long tenure of that high office, earned the character, according to Clarendon, of being a man of "wonderful gravity and wisdom," but rather reserved, and, though concurring generally in the policy of his colleagues, attending chiefly to judicial business, and committing himself less politically than the King would have wished or his place seemed to require.

RICHARD, 1ST LORD WESTON, *Lord High Treasurer*. He held that office from July 1628, having previously, as Sir Richard Weston, been Privy Councillor and Chancellor of the Exchequer under King James. In 1633 he was created Earl of Portland. His wife and daughters were professed Roman Catholics, and he was thought to tend the same way himself.

HENRY MONTAGUE, 1ST EARL OF MANCHESTER, *Lord Privy Seal*. Grandson of Sir Edward Montague, a famous Chief Justice in the time of Henry VIII. (the common ancestor of at least four different lines of Montagues now in the English peerage) : this nobleman, who had been educated at Christ's College,

¹ The Privy Council in those days, consisting of the King's chief Officers or Ministers and non-official councillors associated with them, was really the Government. At present the Privy Council is a body indefinitely large and miscellaneous composed, and the Government lies with what is called the Cabinet. All-important as this Cabinet is in modern times, it is an institution of mere convenience. It is, in fact, a close committee of the

Privy Council, self-appointed or chosen by the Premier, has no legal or constitutional standing whatever, and keeps no minutes. Neither the Cabinet nor the Premiership existed in their present acknowledged form in the reign of Charles I. nor for a good while after, though virtually the favourite minister for the time being was a Premier, and the four or five councillors consulted by the king and the favourite most confidentially were a Cabinet.

Cambridge, had risen to his present rank through the profession of the law. He had been in distinguished practice and a member of the House of Commons before the death of Elizabeth. His distinction both as a lawyer and as a speaker in Parliament had increased during the reign of James, by whom he was first knighted, then made Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench and a Privy Councillor, and finally (1620) elevated to the peerage as Viscount Mandeville, Lord Kimbolton. Under this title he had been successively Lord High Treasurer and President of the Council to James. Charles, continuing him for a time in the latter office, had created him Earl of Manchester (1625-6); but, in 1627, he had been transferred to the Privy Seal, which he kept to his death, at an advanced age, in November 1642. "He was," says Clarendon, "a man of great industry and sagacity in business, which he delighted in exceedingly, and preserved so great a vigour of mind, even to his death, that some who had known him in his younger years did believe him to have much quicker parts in his age than before." Clarendon adds that, his honours having "grown faster upon him than his fortunes," he was thought to be a little unscrupulous.

THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF ARUNDEL AND SURREY, *Earl Marshal of England*. He was the haughtiest man in England, keeping Charles himself at a distance, concerning himself with English politics only as being the head of the English nobility, but otherwise an alien, with Italian tastes, and "thought not to be much concerned for religion." He lived till Oct. 1646, and is remembered as a patron of Art and Collector of the Arundel Marbles.

WILLIAM HERBERT, 3RD EARL OF PEMBROKE, *Lord Steward of the Household*. He was Shakespeare's friend and patron, if not, as some suppose, the mysterious "W. H." addressed in Shakespeare's Sonnets. He was "the most universally beloved and esteemed," says Clarendon, "of any man of that age," so that, while he lived, he "made the Court itself better esteemed and more revered in the country." But he died suddenly, April 10, 1630, *ætat* 50.

PHILIP HERBERT, EARL OF MONTGOMERY, *Lord Chamberlain*. He was the younger brother of the preceding, and had been conjoined with him by Shakespeare's editors, Heminge and Condell, in their dedication of the First Folio in 1623, but was a far inferior man, of rough habits, and skilled chiefly, says Clarendon, in "horses and dogs." In his youth, however, he had been very handsome and a favourite of James I., who had made the peerage of Montgomery for him. Succeeding his brother, he became Earl of Pembroke as well as of Montgomery. He was then about forty-seven years of age, and yet a great courtier; but he lived till 1650, with various changes of opinion, as well as of fortune.

EDWARD SACKVILLE, 4TH EARL OF DORSET, *Lord Chamberlain to the Queen*. This peer was the grandson of the famous Elizabethan statesman and poet, Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst and 1st Earl of Dorset, at whose death in 1608 he was already eighteen years of age. During the rest of James's reign, the Earldom being then held first by his father and next by his elder brother, he had, as Mr. Sackville, and afterwards as Sir

Edward, been a very shining figure about the Court, or in Parliament or on foreign missions, and finally in the Privy Council, "his person beautiful and graceful and vigorous," says Clarendon, "his wit pleasant, sparkling and sublime, and his other parts of learning and language of that lustre that he could not miscarry in the world." Not that he was without vices, according even to the same authority, for he "indulged to his appetite all the pleasures that season of his life (the fullest of jollity and riot of any that preceded or succeeded) could tempt or suggest to him." With such a character and such a training, and having become Earl of Dorset, by his brother's death, in 1624, he had continued in Charles's Privy Council, one of the most important men in it at the time when Laud joined it. He was to live till 1652.

HENRY RICH, 1ST EARL OF HOLLAND. This peer was also now in the middle of an eventful career, which was to extend over some twenty years more. Hitherto all had been prosperity with him. The second son of Robert Rich, 1st Earl of Warwick, he had been intended for the military profession, and had made two or three campaigns in the Low Countries in his youth; but, returning home, and being "a very handsome man, of a lovely and winning presence and gentle conversation," he had "got so easy an admission into the Court and grace of King James that he gave over the thought of further intending the life of a soldier." A great favourite with James and with Buckingham, he had been raised to the peerage first (1622) as Baron Kensington, which title he took from the manor of Kensington acquired by his marriage with a wealthy knight's daughter, and soon afterwards (1625) as Earl of Holland in Lincolnshire. He was also made Captain of the Guard, Knight of the Garter, a Privy-Councillor, and Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales. He was much employed in the negotiations for the Prince's marriage, and was, in fact, the secret ambassador through whom arrangements were made at the French Court for the marriage of the Prince with Henrietta-Maria when the Spanish match had become difficult. Hence of all Charles's Councillors he was the one whom the Queen had most confidence in and consulted most, so that about the Court he became recognised as the Queen's principal agent and adviser. "In this state and under this protection," says Clarendon, "he received every day new obligations from "the King and great bounties, and continued to flourish above any man in the Court whilst the weather was fair." It was a token of his great favour at Court that, on Buckingham's death, he had been chosen his successor in the Chancellorship of the University of Cambridge. His chief residence was Holland House, Kensington, which had been built by his father-in-law in 1607, but which, coming to him with the manor, acquired the name under which it is so celebrated.

JAMES HAY, 1ST EARL OF CARLISLE, *First Gentleman of the Bedchamber and Master of the Wardrobe*. A Scot by birth, he had come into England at James's accession, and been raised to rank and wealth. He was more popular with the English than "any other of his country," says Clarendon, who describes him as "of a great universal understanding," but indolent and jovial, and "of the greatest expense in his person,

in dress and housekeeping, of any of the age in which he lived." He died 1636.

THOMAS ERSKINE, 1ST EARL OF KELLIE: another Scot who had come in with James and had a similar run of favour.

JOHN EGERTON, 1ST EARL OF BRIDGEWATER. The second son of the great Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, and his successor, in 1617, as Viscount Brackley, he had been made an Earl in the same year. In June 1631 he was appointed *Lord President of the Principality of Wales*. He lived till 1649.

WILLIAM CECIL, 2ND EARL OF SALISBURY. He was son of the first Earl of that name, and grandson of the famous Burleigh; but inherited "not their wisdom and virtues," says Clarendon, "but only their titles." He had been admitted of the Council by King James; "from which time," according to Clarendon, "he continued so obsequious to the Court that he never failed "in overacting all that he was required to do." There was to be a change of his reputation in this respect before his death; which did not occur till 1668, when he was 78 years of age.

WILLIAM CECIL, 2ND EARL OF EXETER. He was a cousin of the preceding, being the son of Burleigh's eldest son, the first Earl of Exeter. He was twenty years older than his cousin Salisbury, and died in 1649.

EDWARD CECIL, VISCOUNT WIMBLEDON. A younger brother of the preceding, he had been trained for the military profession, and, having followed "the wars in the Netherlands for the "space of thirty-five years with great applause," had been recently general of the English forces sent against the Spaniards. Charles had raised him to the peerage, first (1625) as Baron Putney and then (1626) as Viscount Wimbledon. He died in 1638.

THEOPHILUS HOWARD, 2ND EARL OF SUFFOLK, *Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports*, &c. He died June 3, 1640.

ROBERT BERTIE, 1ST EARL OF LINDSEY, *Lord Great Chamberlain*. The eldest son of Peregrine Bertie, 1st Lord Willoughby D'Eresby, a distinguished military commander of Elizabeth's reign, he had succeeded his father as 2nd Lord Willoughby D'Eresby in 1601, when about nineteen years of age; and in 1626 Charles had raised him to the Earldom. In Sept. 1628 he commanded the expedition sent for the relief of Rochelle after Buckingham's death. He lived till 1642.

WILLIAM FIELDING, 1ST EARL OF DENBIGH, *Master of the King's Wardrobe*. He was a brother-in-law of Buckingham. He had been raised to the peerage by James, first as Baron, then as Viscount, Fielding, and finally (1622) as Earl of Denbigh; was of the naval profession; and had commanded the fleet sent to Rochelle in April 1628. He lived till 1643.

OLIVER ST. JOHN, VISCOUNT GRANDISON. He had been Lord Deputy of Ireland under James.

HENRY CAREY, 1ST VISCOUNT FALKLAND, *Lord Deputy of Ireland* from 1625 till 1632. He died 1633.

EDWARD CONWAY, 1ST VISCOUNT CONWAY, *Secretary of State* from 1622, afterwards *President of the Council*. He died January 3, 1630-1.

EDWARD BARRET, BARON NEWBURGH (in Fifeshire), *Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster*. He was one of the few Englishmen on whom Charles, in pursuance of his policy for uniting the

institutions of the two kingdoms, bestowed Scottish titles. He had risen in office under James, had been raised to the peerage in 1627, and been made a Privy Councillor in July 1628. He held for a time the offices of Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer.

SIR FRANCIS COTTINGTON, KNT. (made BARON COTTINGTON OF HANWORTH in July 1631), *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, and, after 1630, *Master of the Wards* in addition. He had been Secretary to Charles as Prince, had accompanied him to Spain, had been disgraced by Buckingham's influence after Charles became King, but had since recovered favour. Altogether Cottington was one of the most marked characters in the Council, "a very wise man," according to Clarendon, and represented as of a cool and Mephistophelic temper, but unpopular with the nation, as having spent so much of his life abroad and contracted Spanish ways and sympathies, including a liking for the Roman Catholic religion. We shall hear more of him through his life, which was protracted, through varied fortunes, till 1649.

SIR THOMAS EDMUNDS, KNT., *Treasurer of the Household* since 1618, and till 1639.

SIR HENRY VANE, SENIOR, KNT., *Comptroller of the Household*. Though but recently added to the Privy Council, and in a subordinate capacity, this personage, so celebrated in the history of his time, both on his own account, and as being the father of the still more celebrated Sir Henry Vane the younger, was already of some consequence. Born in 1585, of the ancient Kentish family of the Vanes or Fanes (of one branch of which have come the Earls of Westmoreland), and succeeding to the large estates of his father in 1596, he had, by purchase or grant after he came of age, added to his other properties that of Raby Castle in the County of Durham; which became his principal residence. He had been knighted by James in 1611, had served in several of the Parliaments of James and Charles, and had been concerned in various commissions about raising loans for Charles. Hence (after Buckingham's death, who had been no friend of his, but the reverse) his admission to the Privy Council, and the peculiar ministerial post assigned to him. "This place," according to Clarendon, "he became very well and was fit for"; otherwise, "he was of very ordinary parts by nature, and had not cultivated them by art; for he was illiterate." But, according to the same authority, he was "of a stirring and boisterous disposition, very industrious and very bold." The country was to hear a great deal more of him before all was done. He lived till 1654.

SIR JULIUS CÆSAR, KNT., *Master of the Rolls* since 1614. He died 1636.

SIR HUMPHREY MAY, KNT., *Vice-Chamberlain to the King* since 1626. He died 1630, when he was succeeded by SIR THOMAS JERMYN.

SIR ROBERT NAUNTON, KNT., *Master of the Court of Wards* till his death in 1630, when Cottington succeeded him.

DUDLEY CARLETON, VISCOUNT DORCHESTER, *Vice-Chamberlain of the Household* till 1629, and then successor of Viscount Conway as *Secretary of State*. He died Feb. 1631-2, and in June

1632 the office of Secretary was conferred on SIR FRANCIS WINDEBANKE, KNT., an old and special friend of Laud, and educated at the same College.

SIR JOHN COKE, KNT., the other *Secretary of State*. He was a quiet, methodical man of business, who had long been in employment, and was now about seventy years of age.

THOMAS, 1ST VISCOUNT WENTWORTH, afterwards EARL OF STRAFORD. This great man, by inheritance Sir Thomas Wentworth, Baronet, of Wentworth-Woodhouse, Yorkshire, had recently made his memorable defection to the King's side, after having been one of the leaders of the popular cause in Parliament. He had been immediately (July 22, 1628) made Baron Wentworth of Newmarch and Oversley, and soon afterwards (Dec. 1628) he was created Viscount. He was admitted of the Privy Council late in 1629. As he was then *Lord President of the Council in the North*, or Viceroy of all England north of the Trent, his head-quarters were at York, and his attendance at the Privy Council could be but occasional. In 1629 he was in his thirty-seventh year.

SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER, *Principal Secretary of State for Scotland*. Born in 1580, and known as Mr. William Alexander of Menstrie in Clackmannanshire till 1614, when he was knighted by King James, this not uninteresting Scot, now remembered chiefly as one of the very few persons of his nation who obtained a name for English Poetry, had lived in England through the greater part of the reign of James, as courtier to that King, Gentleman Usher to Prince Charles, and the like. He had been appointed to the principal Secretaryship of State for Scotland in 1626; in which capacity, still residing chiefly in London, he was one of the king's closest advisers and the chief medium of official communication between Charles and his northern kingdom. He was for the present a most prosperous man, and was to be raised to the Scottish peerage as BARON OF MENSTRIE and EARL OF STIRLING.

JAMES, 3RD MARQUIS OF HAMILTON, *Master of the Horse*. This Scottish nobleman and kinsman of the king, born in 1606, and therefore now in the first flush of youth, was but commencing his eventful career. After having been educated, as Earl of Arran, at Oxford, he had succeeded his father as Marquis in 1625, and had immediately become one of the hopes of the Court. In 1629 he was Knight of the Garter, Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and Privy Councillor of both Kingdoms, as well as Master of the Horse. The King always addressed him affectionately as "James"; and it was on the King's own solicitation that he had consented to leave his native Clydesdale and the wild splendours of his hereditary Isle of Arran, and to enter into the service of the state. Two lines of service were already marked out for him. In the first place, it was through him, as the greatest of the Scottish nobles, that the King hoped in time to manage the affairs of Scotland. In the second place, it was resolved that what assistance Charles could give to the Swedish hero, Gustavus Adolphus, in his war in behalf of Continental Protestantism,—an enterprise involving the recovery of the Palatinate for Charles's sister, the Queen of Bohemia,—should be given in the shape of a volunteer expedition under the Marquis of Hamilton. Accordingly, he was

empowered to raise an army of 6,000 men, chiefly Scots; with this army he sailed for the Continent, July 1631; and he remained abroad in the service of Gustavus till Sept. 1632.¹

In this body of about seven and thirty persons was vested, under King Charles, from 1628-9 onwards, the supreme government of England. Whatever laws were now passed or other measures adopted, binding the subjects of the English realm, were framed by this body sitting in council in Westminster, or, in certain cases, by a select knot or cabinet of them consulted in a more private manner by the King, and were issued as proclamations, royal injunctions, or Orders in Council. Of course, all the members of the Council were not equally active or equally powerful. The attendance of some at the council-meetings was exceptional, and depended on their chancing to be at Court; and the number present at a full council seems rarely to have exceeded fifteen or twenty. Even of those who regularly attended, some, including the secretaries, were rather listeners or clerks than actual ministers. The working chiefs among the lay peers, when Laud first joined the Council, were the Lord Keeper Coventry, the Lord Treasurer Weston, the Lord Chamberlain Montgomery, Sir Francis Cottington, and the Earls of Manchester, Arundel, Holland, and Dorset. Moreover, the King himself took pleasure in business, and in letting it be known, now that Buckingham was dead, that he meant to keep the reins in his own hands.²

¹ The preparation of this list of Privy Councillors from 1628-9 to 1632 has been a less easy matter than, in these days of directories, it might be supposed; nor can I certify that it is absolutely complete or exact. The names have been collected from documents in Rymer, Rushworth, &c., and the biographical particulars from Clarendon and other sources. Since the list was made out, however, I have seen in the State Paper Office a document, dated July 12, 1629, professing to be a list of the "Lords and others of his Majesty's most Hon. Privy Council" at that date. The list, which includes forty names, confirms mine very satisfactorily; but it contains several names not in mine, and omits one or two which are in mine.

The *additional* names are, with two exceptions, those of Scottish nobles and officials who, as they resided chiefly in Scotland, can have been but nominal members of the Privy Council, so far as England was concerned.

² Clarendon thinks the Council was too numerous, or had too many ciphers in it. There had been some such talk as early as Charles's accession; when (as I learn from the title of a paper, of date April 23, 1625, given in the published Calendar of State Papers) there was a rumour of the existence of "a selected or Cabinet Council, whereunto none are admitted but the Duke of Buckingham, the Lords Treasurer and Chamberlain, Lord Brooke and Lord Conway." This Cabinet Council had doubtless perpetuated itself more or

Despite the resolution of the King to keep the reins in his own hands, and despite the natural reluctance of such great hereditary peers and law-lords as Arundel, Dorset, Pembroke, Montgomery, Salisbury, Holland, Coventry, Manchester, and Weston, to allow the brisk little churchman, their colleague, more than the share of business which they might think proper for a Bishop-Councillor, it was not long before Laud succeeded, somehow or other, in stamping *his* personality upon all their measures. It was impossible to resist his assiduity and intrusiveness. The ecclesiastical members of the Council had, of course, the right to take part, if they chose, in whatever civil business came before the whole body. And Laud did choose to exercise this right. From the very first we see him taking a leading share in all the discussions and proceedings, and keeping the Council in a continual ferment, such being the heat of his temper and the natural sharpness of his tongue that "he could not," says Clarendon, "debate anything without some commotion, even when the argument was not of moment, nor bear contradiction in debate." The lay lords, especially Weston, resented this for some time; and it never ceased to be one of Cottington's amusements to lead Laud on at the Council Board so as to make him lose his temper and say or do something ridiculous. "This he chose to do most," says Clarendon, "when the King was present, and then he (Cottington) would dine with him (Laud) the next day." But, in spite of the resentment of Weston, in spite of the duller opposition of such rough and proud nobles as Montgomery and Arundel, in spite of the grave resistance offered now and then by the prudent law-lords, in spite of the fine cynicism and sneering Spanish humour of Cottington, Laud grated his way to the mastery. Nature had formed the prelate for the king; and, already filled with Laud's Church-doctrines, and finding in them the very creed that satisfied his soul, Charles, as he sat in Council, would always turn to Laud, whatever was the subject in discussion,

less firmly. With respect to the forms and regulations of the more general Council, see a very interesting state

paper published in the *Athenæum* of Sept. 11, 1858.

and expect his advice first. The truth is, Laud and his ecclesiastical colleagues were of a party in the Council more extreme and rigorous in their notions of the royal prerogative, and more bent on harsh courses of civil procedure, than the majority of the lay lords, and especially than the lawyers among them. A curious indication of the respective degrees of severity of the various members of Council is furnished by a record of their several votes in Star-chamber, in May 1629, on the question of the amount of fine to be inflicted on Richard Chambers, a merchant of London, who, having had a parcel of silk-grogram goods seized by the custom-house officers, and having been summoned before the Council for obstinacy in the matter of tonnage and poundage, had ventured to say even in their august presence that "the merchants in England were more wrung and screwed than those of Turkey." The sum fixed on was £2,000; but Laud and Neile had voted, with Weston, Arundel, Dorset, and Suffolk, for a higher sum. Chambers refused to pay, and wrote on the paper of apology and submission which was presented to him for signature that he "utterly abhorred and detested" its contents, and "never till death would acknowledge any part" of them. He was kept in prison for several years.¹

If Laud, at the time of Buckingham's death, was not quite in the position of his acknowledged successor as chief Crown Minister, it may be safely asserted that before the close of the period with which we are now concerned, *i. e.* before July 1632, he had attained that position. By that time his pertinacity had prevailed; and, though there might still be elements in the Council chafing against him and his Church-bred ideas of state-policy, he was at least at the head of a party so strong, both in the King's favour and in the number of its votes in the Council, that those elements had to succumb. Such deaths as had occurred among the lay lords of the Council had probably increased Laud's strength. The popular Pembroke was dead, and Viscount Conway was dead, and those two deaths must have weakened the more

¹ Rushworth, I. 671-2.

secular, not to say the more liberal, constituent of the Council. Nor of those who remained did any one stand up against Laud that was sufficiently resolute to be his match. Wentworth was usually absent in his Presidency of the North, where, from his head-quarters at York, he was breaking that stubborn part of England into submission and obedience. Rarely was his rugged iron face seen beside Laud's cheerily peevish one at the Board at Whitehall; nor, when the two men *were* together, did any difference arise between them. On the contrary, whatever estimate on the whole Wentworth may have formed to himself of Laud, not only did he see Laud in a surer place in the King's regard than he himself had yet attained, but the general policy which Laud was representing at Whitehall was sufficiently the same with his own. This natural agreement of Wentworth with Laud, and open deference to him in letters and despatches, was necessarily of help to Laud in his dealings with the Councillors in London.

A third death among the Councillors, that of Dudley Carleton, Viscount Dorchester, one of the two Secretaries of State, gave Laud an opportunity which he did not miss. The appointment,—casually noted in our list of the Privy Council as having occurred in June 1632,—of Laud's intimate friend, Sir Francis Windebanke, to the then vacant Secretaryship of State may, indeed, be regarded as marking the epoch after which Laud's paramount influence in the government of England is no longer doubtful. Old Secretary Coke still held office as Windebanke's colleague, and they divided the business between them; but, as regarded both the amount and the nature of the official work performed by them, the real Secretary was Windebanke. Whoever has passed through his hands the bundles of manuscript state-papers of that period still preserved in our Record Office, and has seen the name Windebanke, Windebanke, running through them for a series of years, and noted Windebanke's neat hand-writing (or, latterly, that of his nephew and chief clerk, Robert Reade) either in the drafts of secret and confidential letters which he was employed to

draw up, or in the careful endorsements and datings of all letters received, will testify that Windebanke must have been a far more important personage of his time than many that have been more heard of, and also that, so far as industry and business-like punctuality went, the choice of Windebanke for the Secretaryship was greatly to Laud's credit. In those respects, at least, better and able men have made far worse Secretaries. But what recommended him to Laud, in addition to those qualities, was a fitness so exact in other respects that, when the day of reckoning came, it would have been better for Windebanke had those very qualities, good in themselves, been less conspicuous in him. To the very centre of his mind,—which, however, was no great way,—he was Laud's disciple, worshipper, and slave. In him Laud could have a sure clerk and listener when he was present in the Council, and a faithful reporter and repository of business when he was absent. If in anything Windebanke had an inclination of his own, not inconsistent with his duty to Laud, but forming a kind of private peculiarity in which he knew he could indulge without in every case consulting his chief, it was a sympathy with Roman Catholics when they were in trouble. In his official capacity as Secretary, writing orders for arrests, releases from prison, and the like, he had opportunities of showing this sympathy, and of doing a good turn now and then to some skulking priest or Jesuit; and it was not long before the watchful Puritanism of London had fastened on this weak point of Mr. Secretary Windebanke and debited his special sins resulting from it to the account of Laud.

So much for the manner and extent of Laud's action in the general government from March 1628-9 to July 1632. In the government of the Church during the same period his supremacy was more uniform and constant, inasmuch as it was assured from the first, and had not to encounter rivalry or competition. True, he was as yet only Bishop of London. Archbishop Abbot, though in fact superseded, still lived; and Harsnet, as Archbishop of York, had official

precedence. But the Archbishopric of Canterbury had been promised to Laud as soon as Abbot should die; and, what with his actual power as the Bishop of the metropolis, what with the express or tacit delegation to him of some of Abbot's functions, and what with his position as Charles's spiritual adviser and the one minister of the Crown in all Church-matters, he was as good as Archbishop already. Here too some details will help us to imagine more clearly how things stood and how Laud acted.

The following is a complete list of the English prelatic body at the time when the Laudian supremacy began, including the changes that occurred in it by vacancies before the end of 1632. To make the list more instructive, I have attempted a classification of the prelates. The letter *L* designates those who, either as absolutely agreeing with Laud in his theory of Anglican orthodoxy, or as being resolute conformists of the old Bancroft school, were pre-disposed to co-operate with Laud in his Church policy; the letter *M* designates those who, whether from their Calvinistic leanings in theology or from their tolerant temper, would have been disposed, if left to themselves, to a moderate or middle course; and the letter *P* designates those exceptional prelates who, whether from the peculiar vigour of their Calvinism or from other causes, were disposed not merely to tolerate the Puritans, but even to countenance them.

PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY.

1. *ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY*: Dr. George Abbot; appointed 1611; suspended 1627; died Aug. 4, 1633. (*P.*)

2. *Bishop of St. Asaph*: Dr. John Hanmer; appointed 1623; died June 23, 1629. (*M.*)—Succeeded by Dr. John Owen, of Welsh extraction, who lived till 1657.

3. *Bishop of Bangor*: Dr. Lewis Bayly, a Welshman; appointed 1616; died October 26, 1631. (*P.*)—Succeeded by Dr. David Dolben, another Welshman, who lived till 1633.

4. *Bishop of Bath and Wells*: Laud's successor in this diocese, in July 1628, was Dr. Leonard Mawe, already known to us as master successively of Peterhouse and Trinity College, Cambridge. He died Sept. 2, 1629. (*L.*)—He was succeeded by Bishop Curle, translated from Rochester (*L.*); who, on his subsequent translation (1632) to Winchester, was succeeded by Bishop Pierce, translated from Peterborough; who lived to 1670.

5. *Bishop of Bristol*: From 1622 to Nov. 1632, Dr. Robert Wright. (L.)—Succeeded by Dr. George Coke, a brother of Secretary Coke. (M.)

6. *Bishop of Chichester*: From July 1628 to May 1638, Dr. Richard Montague, already known. (L.)

7. *Bishop of St. David's*: Dr. Theophilus Field, translated hither from Llandaff, to succeed Laud, in July 1627; held the see till 1635. (M.)

8. *Bishop of Ely*: From April 1628 to his death in May 1631, Dr. John Buckridge, translated hither from Rochester, where he had been Bishop since 1611; educated at St. John's, Oxford, where, as a fellow and tutor, he had had Laud for his pupil; had been Laud's immediate predecessor as President of that College. (L.)—Succeeded by Bishop White, translated from Norwich; who lived till 1637-8. (L.)

9. *Bishop of Exeter*: From 1627 to 1641, the celebrated Dr. Joseph Hall, afterwards Bishop of Norwich. (M.)

10. *Bishop of Gloucester*: From 1624 to 1640, Dr. Godfrey Goodman, a Welshman, and remarkable as being, notwithstanding his position, almost avowedly a Roman Catholic. At all events he died (1655) a Romanist, and "in his discourse," according to Fuller, "he would be constantly complaining of the first Reformers;" saying, for example, that Ridley was "a very *odd* man." Fuller adds, however, that he was "a very harmless man, pitiful to the poor, and against the ruin of any of an opposite judgment"; wherefore he may be marked (M.).

11. *Bishop of Hereford*: From 1617 to his death in April 1633, Dr. Francis Godwin, transferred to Hereford from Llandaff, where he had been Bishop since 1601; very celebrated as an ecclesiastical antiquarian (his *Lives of the Bishops* being still a standard work), and manifesting, in his historical judgments, something of a "puritanical pique," according to Wood. (P.)

12. *Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry*: From 1618-19, when he had been translated from Chester, till June 1632, when he was translated to Durham, Dr. Thomas Morton; "the neb of whose pen," according to Fuller, "was impartially divided into two equal moieties—the one writing against *faction*, in defence of three innocent ceremonies; the other against *superstition*." (M.)—Succeeded by Bishop Wright, translated from Bristol; who lived till 1643. (L.)

13. *Bishop of Lincoln*: From 1621 to Dec. 1641, Dr. John Williams, already known. (M.)

14. *Bishop of Llandaff*: From 1627 to his death in Feb. 1639-40, Dr. William Murray, a Scot, transferred from the Irish see of Kilfenora. (M.)

15. *Bishop of London*: From July 11, 1628 to Sept. 19, 1633, Laud himself. (L.)

16. *Bishop of Norwich*: From Jan. 1628-9, when he had been translated from Carlisle, to Dec. 1631, Dr. Francis White. (L.)—Succeeded by Bishop Corbet, translated from Oxford; who lived till 1635. (M.)

17. *Bishop of Oxford*: From Sept. 1628 to May 1632, Dr. Richard Corbet, afterwards of Norwich; celebrated as a wit and poet, and as the jolliest prelate of his day on the English bench; decidedly anti-Puritanical in his notions, and recommended by Laud for the see when vacant, but "of courteous carriage," says Fuller, "and no destructive nature to any who offended him, counting himself plenti-

fully repaid with a jest upon him"; wherefore he may be marked (*M.*)—Succeeded by Dr. John Bancroft, a nephew of Archbishop Bancroft; who lived till 1640-1. (*L.*)

18. *Bishop of Peterborough*: From April 1601 to his death in August 1630, Dr. Thomas Dove, one of the old Queen Elizabeth bishops, and a resolute anti-Puritan of the old school. (*L.*)—Succeeded by Dr. William Pierce (*L.*) on whose translation two years afterwards (1632) to Bath and Wells, a third man, Dr. Augustine Lindsell, was appointed (*L.*), who lived till 1634.

19. *Bishop of Rochester*: From July 1628 to Dec. 1629, when he was transferred to Bath and Wells, Dr. Walter Curle, a *protégé* of Bishop Neile. (*L.*)—Succeeded by Dr. John Bowles; who lived till 1637.

20. *Bishop of Salisbury*: From 1621 to his death in April 1641, Dr. John Davenant, uncle of Fuller the historian; raised to the bishopric after his return from the Synod of Dort. (*M.*, or even *P.*)

21. *Bishop of Winchester*: From Dec. 1628 to Feb. 1631-2, Dr. Richard Neile. (*L.*)—Succeeded by Bishop Curle, transferred from Bath and Wells; who lived till 1647. (*L.*)

22. *Bishop of Worcester*: From Jan. 1616-17 to his death in July 1641, Dr. John Thornborough, who had previously been Bishop of Bristol from 1603 to 1616-17, and, before that, Bishop of Limerick in Ireland. (*M.*)

PROVINCE OF YORK.

1. *ARCHBISHOP OF YORK*: From Nov. 1628 to his death in May 1631, Dr. Samuel Harsnet, who had previously held in succession the bishoprics of Chichester and Norwich; "a zealous asserter of ceremonies," says Fuller, "using to complain of (the first, I believe, who used the expression) *conformable Puritans*, who preached it [conformity] out of policy, yet dissented from it in their judgments." (*L.*)—Succeeded by Neile, transferred from the Bishopric of Winchester; who lived till Oct. 1640. (*L.*)

2. *Bishop of Carlisle*: From March 1628-9 to his death in Jan. 1641-2, Dr. Barnabas Potter, who had been a distinguished preacher of the Puritan party, and Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, in the reign of James; had been chaplain to Charles I.; and had, for some exceptional reason, though "a thorough-paced Calvinist," been made Bishop of Carlisle. He was usually, according to Fuller and Wood, called "the Puritanical Bishop," and it was said that "the very sound of an organ would blow him out of church,"—which, however, Fuller does not believe, "the rather as he was loving of and skilful in vocal music." He did all he could for the Nonconformists. (*P.*)

3. *Bishop of Chester*: From 1619 onwards (died 1652) Dr. John Bridgman. (*M.*)

4. *Bishop of Durham*: From Sept. 1628, when he was translated from Oxford, to his death in Feb. 1631-2, Dr. John Howson. (*L.*)—Succeeded by Morton, transferred from Lichfield and Coventry; who lived till 1659.

5. *Bishop of Man*: From 1604 to Aug. 1633, Mr. John Phillips, a Welshman; translator of the Bible into Manx. (*M.*)¹

¹ The names in this list are from Le Neve's *Fasti*, corrected by reference to Nicolas's *Historic Peerage*; other par-

ticulars are from Wood's *Athenæ* and *Fasti*, Fuller's *Worthies*, and Fuller's *Church History*.

Thus, of the twenty-seven Prelates in authority in England at the time of the commencement of Laud's ecclesiastical supremacy,—of whom no fewer than fourteen, or more than one half, had been appointed since the accession of Charles,—there were about eleven who could be reckoned on by Laud as likely to co-operate with him zealously against Puritanism, about six who were likely to dissent strongly from his measures, and about ten who were likely to be neutral, or to obey whatever force could be brought to bear upon them. Among the Deans, Archdeacons, Masters of Colleges, and other dignitaries inferior to the Bishops, the proportions may have been about the same. In the general body of the parish clergy and their curates the Puritan and Calvinistic elements were naturally in much larger proportion. Finally, the lecturers, as many of them as remained, were almost exclusively Puritans.

It was part of Laud's theoretical system, as we have seen, that the right of ecclesiastical legislation belonged to a National Synod or Convocation, with the bishops presiding. Now, however, that there were no meetings of the Convocation or ecclesiastical Parliament, any more than of the secular Parliament,¹ the only method that remained (and he proba-

¹ Convocation was originally, it is supposed, the assembly of the clergy in the form of a Parliament,—the higher clergy personally, the inferior clergy by their proctors or deputies,—for the purpose of assessing themselves in taxes, at a time when they claimed exemption from the general taxation of the country as settled in the secular Parliament. The assembly, divided into the two provincial synods of Canterbury and York, was convened by the king's writ sent to the two Archbishops, and by them downwards, at the commencement of every new Parliament. As on such occasions the clergy took the opportunity of discussing ecclesiastical questions, Convocation became (if it had not always been) the ecclesiastical legislative body. At the Reformation its functions in this respect were greatly limited; but it still continued to meet with every new Parliament, and several times, with the consent of the Crown, it issued new bodies of canons, which the Crown ratified as

ecclesiastical law. Such were the famous canons of 1603-4; which, however, never having been ratified by Parliament, but only by the King, have been declared by the courts of law not to be binding on the English laity, but only on the clergy. As Convocation met only when Parliament met, and was in fact a necessary though independent portion of Parliament considered in its totality, the disuse of Parliaments from 1628-9 onwards to 1640 led to the abeyance of Convocation for the same period, and consequently to the absence during that period of such modified control over Laud and the other bishops as might have resulted from the synodical criticism of the body of the clergy. In 1665 the clergy consented to be taxed, with other classes of the community, by the general Parliament,—acquiring, in equivalent, the right of voting for knights of the shires; since which time, accordingly, Convocation has been nearly a nullity.

bly learned to prefer it) was for himself, either alone, or in conjunction with his colleagues Neile and Harsnet, to recommend to the King such measures as, without amounting to actual innovation in doctrine or canon, should yet produce effects desired, and then, having procured for these measures the King's consent, to see them issued as orders in Council, or royal declarations and proclamations. This, accordingly, he did. On the 30th of December 1629, for example, there were issued in the King's name the following important "*Instructions to the two Archbishops concerning certain orders to be observed and put in execution by the several Bishops,*" these instructions being framed with but slight variations on "*Considerations for the better settling of the Church Government,*" presented to the King in draft by Laud, or by Laud and Harsnet, in the preceding March :—¹

"I. That the Lords the Bishops be commanded to their several sees to keep residence, excepting those which are in necessary attendance at Court.

"II. That none of them reside upon his land or lease that he hath purchased, nor on his commendam [*i. e.* living held by him in addition to his bishopric], if he should have any, but in one of the episcopal houses, if he have any. And that he waste not the woods where any are left.

"III. That they give in charge, in their triennial visitations and all other convenient times, both by themselves and the archdeacons, that the Declaration for the settling all questions in difference be strictly observed by all parties.

¹ The "*Considerations*" are given from Laud's paper by Rushworth, II. 7; the actual "*Instructions*" based on them are given by Rushworth, II. 30, and more fully in Wharton's Laud, pp. 517-518, and it is interesting to compare the two documents. In his account of his trial Laud disclaims the sole authorship both of the "*Considerations*" and "*Instructions*" (see Wharton's Laud, 356). "My copy of *Considerations*," he says, "came from Archbishop Harsnet"; and again, "The king's *Instructions* under these *Considerations* are under Mr. Baker's hand, who was secretary to my predecessor (*i. e.* to Archbishop Abbot), and they were sent to me to make exceptions to them, if I knew any, in regard to the ministers of London, whereof I was then Bishop, and by this . . . 'tis manifest that this ac-

count was begun before my time. I "should have been glad of the honour "had it begun in mine." In these explanations, Laud must be understood as using his legal right as an accused person to make no unnecessary admissions hurtful to himself, and even to avail himself of technical defences. He does not assert that, though Harsnet had a hand in the *Considerations*, they did not emanate from himself; and the words "before my time," in reference to the *Instructions*, can mean only that they were issued before his elevation to the Archbishopric in 1633, and not that they may not have been advised by him in his prior condition as Bishop of London, *i. e.* virtually sent by him as Crown Minister to Abbot as Archbishop, to descend upon himself again as Bishop, from that primate.

"IV. That there be a special care taken by them all that the ordinations be solemn, and not of unworthy persons.

"V. That they take great care concerning the Lecturers, in these special directions following :—[The wording of this Instruction in Laud's, or Harsnet's, draft is much fiercer :—"That a special care be had over the Lecturers in every diocese, which, by reason of their pay, are the people's creatures, and blow the bellows of their sedition : for the abating of whose power, these ways may be taken :—]

"1. That in all parishes the afternoon sermons may be turned into catechising by questions and answers, when and wheresoever there is no great cause apparent to break this ancient and profitable order.

"2. That every Bishop ordain in his diocese that every lecturer do read Divine Service, according to the Liturgy printed by authority, in his surplice and hood, before the lecture.

"3. That, where a lecture is set up in a market-town, it may be read by a company of grave and orthodox divines near adjoining, and in the same diocese ; and that they preach in gowns and not in cloaks, as too many do use.

"4. That, if a corporation maintain a single lecturer, he be not suffered to preach till he profess his willingness to take upon him a living with cure of souls within that corporation ; and that he actually take such benefice or cure as soon as it shall be fairly procured for him.

"VI. That the Bishops do countenance and encourage the grave and orthodox divines of their clergy ; and that they use means by some of their clergy that they may have knowledge how both lecturers and preachers behave themselves in their sermons, within their diocese, that so they may take order for any abuse accordingly.

"VII. That the Bishops suffer none but noblemen and men qualified by learning to have any private chaplain in their houses.

"VIII. That they take special care that divine service be duly frequented, as well for prayers and catechisings as for sermons, and take particular note of all such as absent themselves as recusants or otherwise.

"IX. That every Bishop that by our grace, favour, and good opinion of his service shall be nominated by us to another bishopric, shall, from that day of nomination, not presume to make any lease for three lives or one-and-twenty years, or concurrent lease, or any way make any estate, or cut any woods or timber, but merely receive the rents due, and so quit the place ; for we think it a hateful thing that any man, leaving the bishopric, should almost undo the successor. And, if any man shall presume to break this order, we will refuse him our royal assent, and keep him at the place which he hath so abused.

"X. We command you to give us an account every year, the second day of January, of the performance of these our commands."

In addition to these instructions, there are, in Laud's (or Harsnet's) draft, certain suggestions to the King himself, of a kind that could not be transferred into the Instructions. Thus :—

"That His Majesty may be graciously pleased that men of courage, gravity, and experience in government, be preferred to bishoprics.

"That Emanuel and Sidney colleges in Cambridge, which are the nurseries of Puritanism, may, from time to time, be provided of grave and orthodox men for their governors.

"That His Majesty's High Commission be countenanced by the presence of some of His Majesty's Privy Council, so oft at least as any matter of moment is to be sentenced.

"That some course may be taken that the judges may not send so many prohibitions [*i. e.* orders interrupting ecclesiastical procedure].

Observe not only how Laudian the Instructions are in substance, but also how effectual the form in which they are issued. It is the King in person who issues the Instructions; the King delates them to the two Archbishops; each Archbishop is to see to their execution by the Bishops of his own province; and annually, on the 2d of January, each Archbishop is to give a written report to his Majesty as to the degree in which the Instructions have been obeyed.

Besides these Instructions, issued Dec. 30, 1629, the following seem to be the most important items of new ecclesiastical *legislation* or *enactment* passed, by Laud's influence, from 1629 to 1632:—

Proclamation from Hampton Court, Oct. 11, 1629. "Having of late taken special notice of the general decay and ruin of parish churches in many places of this kingdom, and that by law the same ought to be repaired and maintained at the proper charge of the inhabitants and others having land in these chapelries and parishes respectively, who had wilfully neglected to repair the same, being consecrated places of God's worship and divine service: His Majesty doth therefore charge and command all Archbishops and Bishops, that they take special care of the repairing and upholding the same from time to time, and, by themselves and their officers, to take a view and survey of them, and to use the power of the Ecclesiastical Court for putting the same in due execution: and that the judges be required not to interrupt this good work by their too easy granting of prohibitions."¹

April 10, 1631. A commission under the great seal was issued to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London and Winchester, all the Lords of the Council, &c. &c., empowering them to take steps for the repairing and ornamentation of St. Paul's cathedral, as "the goodliest monument and most eminent church in all His Majesty's dominions, and a principal ornament of the royal city." Considering that so vast a work was "not to be effected out of any rents or revenues" already available, His Majesty ordered:—1. That money should be raised by voluntary subscription, the Bishop of London to keep a register for the purpose; 2. That the

¹ Rushworth, II, 28.

judges of the Prerogative Courts in both provinces, the vicars general, and the officials in all the bishoprics, should take care to set apart for the object some "convenient proportion" of such moneys as should fall into their power, by intestacy and the like, for charitable uses; 3. That letters-patent should be issued for a general collection in the churches throughout England and Wales; and 4. That inquiries should be instituted with the view of finding out moneys already legally applicable for the purpose.¹

June 25, 1631. An Order in Council of this date also referred to St. Paul's. Taking notice of a long-continued scandal,—to wit, the use of the cathedral as a thoroughfare, exchange, and place of lounging for idlers,—the King in Council published orders to the following effect, and charged the Dean and Chapter with their execution:—
 "1. That no man of what quality soever shall presume to walk in the aisles of the quire, or in the body or aisles of the church, during the time of divine service, or the celebration of the blessed sacrament, or sermons, or any part of them, neither do anything that may disturb the service of the church, or diminish the honour due to so holy a place; 2. That no man presume to profane the church by the carriage of burdens or baskets, or any portage whatsoever; 3. That all parents and masters of families do strictly forbid their children and servants to play at any time in the church, or any way misdemean themselves in that place in time of divine service or otherwise."²

These enactments, it will be seen, are also characteristic of Laud, and characteristic of him, as most persons will agree, on the more venerable side of his energetic little being. "All that I laboured for in this particular," he said afterwards, when charged on his trial with introducing Popish and superstitious ceremonies into the worship of the Church of England, "was that the external worship of God in this Church might be kept up in uniformity and decency, and in some beauty of holiness." This phrase, *Beauty of Holiness*, was a favourite one with Laud. It occurs first in Scripture in David's song of thanksgiving sung on the bringing of the ark to Zion and the establishment of it there under the care of an endowed ministry (1 Chron. xvi. 29):—"Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name; bring an offering and come before him; worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness." It is repeated twice in the Psalms with the same exact context (Ps. xxix. 2, and xcvi. 9), and once again in the story of Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xx. 21). Picking out the phrase for himself, or finding it already selected for him, Laud seems to have

¹ Rushworth, II. 88-90.

² Ibid. II. 91.

delighted in using it to describe his ideal of the Church. If there is ever a touch of poetry in Laud's language, it is when he uses this phrase or one of its equivalents. One seems to see a peculiar relish of his lips in the act of pronouncing it. What it meant in his application is generally known. It meant that, as in all ages it had been deemed advantageous for the maintaining of religion among men to represent it as far as possible in tangible object and institution, in daily custom, and in periodical fast and festival, so there should be an effort to increase and perfect at that time in England the sensuous and ceremonious aids to worship. It meant that there should be greater uniformity in times and seasons, in fish during Lent, and in the observance of saints' days. It meant that there should be a survey of the decayed cathedrals and churches throughout the land with a view to their repair and comely maintenance. It meant that, more than hitherto, those edifices and all appertaining to them should be treated as holy objects, not to be seen or touched without obeisance, and worthy of all the seemliness that religious art could bestow upon them. Thus in the beauty of holiness there were included not only the walls and external fabrics of the sacred edifices, but also their internal decorations and furniture, the paintings, the carved images, the great organ, the crucifixes, the candlesticks, the crimson and blue and yellow of the stained glass windows, consecrated vessels for the holy communion, with consecrated knives and napkins, and even in the humblest parish churches the sweetest cleanliness, the well-kept desks of oak, the stone baptismal font, the few conspicuous squares of white and black marble, and the decent rail separating the communion-table from the rest of the interior. Moreover, and very specially, the priests, as being men holy in their office by derivation from the Apostles, were to see to the expression of this in their vestments, and chiefly in the pure white surplices enjoined to be worn on the more solemn occasions of sacred service. Then, there was symbolical holiness also in the appointed gestures both of the ministers and the people, the standing up at the Creed, the kneeling at the

Communion, the bowing at the names of Jesus. All this and much more was included in that "beauty of holiness" which Laud desired to uphold and restore in England. The prelates of the old school had been satisfied with the observance of such of the canonical ceremonies as the general custom of the reign of James had retained in opposition to the anti-ceremonial tendency of the Puritans; but Laud was for the strict maintenance of all that were enjoined by the letter of the canons, and not only so, but for "a restoration" also of such "ancient approved ceremonies" as had fallen into disuse since the Reformation. Within his own life, and partly from his personal influence, there had grown up a body of men agreeing with him in these views, and prepared to go along with him in carrying them out. To Laud, as their leader, every manifestation of the increase of this party in the Church, or of a tendency anywhere to the adoption of new sensuous aids to piety without passing over to the communion of Rome in order to find them, was a fact of interest. It could only be when this party had attained to a considerable numerical strength that he could hope to ceremonialise the Church to the full extent of his wishes. For the present, his notions as to the necessity of extending the rite of consecration not only to all churches, but also to chapels, to the communion-plate, and to all utensils employed in the sacred service, were decidedly beyond those entertained by the bulk of the clergy. Still farther was he from having all the prelates or clergy with him in his views as to the name and arrangement proper to the communion-table. The common opinion on this subject was that the communion-table was not to be regarded as an altar or called by that name, but was to be "a joined table," to be laid up in the chancel at such times as it was not in use for the holy service, but in the time of such service to be removed to some part of the body of the church where all could conveniently see and hear, and there placed "table-wise" with the *sides* north and south. Laud, on the other hand, held that the communion-table was an altar, and as such should be permanently fixed "altar-wise" at the east end of the

chancel, with the *ends* north and south. Generally, too, he was for the use of such names as paten, chalice, alb, paraphront, and suffront, as designations of the sacred utensils and parts of the sacred furniture, on the principle that, as all these were holy things, they "should be differenced in name from common things." These, however, were, for the present, the private and personal developments of Laud's ecclesiasticism, regarded even by friendly prelates as indications of a *ὑπερβολὴ τῆς εὐσεβείας*. Accordingly, though, in his own view, an ultimate uniformity even in these particulars would be necessary to complete his ideal of that beauty of holiness which might be set up in England, he was content in the mean time with doing what he could within his own diocesan jurisdiction to exemplify the nicer parts of his ideal, directing his energies in the legislative to the accomplishment of its greater features.

On the last leaf of Laud's diary, when it was brought by circumstances before the public, was found written by his own hand a list of twenty-three things which he had "projected to do" if God blessed him in them. The list bears no date; but there is internal evidence that most of the projects were in his mind at least as early as 1630. Among these, besides some respecting benefits to be done at his own expense or by his effort to his native town of Reading, to his old college of St. John's, and to the university and town of Oxford, and also respecting the interests of St. Paul's cathedral and the see of London, there are others indicating his future legislative intentions with regard to the Church in general. These may be here quoted:—

"3. To overthrow the feoffment, dangerous both to Church and State, going under the specious pretence of buying in impropriations.

"8. To settle the statutes of all the cathedral churches of the new foundations whose statutes are imperfect and not confirmed.

"9. To annex for ever some settled *commendams*, and those, if it may be, *sine curâ*, to all the small bishoprics.

"10. To find a way to increase the stipends of poor vicars."

The first of these intentions was ominous enough; the others might appear good or ill, according to the ideas entertained of the methods by which they were to be carried out. An

intention which accompanied them of "setting up a Greek press in London and Oxford for printing of the Library manuscripts" was one which could meet with nothing else than approbation from all friends of learning.

But Laud was not only the legislative chief of the Church, the man of schemes and projects affecting its constitution; he was also the dispenser of the royal patronage. On referring back to the list of the English episcopal body between 1628 and July 1632, it will be seen that there occurred seven vacancies by death in the course of those three years and four months, giving occasion for no fewer than fifteen changes or preferments. In these changes and preferments among the Bishops, in all of which the King took Laud's advice, though in one or two cases there may have been reasons for appointments such as Laud would not himself have suggested, there was a powerful means of promoting Laud's principles and diffusing them through the Church. One or two of the new bishops, indeed, were not thorough Laudians,—especially Coke, who is described by Fuller as "a meek, grave, quiet man, much beloved in his jurisdiction."¹ The general result of the changes, however, was an impulse in the Laudian direction. The appointment of Neile of Winchester to the primacy of York, vacant by Harsnet's death, ensured for Laud, when he should himself come into the reversion of that higher Primacy for which he was waiting, a brother-Archbishop in the northern province with whom he could hope to co-operate even more cordially, if that were possible, than he could have done with Harsnet; and the promotion of Curle, first to Bath and Wells and then to Winchester, the promotion of White first to Norwich and then to Ely, and the bringing in of such new men as Pierce, Bancroft, and Lindsell, were also good investments in the interest either of Laud's "Arminian" theology or of his views of Church order. Nay

¹ Laud, in his account of his trial (Wharton's *Laud*, 369), reminds his accusers of this appointment of Coke to a bishopric, though not a partisan of his; also of his having nominated

Bishop Hall to Exeter, and Potter, the "puritanical Bishop," to Carlisle. These two last appointments, however, had been in 1627 and 1628-9, before parliaments were done with.

more, one can see that, whether from a natural, though low-spirited, regard for Laud as the dispenser of royal patronage, or from a general sense of his power and the impossibility of making head against it, certain Bishops who had been popular enough before in their Church views, or even props of Calvinism, either sank into quiet pusillanimity, or began to obey the suasion from the centre. Morton, translated to Durham, was not quite the man he had been before; Davenant of Salisbury, Godwin of Hereford, and Potter of Carlisle, were glad if they could be at peace in their own dioceses; and Hall of Exeter, between whom and Laud in former days there had been a theological antipathy, was now beginning to veer politically. Only in Williams, of all the Bishops, was there a man of temper enough, of sufficient recollection of his own past, to defy Laud; and Williams was now a kind of outcast Bishop, an Ishmaelite in his diocese of Lincoln.

As, by the changes and preferments from time to time made, the episcopal body was more strongly charged with the Laudian element, so, in as far as the patronage of the crown, or of the Laudian prelates, affected new appointments and promotions among the inferior clergy, the effect was identical. More particularly in the appointments to deaneries and to royal chaplaincies care was taken to select the right sort of men, while each prelate, in appointing his own chaplains, or presenting to the benefices of which he was patron, would naturally consult his own tastes. Among the Laudian preferments of these kinds may be mentioned that of Dr. William Juxon, Laud's intimate friend, his successor in the presidency of St. John's, Oxford, and, since 1627, Dean of Worcester. "July 10, 1632," says Laud in his diary, "Dr. Juxon, then Dean of Worcester, at my suit "sworn Clerk of his Majesty's Closet, that I might have one "that I might trust near his Majesty, if I grow weak or "infirm." Another appointment of some consequence was that of Peter Heylin, who, after acting as one of Laud's chief agents through his life, survived to be his biographer, and a busy writer of books. He had been introduced to

Laud in 1627, bringing with him from Oxford the reputation of being "papistically inclined"; he became one of Laud's chaplains; in 1629, he became chaplain to the King; and in 1631 he obtained a rectory in Hunts and a prebend in Westminster, with promise of more. Heylin claims for himself the credit of having first roused Laud to the danger of the feoffment scheme for the purchase of impropriations; and it is certain that he preached on this subject in 1630. Besides Heylin, Laud had a host of other clients of the same stamp, scattered through the Church. "They that watched the increase of Arminianism," says Hacket, "said confidently that it was from the year 1628 that the tide of it began to come in," and this because it was from that year that "all the preferments were cast on one side."¹ Hacket's statement is curiously corroborated by the clerical lives of this period in the pages of Wood.

A third and very powerful means by which Laud acted on the Church was by making his own great diocese of London a model of ecclesiastical order. He had here the means of exemplifying the more peculiar features of his ideal of the "beauty of holiness." He gave a prominence to the rite of consecration of churches which had been unknown in London since Roman Catholic times. On Sunday, the 16th of January, 1630-1, for example, there was an unusual stir in London about the consecration of St. Catharine Cree Church in Leadenhall Street. The church having been recently rebuilt, and having been suspended by Laud from all divine service, sermons or sacraments, until it should be re-consecrated, the ceremony of re-consecration was performed that day by Laud and his attendant clergy in a manner so elaborate and peculiar that the story passed about as a scandal at the time, and afterwards took form as one of the most picturesque pages in the long Puritan record of his misdeeds. On the following Sunday St. Giles's Church in the Fields was re-consecrated by him in the same manner; and in the same or the following year he consecrated several chapels with similar ceremony. All the while,

¹ Life of Williams, Part II. p. 42 and p. 82.

of course, there was a rigorous supervision of Puritans and Nonconformists in his diocese, with very swift procedure in every case of offence. Immediately on the receipt of the royal instructions of December 1629, which had been framed on his own draft, he had forwarded copies of them to the archdeacons of his diocese, calling their attention specially to the third, respecting the observance of the King's Declaration against disputations on doctrine, the fifth, respecting the regulation of lecturers, the seventh, respecting private chaplains illegally maintained, and the eighth, regarding non-attendance on public worship. He ordered them to deliver copies of the same to all the clergy in their districts, and to see that the churchwardens also had copies, requiring them farther, within a month, to send him lists of all the lecturers, and of all the families illegally maintaining private chaplains, within their respective archdeaconries.¹ The archdeacons seem to have been diligent enough. "Many "lecturers," says Neal, "were put down, and such as preached "against Arminianism or the new ceremonies were suspended "and silenced; among whom were the reverend Mr. John "Rogers of Dedham, Mr. Daniel Rogers of Wethersfield, "Mr. Hooker of Chelmsford, Mr. White of Knightsbridge, "Mr. Archer, Mr. William Martin, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Jones, "Mr. Dod, Mr. Hildersham, Mr. Ward, Mr. Saunders, Mr. "James Gardiner, Mr. Foxley, and many others." These were all Puritan ministers of the Church; but there was additional excitement for the bishop's police in starting now and then a covey of Separatists. Mr. John Lathorp's little congregation of Independents had managed for a long while to hold their meetings without discovery; but on the 29th of April 1632, "from information received," as our modern phrase is, the police were led to the house of Henry Barnet, a brewer's clerk in Blackfriars, and there found about sixty persons nefariously worshipping God in their own way. Forty-two of these were lodged in prison.

Many things which Laud was unable to do, even in his own diocese, by his mere episcopal authority, or his influence

¹ Rushworth, II. 31-32.

with the King, he was able to effect by his position at the head of the then anomalous executive and judicial system of the country. What was more important, he was able by this means to pass beyond the bounds of his own diocese altogether, and to take cognisance, to an extent which otherwise would not have been possible, of the ecclesiastical state of all the dioceses of England. The Privy Council was not only the fountain of law, but also the fountain of judgment. Not only was it at the Council-table that all new enactments were framed and measures for raising money adopted; but this same Council-table, either by itself, or through the Star-chamber, which was but another edition of itself,¹ saw to the execution of its own decrees, and superseded all ordinary courts of law in the inquisition after certain classes of offenders. Whatever, in fact, the Council chose to construe as coming under the head of sedition or contempt of authority was taken, with other causes, under its own immediate jurisdiction, the Council-table conducting the preliminary inquiries and calling the delinquents before them, and the Star-chamber receiving the delinquents to be formally tried and punished with fine, imprisonment, or worse penalties. Even the Bishops were thus kept under Laud's hand. The exemplary but Calvinistic Bishop Davenant of Salisbury, having unwittingly given offence by a sermon at court, in which he seemed to touch too closely on some of the forbidden points of the Predestinarian controversy, was summoned before the Council to answer for it. Williams of Lincoln, who was not so easily to be brought to his knees, was the object of still more attention to the Council. As early as 1627 information had been lodged against him in the Council, at the instance of Sibthorp and other agents of Laud, on account of his lax discipline against the Puritans; and he could hardly make an appointment in his diocese, or execute a lease, or give a decision in one of his courts, but the matter was carried in some way

¹ The Star-chamber Court (established 3 Henry VII.) consisted of together with two judges of the Courts of Common Law," without jury. "divers lords, being Privy Councillors,

or other by appeal to the Council-table. These charges were all kept sealed up; and it was not till some years after Laud was archbishop that it was deemed prudent to bring the valiant Welshman to trial. Even then it was a lion that they were taking in their net; and in the mean time, waiting for their attack, he knew all their doings, and even had copies of their secret papers. The awful Bishop of Lincoln was much in Laud's dreams. "Sunday, January 14, 1626-7," writes Laud in his diary, "towards morning I dreamed that "the Bishop of Lincoln came, I knew not whither, with iron "chains, but, returning loosed from them, leaped on horse-"back, and went away; neither could I overtake him."

If the Council and the Star-chamber could meddle with Bishops, they were not likely to spare inferior delinquents. Accordingly, from 1628 to 1632, there was a series of Star-chamber prosecutions, some of which are still memorable. Most horrible of all was the case of the Scotchman, Dr. Alexander Leighton, the father of the future Archbishop Leighton.¹ Arrested in Feb. 1629-30 for a Presbyterian or Anti-Episcopal manifesto of his which he had printed anonymously abroad two years before, and copies of which had for some time been in circulation in London, under the title *An Appeal to the Parliament, or Zion's Plea against Prelacie*, he was brought to trial before the Star-chamber,

¹ Born in Edinburgh, and educated at the newly-founded University there under Mr. Rollock, Leighton, after having been licensed as a preacher, had been driven into exile, with other Scots, for his Presbyterian zeal. He had studied medicine at Leyden and taken the degree of M.D. there. He had then tried to settle as a physician in London, but had been opposed and prosecuted by the College of Physicians as an interloper in the profession, and so had fallen back on preaching and Presbyterian propagandism among the Londoners. His book had originated in the form of an intended petition to Charles's Third Parliament, and he had gone to Holland to print it. Here is the full title:—"An Appeal to the "Parliament, or Zion's Plea against "Prelacie; the sum whereoff is delivered in a decade of Positions,—in

"the handling whereoff the Lord "Bishops and their appurtenances are "manifestly proved, both by divine and "humane lawes, to be intruders upon "the privileges of Christ, of the King, "and of the Commonweal: and therefore, upon good Evidence given, she "hathlie desireth a judgement and "execution. Printed the year and "moneth when Rochell was lost "(1628)." There are strong expressions in the book, but on the whole it is fairly written, and one fancies one can trace in the father something of that meditative spirit which made the son the idol of Gilbert Burnet and such a favourite long afterwards with Coleridge. The unfortunate Doctor had returned to London in July 1629, when there was no Parliament to protect him.

at a meeting at which Wentworth was present, as well as Laud and Neile. After having been sentenced and degraded from holy orders, he escaped from prison by the connivance of the warders. A hue and cry was sent after him, describing him as "a man of low stature, fair complexion, a yellowish beard, a high forehead, between forty and fifty years of age." Taken in Bedfordshire, he was brought back to London, and on Friday, November 16, 1630, "part of his sentence was executed upon him in this manner, in the new Palace of Westminster, in term time:—He was severely whipt before he was put in the pillory; being set in the pillory, he had one of his ears cut off; then one side of his nose slit; then he was branded on the cheek with a red-hot iron, with the letters S. S., signifying a stirrer up of sedition. He was then carried back again prisoner to the Fleet, to be kept in close custody." Whether the rest of his sentence, involving a second appearance in the pillory, a second scourging, and the loss of his other ear was actually inflicted or was remitted, does not seem to be positively ascertained; but he remained in prison for ten years. His son, the future archbishop, was a lad of seventeen, and a student at the University of Edinburgh, at the time of his father's torture.¹ Nothing half so horrible came

¹ I have seen in the State Paper Office several original letters of Leighton and his son, throwing light upon the circumstances of the family at the time, as well as on the character of both son and father.—In 1629, the father is at Utrecht, in Holland; the son is in Edinburgh; and the rest of the family are in Loudon, living "over against the King's Wardrobe," in Blackfriars. Intercommunication is difficult; and the son, in particular, who has heard of the book which his father has been printing in Hollaud for circulation in England, is anxious to hear news from him. On the 12th of March, 1628-9, he writes from Edinburgh to his mother, saying *inter alia*, "I received a letter from my father, which, although it was brief, yet it perspicuously made manifest unto me the danger that he of likelihood would incur of the book which he hath been printing. God frustrate the purpose of wicked men! He

"sent some of the books hither, which are like to bring those that meddled with them in some danger; but I hope God shall appease the matter and hinder the power of wicked men, who, if they could do according to their desire against God's children, would make havoc of them on a sudden. The Lord stir us up, to whom this matter belongs, to pray to God to defend and keep his children and his cause!" In a later letter, dated Edinburgh, May 7, 1629, the pious youth again writes to his mother, telling her that some things she had sent to him from London had failed to reach him, and adding, "I more desire to hear something of my father's affairs. I have not so much as seen any of the books yet, though there are some of them here. I pray with the first occasion write to me what he hath done. As yet, my part is in the meanwhile to recommend it to God. Remember my duty to my

from the Star-chamber for some years after; but some of the other proceedings of the Court about the same time were severe enough. A process begun in 1632, but not ended till 1633, was one for uprooting the Puritan Feoffment scheme.

Besides the Council-table and Star-chamber, Laud and his colleagues had a powerful instrument in the Court of High Commission. This celebrated court, established 1 Eliz., consisted of some forty persons, of whom twelve were bishops, and it had the same authority in purely ecclesiastical cases that the Star-chamber had in civil, or in ecclesiastical bordering on civil. It was empowered "to visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities whatsoever, which by any ecclesiastical authority whatsoever might be lawfully ordered or corrected"; and it was a court of last appeal from all inferior ecclesiastical courts, and consequently from all the bishops individually. It might use in its proceedings not only juries, witnesses, and other ordinary means, but also means not used in other courts, such as interrogations and imprisonment of the accused, spies, rumour, &c. The working members were the bishops,

"annt, my love to my brother James: "remember me to Elizabeth, Elisha, "and my young brother and sister." While the future archbishop was writing these letters in Edinburgh, his father was leaving Utrecht to return home. Here is a letter to his wife announcing his intention:—

"Dear Love,—Having yet once more occasion by a fit bearer to salute you, know that the 14th of March of our style I was getting things in order for my return. I am to be ordained in the place on the 22d of the said month, whereon also we have the sacrament. The 24th (being the Tuesday following) I intend to set forth for England, if wind and passage permit; for the which I know you pray earnestly. I was glad to hear by the letter that God hath wrought your heart to my entertaining of the call, which was so freely and publicly put upon me that I could not avoid it. As for the means, we must wait upon God, of whose bounty and goodness we have had many expressions: blessed be his name! I hope

the Parliament hath the thing [the book] ere this. [There is then a reference to some one who had promised to get "a protection" for him against his "over-coming."] Howsoever, I mean to come over upon Jehovah's protection, under whose wings if we walk, nothing can hurt us. If I come not with all expedition, know nothing hindereth but want of passage. So, with my dearest love to your sweet self, our children, sister, and all our friends remembered, I commend you all to God.

"Your ever,

"AL. LEIGHTON.

"*Utrecht, March 14, 1629.*"

It is owing, doubtless, to the fact that Leighton's papers were seized at the time of his arrest that the foregoing letters are now in the State Paper Office. The passage in the son's letters referring to the father's hook are undermarked (I think in Laud's hand), as if they were adduced in evidence that the hook (which was anonymous) was really Leighton's.

and three might be a quorum. In the reign of James the censures were, generally, deprivation from the ministry, excommunication, and the like; but under Charles they had become much heavier. "The bishops," says Clarendon, "grew to have so great a contempt of the common law and "of the professors of it that prohibitions from the supreme "courts of law, which have and must have the superintendency over all inferior courts, were not only neglected, but "the judges reprehended for granting them." It was accounted a special grievance that the High Commission had converted itself into a court of revenue, by punishing with huge pecuniary fines. A portion of the moneys so raised was eventually set apart for the use of the trustees for the repair of St. Paul's, so that it came to be a common jest among the Londoners that Paul's was built with the sins of the people.

A productive source of money was, of course, found in the ordinary and extraordinary offences against the moral and matrimonial laws of the Church, as when Sir Giles Alington was fined £12,000 for marrying his niece; but the offences of heresy, schism, nonconformity, &c., were likewise productive. Mr. Nathaniel Barnard, Lecturer at St. Sepulchre's, London, escaped, in January 1629-30, with a humble submission for having mentioned the Queen's Majesty indecorously in a public prayer; but, having been again articulated by Laud, in May 1632, for a sermon against Popery and Arminianism, he was excommunicated, suspended from the ministry, fined a thousand pounds, condemned in costs of suit, and committed to prison.¹ Mr. Charles Chauncy of Ware, Mr. Palmer of Canterbury, Mr. Madye of Christ Church, London, and many more, were subjected, for similar reasons, to milder censures. In the north Wentworth had set up, in terms of his appointment, a kind of Star-chamber and High Commission apparatus of his own. In York, accordingly, the ministers became patterns of conformity.

One other means of influence which Laud possessed and turned to account remains still to be mentioned. An Oxford

¹ Rushworth, II. 32 and 140, and Neal's Puritans, II. 201-2.

man by training, and master of an Oxford college before his advancement to a bishopric, he retained a strong affection for the University and a strong interest in its affairs; and he had not been long in the Privy Council before the Earl of Pembroke, then Chancellor of the University, devolved all the important business of that office into his hands. On the sudden death of the popular earl in April 1630 Laud was elected Chancellor himself, and immediately began those great works of collecting and remodelling the statutes, &c., which he had already projected, and the execution of which has associated his name with the history of the University, as that of its second legislator. His office, moreover, enabled him to keep a strict watch over opinion at that great nursery of ecclesiastics. So, in 1631, in the case of Mr. Thomas Ford of Magdalen, Mr. Giles Thorne of Balliol College, and Mr. Giles Hodges of Exeter College. These three gentlemen, having been called to account by the Vice-Chancellor for breaking the King's Instructions and attacking the Arminians in their sermons by the name of Pelagians, had appealed to the proctors. Laud immediately interfered and procured a trial of the case before the King in person at Woodstock. The three culprits were expelled the University; the proctors were dismissed from their office for receiving the appeal; and two masters of colleges, the learned Prideaux of Exeter and another, were severely reprimanded. At Cambridge, "England's other eye," Laud's influence was for the present less direct; but, through his colleague, the Earl of Holland, Chancellor of that University, as well as through the Council itself and the King, he was able to accomplish something. Then, again, there were rising Laudian stars among the masters and fellows at Cambridge, who looked to Laud, corresponded with him, and acted on his instructions. Among a number of Latin letters, still to be seen in manuscript, addressed by Creighton as Public Orator, in the name of the Senate, to different members of the Privy Council, soliciting their good offices for the University in two wars in which it was engaged in 1629,—one with the London printers, and the other with the chandlers

of Cambridge,—none is more complimentary or deferential than the following to Laud:—“*Honoratissime et amplissime Præsul, æternas agimus Deo gratias* for your recovered health. It was not, it was not only your fate that was pending; that engine of dire death which threatened you was aimed also at our sides, our necks. O, how deplorable for us would that change of a benefit into an incomparable misfortune have been, if one and the same year had given us freedom from that rascality of the printers and taken you away from us! We have known your admirable inclination towards us in the typographic controversy. Now new ruffians attack us,—even our own townsmen, who, in the bosom of Cambridge, under the light of literature, within the very odour of learning, dwelling within the same walls, under the same sky, air, king and laws, yet live with us as if nature had denied them the least spark of goodness. What sort and of what grain the rest are is plainly shown by the manners of those whom they have chosen for their leaders and standard-bearers against the University, men of such a stamp that they do not fear to fabricate their cheats under the cloak of piety, under the garments of Christ, and, embracing the external bark of religion, do not blush to take advantage of our young tiros, whom they know to be unskilled in worldly affairs, in the matter of candles, spiceries, and their counterfeit wares.”¹

And so, what with one means of influence, what with others, Laud, in 1632, being then in the sixtieth year of his age, was the dominant spirit in the English Church, and one of the chiefs of the English State. One would fain think and speak with some respect of any man who has been beheaded; much more of one who was beheaded for a cause to which he had conscientiously devoted his life, and which thousands of his countrymen, two centuries after his death, still adhere to, still expound, still uphold, though with the difference, incalculable to themselves, of all that time has

¹ Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 5873 (one of Cole's).

flung between. But it is impossible to like or admire Laud. The nearer we get to him, the more all soft illusion falls off, and the more distinctly we have before us the hard reality, as D'Ewes and others saw it, of a "little, low, red-faced man," bustling by the side of that king of the narrow forehead and the melancholy Vandyke air, or pressing his notions with a raspy voice at the council-board till Weston became peevish and Cottington wickedly solemn, or bowing his head in churches not very gracefully. When we examine what remains of his mind in his writings, the estimate is not enhanced. The texture of his writing is hard, dry, and common; sufficiently clear as to the meaning, and with no insincerity or superfluity, but without sap, radiance, or force. Occasionally, when one of his fundamental topics is touched, a kind of dull heat rises, and one can see that the old man was in earnest. Of anything like depth or comprehensiveness of intellect there is no evidence, certainly not a sign of the quality called genius. There is never a stroke of original insight, never a flash of intellectual generality. In Williams there *is* genius; not in Laud. Many of his humble clerical contemporaries, not to speak of such known men as Fuller and Hacket, must have been greatly his superiors in talent, more discerning men, as well as more interesting writers. That very ecclesiastical cause which Laud so conspicuously defended has had, since his time, and has at this day in England, far abler heads among its adherents. How was it, then, that Laud became what he did become, and that slowly, by degrees, and against opposition; how was it that his precise personality and no other worked its way upwards, through the clerical and academic element of the time, to the very top of all, and there fitted itself into the very socket where the joints of things met? *Parvo regitur mundus intellectu*. A small intellect, once in the position of government, may suffice for the official forms of it; and, with Laud's laboriousness and tenacity of purpose, his power of maintaining his place of minister under such a master as Charles needs be no mystery. So long as the proprietor of an estate is satisfied, the tenants must endure the bailiff,

whatever the amount of his wisdom. Then, again, in the last stages of Laud's ascent, he rose through Buckingham and Charles, to both of whom surely his nature, without being great, may have recommended itself by adequate affinities. Still, that Laud impressed those men when he did come in contact with them, and that, from his original position as a poor student in an Oxford college, he rose step by step to the point where he could come in contact with them, are facts not explicable by the mere supposition of a series of external accidents. Perhaps it is that a nature does not always or necessarily rise by *greatness*, or intrinsic superiority to the element about it, but may rise by *peculiarity*, or proper capillary relation to the element about it. When Lord Macaulay speaks of Laud as intellectually an "imbecile," and calls him "a ridiculous old bigot," he seems to omit that peculiarity which gave Laud's nature, whatever its measure by a modern standard, so much force and pungency among his contemporaries. To have hold of the surrounding sensations of men, even by pain and irritation, is a kind of power; and Laud had that kind of power from the first. He affected strongly, if irritatingly, each successive part of the body-politic in which he was lodged. As a fellow of a college, he was more felt than liked; as master of a college, he was still felt but not liked; when he came first about Court, he was felt still, but still not liked. And why was he felt? Why, in each successive position to which he attained, did he affect surrounding sensation so as to domineer? For one thing, he was a man whose views, if few, were extraordinarily definite. His nature, if not great, was very tight. Early in life he had taken up certain propositions as to the proper theology of the Anglican Church, and had combined them with certain others as to the divine right of prelacy, and the necessity and possibility of uniformity in creed and worship. These few very definite propositions, each answering to some tendency of society or of opinion at the time in England, he had tied and knotted round him as his sufficient doctrinal outfit. Wherever he went, he carried them with him and before him, acting upon

them with a brisk and incessant perseverance, without regard to circumstances, or even to established notions of what is fair, high-minded, and generous. Thus, seeing that the propositions were of a kind upon which some conclusion or other was or might be made socially imperative, he could force to his own conclusions all laxer, though larger, natures that were tending lazily the same way, and, throwing a continually increasing crowd of such and of others behind him as his followers, leave in front of him only those who opposed to his conclusions as resolute contraries. His indefatigable official activity contributed to the result. Beyond all this, however, and adding secret force to it all, there was something else about Laud. Though the system which he wanted to enforce was one of strict ceremonial form, the man's own being rested on a trembling basis of the fantastic and unearthly. Herein lay one notable, and perhaps compensating, difference between his narrow intellect and the broad but secular genius of Williams. In that strange diary of Laud, which is one of the curiosities of our literature, we see him in an aspect in which he probably never wished that the public should know him. His hard and active public life is represented there but casually, and we see the man in the secrecy of his own thoughts, as he talked to himself when alone. We hear of certain sins, or at least "unfortunatenesses," of his early and past life, which clung about his memory, were kept there by anniversaries of sadness or penance, and sometimes intruded grinning faces through the gloom of the chamber when all the house was asleep. We see that, after all, whether from such causes or from some form of constitutional melancholy, the old man, who walked so briskly and cheerily about the Court, and was so sharp and unhesitating in all his notions of what was to be done, did in secret carry in him some sense of the burden of life's mystery, and feel the air and the earth to *some* depth around him to be full of sounds and agencies unfeatured and unimaginable. At any moment they may break through! The twitter of two robin redbreasts in his room, as he is writing a sermon, sets his heart beating; a curtain rustles,—what hand touched it? Above all, he had a belief in re-

velation through dreams and coincidences; and, as the very definiteness of his scheme of external worship may have been a refuge to him from that total mystery the skirts of which, and only the skirts, were ever touching him, so in his dreams and small omens he seems to have had, in his daily advocacy of that scheme, some petty sense of near metaphysical aid. Out of his many dreams we are fond of this one:—"January 5, Epiphany Eve and Friday, in the night I dreamed that my mother, long since dead, stood by my bed, and, drawing aside the clothes a little, looked pleasantly upon me, and that I was glad to see her with so merry an aspect. She then showed to me a certain old man, long since deceased, whom, while alive, I both knew and loved. He seemed to lie upon the ground, merry enough, but with a wrinkled countenance. His name was Grove. While I prepared to salute him, I awoke." Were one to adopt what seems to have been Laud's own theory, might not one suppose that this wrinkled old man of his dream, squat on the supernatural ground so near its confines with the natural, was Laud's spiritual genius, and so that what of the supernatural there was in his policy consisted mainly of monitions from Grove of Reading? The question would still remain at what depth back among the dead Grove was permitted to roam.

There is no difficulty now in seeing why Milton had changed his intention of entering the Church of England. Yet there were other fine and pure spirits of that day who were positively attracted into the Church by that which repelled Milton from her doors.

It was in April 1630, for example, and mainly through the direct influence of Laud, that George Herbert became an English parish priest. For several years he had been inclining that way. Shortly after the death of James he had given up his hopes of Court employment, and retired into the country. Here he had "many conflicts with himself whether he should return to the painted pleasures of a court life, or betake himself to a study of divinity and enter into sacred orders, to which his dear mother had

“often persuaded him.” Having concluded for the holier life, he had taken deacon’s orders, had accepted the prebend of Layton Ecclesia in Williams’s diocese of Lincoln, and had built in that village, partly with his own money, partly with that of friends, the loveliest gem of a parish church, “being for the workmanship a costly mosaic, and for the form an exact cross.” He had also resigned his Public Oratorship at Cambridge, that he might have more time for his sacred duties. Still he had not taken priest’s orders nor a cure of souls, and it seemed as if, what with his courtly accomplishments, what with the elegant cast of his sanctity, the Court might have him back again. In 1629, however, a severe illness, which brought him to death’s door and left in him the seeds of consumption, weaned his last thoughts from all worldly things. Having married a lady of kindred disposition, he desired nothing so much as some country parish where he might bury himself in well-doing. When, however, in the month above mentioned, his noble relative the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, then new in the earldom of Pembroke by his brother’s death, presented him with the rectory of Bemerton in Wiltshire near Salisbury, there arose such questioning in Herbert’s mind as to his fitness for the sacred office that he determined to decline it. He went to Wilton to thank the earl and to give his reasons. It chanced that the King and the whole Court were then at Wilton or near it; and so “that night,” says Walton, “the earl “acquainted Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, with his “kinsman’s irresolution, and the Bishop did the next day “so convince Mr. Herbert that the refusal was a sin that a “tailor was sent for to come speedily from Salisbury to “Wilton to take measure and make him canonical clothes “against next day; which the tailor did; and Mr. Herbert, “being so habited, went with his presentation to the learned “Dr. Davenant, who was then Bishop of Salisbury, and he “gave him institution immediately.”¹ When thus led into the Church, in April 1630, by the hand of Laud himself,

¹ So Walton; but Mr. Gardiner (*The Personal Government of Charles I.*, vol. i. p. 317) challenges the accuracy of the

details, on the ground that the Court was then at White-hall.

and in the proper canonical garb, Herbert was thirty-six years of age. He lived but three years longer, the model of country parson, and the idol of his parishioners; nor during those three years was there a parish in all England in which, by the exertions of one man whose pious genius had received from nature the due peculiarity, there was a nearer approach than in Bemerton to Laud's ideal of the Beauty of Holiness. The parish church, the chapel, the parsonage-house, were all beautified; the church services and ceremonies were punctually fulfilled in every particular; and the people were so taught on Sundays the sacred significance of all the forms and gestures prescribed that they loved them for their own sake, as well as for their pastor's. Over the miry roads in rain and mist on week-days walked the delicate aristocratic man, "contemning his birth," as he said, "or any title or dignity that could be conferred upon him, compared with his title of priest; and twice every day he and his family, with such gentlemen of the neighbourhood as could come, assembled in the chapel for prayers,—on which occasions, as the chapel-bell was heard over the lands around, the ploughmen would stop reverently in mid-furrow, that the sound might satiate them and do them good. Here also it was that those sacred strains of *The Temple* were written which, though some of them were but poetic interpretations of Laud's prose, have come down as the carols of Anglicanism in its essence, and are dear to lovers of sacred wit and quaint metrical speech, whether of the Anglican communion or not. At the very time when Milton was renouncing the Church, his senior, Herbert, with death's gate shining nearer and nearer before him, was finding his delight in her service and addressing her thus:—

"I joy, dear Mother, when I view
Thy perfect lineaments and hue,
Both sweet and bright :
Beauty in thee takes up her place,
And dates her letters from thy face
When she doth write."

Among other instances of persons won from secular life to the Anglican Church by Laud, or saved to the Anglican

Church by Laud's timely demonstrations of her sufficiency for all that the Romish offered, we may note the famous case of Nicholas Ferrar. Having been a student of Clare Hall, Cambridge, as early as 1605, and till 1613 a fellow there, he had spent some years in travelling in Holland, Germany, France, Italy, and Spain, and then, returning to England in 1618, had, with an elder brother, concerned himself in a public manner with the Virginia colonization scheme, and had, moreover, as a member of James's last Parliament, taken a leading part in colonial business. In his travels, besides acquiring a knowledge of modern languages and other accomplishments, he had paid great attention to the religion of the Roman Catholic nations, and to "the manner and the reasons of their worship," so that, though he resisted "many persuasions to come into communion with that Church," and continued "eminent for his obedience to his mother, the Church of England," yet, when he returned home, he could not but think that England, in the fury of her Protestantism, had parted unnecessarily with some portions of the apparatus of a holy life which were still kept up with good effect in warmer Catholic lands. In other words, it seemed to him that the ecclesiastical system of England might well permit, for the sake of such pious souls as desired it, a restoration of the means of monastic seclusion and discipline. There being plenty of money in the Ferrar family, left by their father, an enterprising London merchant, who had died in 1620, and all the family having the same singular meekness and passion for a devout life which distinguished Nicholas, he was able with ease to make the experiment. The manor of Little Gidding, a desert spot, chiefly of pasture land, on the borders of Northamptonshire, about eighteen miles from Cambridge, had been bought by his widowed mother; and here, in 1626 and 1627, Nicholas carried his plans into effect. The hall and the chapel adjoining it, which were almost the only buildings in the parish, were fitted up in a proper manner; and the whole family, consisting of the mother, Nicholas and his elder brother John, a married sister named Collett,

many young nephews and nieces, with some others who obtained leave to join them, to the number of about thirty in all, including servants, migrated to this place, and established themselves as a monastic colony. As the establishment was under the presidency of the widowed mother, an aged woman of eighty, and as all the members were bound to celibacy so long as they continued in it, the people round about named it The Protestant Nunnery. The real management was in the hands of Nicholas, who had been ordained deacon by Laud for that purpose by his own express desire, to the great surprise of all his business acquaintances. The inmates were permitted to pursue various occupations, such as reading, teaching, binding prayer-books, and collating the Scriptures; much was given in charity; but the peculiarity of the place was that day and night there was a ceaseless round of religious duties. Twice every day Nicholas himself read the Common Prayer to them all in the chapel; but there were also, in the chapel or in an oratory within the hall, continual additional services during the day, and again by relays of watches through the whole night. When one set of watchers became weary with reading or with singing lauds, a bell roused others to relieve them, and so on till morning dawned. Thus "in this continued serving of God," says Walton, "the Psalter or whole Book of Psalms was in every four-and-twenty hours sung or read over, from the first to the last verse; and this was done as constantly as the sun runs his circle every day about the world, and then begins again the same instant that it ended." In every part of the worship Laud would have found his notions of beauty and decorum fulfilled or exceeded. Thus, "within the chapel," besides other furniture and decorations, "were candles of white and green wax," and at every meeting every person present bowed reverently towards the communion-table before sitting down. In short, at another time, or with another than Laud at the centre, the establishment would have run a risk of being suppressed as Popish.¹

¹ Respecting the Ferrar establishment see Rushworth II. 178, Walton's VOL. I.

The Herberts and the Ferrars were the higher representatives of that sentiment of ceremonial devoutness in the English mind of the time which was conserved within the Church, or even drawn into it, by Laud's rule and policy. In them, indeed, Laudism was seen in a state of bloom and fragrance which it never could have attained in the arid nature of Laud himself. Laudians of a more ordinary stamp, and more like their master, were those numerous academics who, simply following the suasion of circumstances, had already professed themselves on the Laudian side in the course of their studies, and were anxious to take livings and prove their principles in gowns and surplices before congregations.

Was it impossible, then, to enter the Church of England or to remain within her without being a Laudian? By no means so. With all Laud's vigilance and that of the prelates of his party, and in spite of ordinances, inquisitions of archdeacons, episcopal visitations, circular letters to churchwardens encouraging them to report, &c., it was still possible for ministers of Calvinistic and Puritan sentiments, unless too fiery and fierce to contain themselves, to get livings and to keep them without concessions that could be called deadly or dishonourable. At the utmost, even in times of persecution, it is but a tree here and there that the axe of power has time to fell, and in such cases, as some one has said, the thinning of the big boughs may but help the growth of the underwood. At all events, it is a known fact that under Laud's government, and even in the dioceses of zealous bishops, Puritan ministers did contrive to avoid compliance with many of the enjoined forms and ceremonies. We are informed, for example, that Milton's former tutor, Thomas Young, contrived, for ten whole years of his ministry at Stowmarket, to avoid the use of the surplice, notwith-

Life of Herbert, Hacket's *Life of Williams*, Part II. pp. 50-53, Carlyle's *Cromwell*, I. 56-57 (edit. 1857), and *Lives of Ferrar* edited, with illustrations, by J. E. B. Mayor, M.A., Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, 1855. Mr.

Mayor's volume collects all the existing information about Ferrar; and the story of the family may be there read as told by themselves and those intimate with them in contradiction of false reports.

standing that during that time there were in the diocese of Norwich three such disciplinarians in suecession as Dr. White, Dr. Corbet, and Dr. Matthew Wren.¹ The more celebrated Edmund Calamy, also, who was at this time a neighbour of Young's in Suffolk, being minister at St. Edmundsbury, used afterwards, when the Puritans were in the ascendant, to declare that, even in those difficult days, he had never bowed to or towards the altar, or done anything of a like nature.²

Had Milton chosen, therefore, he might have slipped into the diocese of some liberal bishop, and managed his part as well as others till the arrival of better times. To enter the Church in such a fashion, however, was not in Milton's nature. Young or old, he was not a man to "slip" in anywhere. And so the Church of England lost John Milton. Ten years hence, indeed, he was to throw his whole soul into the question of Church Reform, and was, more publicly than most Englishmen, to make that question his own; but then it was to be as a layman and not as a churchman. For the present he but moves to the church-door, glances from that station into the interior as far as he can, sees through the glass the back of a little man gesticulating briskly at the farther end, does not like the look of him or of his occupation, and so turns sadly but decidedly away.

THE IRISH CHURCH.

Ireland, with the great mass of her people still untouched Celts, and with only a selvage of English and Scottish settlers on her eastern coasts, exhibited a corresponding division of religions. The native Irish were all Roman Catholics; only the English and Scotch, amounting to not a tenth of the population, were Protestants. Both religions, however, had organizations eo-extensive in form with the whole island. In each of the four provinces there was a legal Protestant arehbishop, with bishops under him, as in

¹ History of Stowmarket, by the Rev. A. G. Hollingsworth.

² Wood's Fasti, I. 511.

England. The following is a list of the Protestant bishoprics and of the men who held them in the year 1632 :—

PROVINCE OF ULSTER. 1. *The Archbishop of Armagh* (styled Primate of all Ireland): the famous and learned James Usher, born in Ireland, and educated at Trinity College, Dublin; now over fifty years of age. 2. *Bishop of Clogher*: James Spotswood, a Scot. 3. *Bishop of Meath*: Anthony Martin, educated at Trinity College, Dublin. 4. *Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh*: William Bedell, an Englishman, educated at Cambridge. 5. *Bishop of Down and Connor*: Robert Echlin, a Scot. 6. *Bishop of Dromore*: Theophilus Buckworth, an Englishman, educated at Cambridge. 7. *Bishop of Derry*: George Downham, an Englishman, educated at Cambridge. 8. *Bishop of Raphoe*: John Lesley, a Scot.

PROVINCE OF MUNSTER. 1. *The Archbishop of Cashel*: Archibald Hamilton, a Scot. 2. *Bishop of Waterford and Lismore*: Michael Boyle, educated at Oxford. 3. *Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross*: Richard Boyle. 4. *Bishop of Limerick*: Francis Gough, an Englishman. 5. *Bishop of Ardfer*: William Steere, an Englishman. 6. *Bishop of Killaloe*: Lewis Jonas, a Welshman, educated at Oxford. 7. *Bishop of Kilfenora*: James Heygate, a Scot.

PROVINCE OF LEINSTER. 1. *The Archbishop of Dublin*: Lancelot Bulkeley, an Englishman. 2. *Bishop of Kildare*: William Pilsworth, an Englishman. 3. *Bishop of Ossory*: Jonas Wheeler, an Englishman. 4. *Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin*: Thomas Ram, an Englishman, educated at Cambridge.

PROVINCE OF CONNAUGHT. 1. *The Archbishop of Tuam*: Randolph Barlowe. 2. *Bishop of Killala and Achonry*: Archibald Adair, a Scot. 3. *Bishop of Elphin*: Edward King, educated at Oxford: the uncle of Milton's friend, Edward King of Christ's College. 4. *Bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh*: Robert Dawson, an Englishman.¹

Here was an imposing Church organization, only four bishops fewer than for all England. Imagine the deaneries, the archdeaconries, and lastly the parochial livings, under such an extensive surface of bishoprics; observe also that the bishoprics were almost all filled by Englishmen or Scots imported for the purpose, with but one or two born Irishmen among them; and it will seem as if Ireland might have been a very convenient refuge in those days for aggrieved Puritan clergymen of the sister nation. For the Irish Church, though episcopal, was episcopal after a much laxer fashion than the Church of England. The first professors sent over to Trinity College, Dublin, at its foundation by Elizabeth in 1593, had been eminent Calvinists from Cambridge; in the reign of James, when obstacles to the colonization of Ireland

¹ The list is drawn up from Cotton's "Fasti Eccles. Hibern." 1847.

had been removed, the persons who had availed themselves of the opportunity had been chiefly enterprising Scottish Presbyterians, who carried their ministers with them, or else English Puritans, who were glad to go to Ireland for the chance of greater religious freedom; and thus, though the organization of the Church was externally prelatic, the constituency of the Church, its blood and substance, were mainly Presbyterian or Puritan. In order to reconcile the Scottish Presbyterian ministers to the episcopal government, the bishops had not scrupled to waive their full episcopal rights, allowing Presbyters to join with them in the act of ordaining other Presbyters, and also allowing them to dispense with the Liturgy. In the same spirit, when it was deemed necessary, at a Convocation of the Irish Protestant clergy in 1616, to adopt a set of Articles expressing their corporate creed, it was decided not to borrow the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, but to frame a new set of a more Puritan and Calvinistic grain. A draft of such Articles was prepared by Usher, then Provost of Trinity College; which, after passing the Convocation and the Irish Parliament, and being approved by the English Privy Council, was ratified by the Irish Lord Deputy in the King's name. Among the Articles was one more strongly Sabbatarian than accorded with the prevalent views in England; in the matters of ordination and of Lent and other fasts the language was left very open; nothing special was said of the consecration of bishops or archbishops; and, as might have been expected, the denunciations of Popery were thorough-going. Thus, both in principle and in practice, the Protestant Church of Ireland presented a spectacle by no means to the taste of the English Conformists. It was a muddle, they thought, of Presbyterian practices and a mere *jure humano* Episcopacy. There were among the Irish bishops men who thought so too. Of this stamp was Echlin, Bishop of Down and Connor since 1612. Usher, on the other hand, since his appointment to the Primacy in 1624, had resisted attempts to compel conformity. Desiring only that the Irish Church should have a firm Calvinistic creed

with a moderately episcopal organization, he had sought to direct her energies against the surrounding Popery of the island.¹

In such circumstances, we repeat, the Irish Church might have seemed a desirable enough refuge for aggrieved English Puritans. There were, however, serious counterbalancing disadvantages. In the first place, that Church, with all its imposing organization of archbishops, bishops, and so on, was a shell without a kernel. There were not 200,000 Protestants in Ireland for the four archbishops and the twenty bishops to share among them. Rome was still master of the rich green island. Despite English laws, there was still an unbroken body of Catholic parish clergy, with a titular hierarchy of bishops, archbishops, vicars-general, &c., all complete. Since the accession of Charles the Irish Catholics had become bolder than ever. "Monasteries, nunneries, and other superstitious houses," say the English Commons in their Remonstrance of 1628, speaking of Ireland, "are newly erected, re-edified, and replenished with men and women of several orders, and in a plentiful manner maintained at Dublin and most of the great towns, and divers other places."² Nor was the inferiority of the Protestant Church in Ireland to its Catholic rival merely one of numbers and influence. By the lay seizures of the Reformation the old legal revenues of the Irish Church, such as they were, had been wofully diminished, and the Protestant clergy had but a starving subsistence. To be an Irish bishop was not much better, save in dignity, than to be an English rector; and forty shillings a-year was the legal income of some of those who served under the bishops as parish ministers. All sorts of devices had been tried, but still the Church was in a miserable plight. "I have been about my diocese," wrote Bedell to Laud in 1630, when he had just gone over as Bishop of Lismore and Ardagh, "and can set down, out of my knowledge and view, what I shall relate. And shortly, to speak much ill matter

¹ Neal's *Puritans*, II. 96-100, and Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, I. 130, &c.

² Rushworth, I. 622.

“in a few words, it is very miserable everyway. The Cathedral of Ardagh (one of the most ancient in Ireland, and said to be built by St. Patrick), together with the bishop’s house there, are down to the ground; the church here [Kilmore] built, but without bell or steeple, font or chalice. The parish churches all in a manner ruined, unroofed, and unrepaired; the people, saving a few British planters here and there, obstinate recusants; a popish clergy more numerous by far than we, and in the full exercise of all jurisdiction ecclesiastical.”¹ In such a state of things, a young Englishman fresh from Oxford or Cambridge had but little inducement to dedicate himself to the Irish ministry.

Moreover, Laud had already his eye on the Irish Church. Among his projects noted down on paper in the year 1630 are these two referring to Ireland:—*First*, “To procure King Charles to give all the impropriations yet remaining in the crown within the realm of Ireland to that poor Church;” *Secondly*, “A new charter for the College near Dublin to be procured of his Majesty; and a body of statutes made, to rectify that government.” He had made some progress towards these objects before 1632. Men of Laudian principles had been appointed, by his influence, to livings and offices on the other side of the Irish Channel; and the Calvinistic primate Usher was already aware that the Arminian leaven was at work, and that Laud meditated nothing less than the repeal of the Irish Articles, and the subjection of the Irish Church to English rule and discipline.

THE SCOTTISH KIRK.

Glancing northwards across the Tweed, the English Puritans could see, pent up in that extremity of the island, a Church still more Presbyterian and Calvinistic than the Irish one. True, it was not now exactly the old Reformed Church of John Knox. From the moment when the Scottish King James had crossed the Tweed, to experience the

¹ Rushworth, II. 47.

delight of being the successor of the Tudors, after having for thirty-six years been king of a little nation of less than a million, from whom he received some 5,000*l.* a-year, with occasional presents of poultry and silk hose and no end of pulpit instruction, it had been the passion of his heart to use his new power so as to break the neck of that Scottish Presbyterian system with which he had been contending since his boyhood. He had so far succeeded. In 1606 Episcopacy had been restored by the Scottish Parliament, to the extent of the investiture of some thirteen parish clergymen with the titles and the temporalities of bishops; and in 1610, after these bishops had for four years borne their empty honours amid the scoffs of the people, a General Assembly at Glasgow had been prevailed upon to adopt them ecclesiastically, by constituting them moderators or presidents in synods, and bestowing on them some rights of jurisdiction. Two courts of high ecclesiastical commission had been appointed, one at St. Andrews and the other at Glasgow, each under the presidency of an archbishop. Finally, in 1621, James had gained another victory in the adoption of what were called the Five Articles of Perth, by which the Kirk, hitherto obdurate in the matter of ceremonies, consented to allow kneeling at the sacrament, private communion, private baptism, confirmation by the bishops, and the observance of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, and Pentecost. So far, the Kirk had ceased to be Presbyterian. But Episcopacy in Scotland was yet a long way short of English Episcopacy. With her two new-made Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and her subordinate bishoprics of Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Moray, Brechin, Dunblane, Ross, and Orkney in the province of St. Andrews, and Galloway, Argyle, and the Isles in the province of Glasgow, Scotland was yet toughly, fervidly, indomitably Presbyterian. "Though these were bishops in name," says Clarendon, "the whole jurisdiction and they themselves "were subject to an Assembly which was purely Presbyterian: no form of religion in practice, no liturgy, nor the "least appearance of any beauty of holiness." The clergy

were not satisfied even with such episcopacy as there was; were very disrespectful to the Spotswoods, the Leslie's, the Lindsays, and the Forbeses among them who had consented to be made bishops; would insist casuistically that those bishops were presbyters still, though perhaps *primi inter pares*. The people were still more restless. They regarded the new ceremonies with horror; and the day on which they had received their final ratification, Saturday, Aug. 4, 1621, was spoken of as "the black Saturday." It was one of the darkest and stormiest days, say the chronicles, ever known in Scotland.

Intensely Calvinistic in creed, not burdened with ceremonies, and episcopal in constitution only as having a superficial apparatus of bishops screwed down upon it, the Scottish Kirk of 1632, although it had nonconformists of its own, braving the penalties of prison and exile, might have seemed a very tolerable institution to the less advanced nonconformists of England. What they desired was an episcopacy without severe accompaniments; and here they would have had it. With the exception, however, of one or two stray cases, ministers ordained in England do not seem to have even thought of connecting themselves with the Church north of the Tweed. Then, as now, the tendency was rather of the Scots southwards than of the English northwards; and a Cambridge man or an Oxford man thrown by chance into a Fifeshire or a Perthshire parish would have been stared at by his parishioners till he lost his wits. There was no Englishman at this date among the Scottish bishops; all were Scots, speaking the true Doric. And so with the parish clergy. Besides, even had there been precedent to suggest to an adventurous Englishman the idea of carrying himself and his English speech into that hyperborean region, there were beginning to be symptoms that he might be pursued thither by that from which he had fled. Laud had his eye on Scotland; and he and Charles were bent on a farther extension of Prelacy among the Scots than had seemed possible to James.

FOREIGN CHAPLAINCIES.

As early as the fifteenth century there had been factories or agencies of the English merchant-adventurers in the chief towns of northern Germany and the Netherlands. The influx of Protestant, and then of Puritan, refugees from England and Scotland had increased the British ingredient in those towns, and English and Scotch regiments, sent over by Elizabeth and James for continental service in the war of the Netherlands against Spain, had left their relics where they had been stationed. In not a few continental towns, therefore, there were English and Scottish congregations, requiring the services of English or Scottish pastors. Milton's preceptor, Young, had been chaplain to the British merchants in Hamburg; and Hamburg was but one of several German towns similarly provided. In Hamburg, says Neal, "the English church," protected by the tolerant policy of the city, "managed its affairs according to the Geneva discipline, by elders and deacons." But it was in the Low Countries, and more particularly in those provinces which were under the singularly free government of the States General, that the British churches abroad attained their fullest dimensions. Calvinistic in the main themselves, but with other sects among them in sufficient numbers to ensure a liberty of religious difference such as existed nowhere else in the world, the Dutch welcomed the English Puritan ministers who came among them, and gave them all the rights of their own clergy, including state support. By the year 1632 there were English or Scottish congregations in Amsterdam, Arnheim, Bergen-op-Zoom, Bois-le-Duc, Breda, Brille, Campvere, Delft, Dordrecht, Flushing, Gorcum, Haarlem, the Hague, Leyden, Middleburg, Rotterdam, and Utrecht. Left entirely to themselves, these congregations had, in most cases, adopted the Presbyterian forms in their worship, and had become more and more alienated from episcopacy. It was in Holland, and especially in the great commercial city of Amsterdam, that the Brownists or Independents found shelter, and that those books and tracts

were printed, which, when sent over to England, tended to diffuse the new notions of Independency or Congregationalism through the popular English Puritanism. Only one or two of the congregations, however, were Brownist; and the rest were so far from advocating pure congregationalism that they had formed themselves, with the consent of the States, into a regular Presbyterian organization, with the name of "The Synod of the English and Scotch Clergy in the United Provinces." This name occurs in Dutch histories of the period as well as in English state documents. After Charles had ascended the throne, however, the existence of a body so composed, and with such a name, attracted the hostile attention of the English Government; and Laud had already attempted to stretch his hand across the water so as to seize those Dutch rats. On the 19th of May 1628 a letter was addressed in the King's name to the clergy of the Dutch Synod, requiring them to abstain from the use of any other liturgy than that of England, to abstain from ordaining pastors for themselves or receiving among them any pastors except such as had been ordained in the mother countries, to introduce no novelties in worship or in doctrine, to watch over the issue from the Dutch press of publications derogatory to the Church of England, and in all matters of doubt to have recourse to the English ambassador for advice. The Synod, in reply, urged that, though English subjects, they were amenable to the laws of the country which supported them; defended themselves meekly in some points; but stoutly maintained their privilege of ordaining pastors. After this little more is heard of the matter till Laud's elevation to the archbishopric, when he returned to the charge in a bolder fashion, requiring all chaplains, whether English or Scotch, in the Low Countries, to be "exactly conformable to the Church of England." Fortunately, the emigrants were safe within the Dutch laws; and not only till 1632, but through the whole of Laud's rule, the Low Countries were the chief refuge of the English Puritans. Here, on the quays of the great Dutch ports, by the sides of docks of green water, where ships were unloading and merchants

and sailors going about with pipes in their mouths, or in more inland towns, by the sides of lazy canals flowing amid quaint red and white houses, there walked in those years many an exiled minister, free from all fear of Laud. Some of these clergymen remained all their lives in Holland, growing daily more Dutch in their figures and their theology; others made but a visit of a year or two, and then, tired of the red and white houses, the canals, and the flat Dutch scenery, resigned their charges and returned home. There are English and Scottish congregations at this day in some of the Dutch towns the lists of whose pastors are unbroken from the year 1610.¹

THE COLONIAL CHURCH.

We give the benefit of this modern name to the early Puritan settlements in America. There, across the roar of the Atlantic, was the true refuge of the oppressed, a continent left vacant from of old, to be shone upon by the sun and blown upon by the winds, with but a sprinkling of Red Indians to tend it, in order that, when the fulness of time was come, and this side of the earth had begun to teem with more than it could or would contain, there might be fresh space and growing-ground for what it cast out. The beginning had already been made. In 1608, or a century after the Spaniards had been familiar with America, the first British colony was permanently established in Virginia. This colony, having been planted in the mere spirit of commercial adventure, had no special attractions for the English Puritans; and it was not till several years later that they conceived the idea of planting colonies for themselves on the more northern portion of the American coast known as New England. The first colony there, that of New Plymouth, was founded in 1620 by a band of between one and two hundred persons, chiefly from among the British Independ-

¹ See Neal, II. 227-228, Rushworth, II. 249-250, and, more particularly, a historical account of the British Churches in the Netherlands, appended to a "History of the Scottish Church,

Rotterdam," by the Rev. William Steven, himself some time minister of that Church. (Edinburgh and Rotterdam, 1832.)

ents of Holland, who, having raised funds and obtained the necessary patent from James, set sail in two detachments, one from Delfthaven in Holland, the other from London. "If God reveal anything to you by any other instrument of his," was the advice given to those emigrants by John Robinson of Leyden, the founder of Independency, as he prayed with them and took farewell of them at Delfthaven, "be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry ; for I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the Reformed Churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no farther than the instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw, and the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things. This is a misery much to be lamented; for, though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God, but, were they now living, would be as willing to embrace further light as that which they first received. I beseech you remember it is an article of your Church-covenant that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written Word of God. But I must herewithal exhort you to take heed what you receive as truth; examine it, consider it, and compare it with other Scriptures of truth before you receive it; for it is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick anti-Christian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once."¹ Here was a principle which certainly required new ground, almost new physical as well as new civil conditions, in which to plant itself; and, with this principle in their hearts, accompanied by the sensible advice from the same lips that they should "abandon, avoid, and shake off the name of Brownists, as a mere nickname and brand for making them odious," the stout little company crossed the ocean. Miserable was their first winter; but New Plymouth survived, to receive year after year accessions

¹ Neal, II. 120-121.

from the mother country. Hearing that the colony had contrived to live, the Puritans at home resolved, at the time when Laud's oppressive policy began, to found another on a larger scale. A charter having been obtained from Charles in March 1628-9 by some persons of substance in London, forming them into a corporation and body-politic by the name of "The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England," a fleet of six vessels, with English Puritan families on board to the number of about 350 persons, set sail in May 1629, and landed in the following month at Neumkeak or Salcm. They took with them, as their pastors or chaplains, Mr. Higginson, a silenced minister of Leicestershire, and Mr. Shelton, a silenced minister of Lincolnshire; and, in a covenant which they drew up and signed before sailing, they professed all lawful obedience to those that were over them "in Church or Commonwealth," at the same time giving themselves "to the Lord Jesus Christ and to the word of his grace for the teaching, ruling and sanctifying" them "in matters of worship and conversation," and rejecting "all canons and constitutions of men in worship." Above a hundred of the colonists died the first winter, including Mr. Higginson; but the colony weathered through, and was reinforced the next summer by about two hundred more pilgrims, with several ministers among them. From that time forward New England received an increasing succession of Puritan emigrants, including ministers deprived or threatened by Laud.

"Religion stands a-tiptoe in our land,
Ready to pass to the American strand,"

Herbert had written in one of his poems; and the words, used by Herbert in a sense of his own, were taken up and repeated by the Puritans. In the end, as we shall see, Laud was to exert himself in this matter too, and to try to coerce the American Church, or at least prevent its increase; but, on the whole, whoever about the year 1632 desired liberty of conscience, in the Puritan interpretation of liberty of conscience, could have the luxury in fullest

measure across the Atlantic. Alas ! at what a cost ! Where now the great American Republic receives the ships of the world into its northern harbours, those few hundreds of outcast Puritans, the first founders of its strength, had to raise their psalms of thanksgiving on bleak and unknown headlands, amid cold and hunger and ague, the graves of their little ones who had perished lying around them, Red Indians hovering near on the one side, and, on the other side, the eternal sea-line which severed them from dear cruel England, and the long low plash of the sullen waves.

CHAPTER III.

SURVEY OF BRITISH LITERATURE IN 1632.

As in political history we reckon by the reigns of the Sovereigns, so in our literary history, for the last two hundred and sixty years, we may reckon by the reigns of the Laureates. The year 1632 was the thirteenth year of the laureateship of Ben Jonson. He had succeeded to the honorary post in 1619, on the death of Samuel Daniel, who is considered to have held it, or something equivalent, from Spenser's death in 1599. In the case of Ben, however, the office had been converted into something more definite and substantial than it had been before. Before his appointment, a pension of a hundred merks a-year had been conferred on him by James. This pension had come to be regarded as his official income in the laureateship, and, as such, had been raised to a hundred pounds by Charles in 1630. With the office of Laureate, or Court Poet, thus enhanced in value, Ben conjoined that of Chronologer to the City of London, having been appointed by the Corporation on the death of Thomas Middleton in 1628, at a yearly salary of a hundred nobles.

It is not always, whether in the civil commonwealth or in the republic of letters, that the right by title accords so well as it did in Ben's case with the right by merit. It was now some six-and-thirty years since, returning from his campaign in Flanders, a big-boned youth of two-and-twenty, he had attached himself to the cluster of dramatists and playwrights who then constituted the professional literary world of London, and had begun to cobble plays, like the rest of them, at from £5 to £10 each. Borrowing, as most of them had to do, a pound or five shillings at a time from Henslowe and other managers on the faith of work in progress, "the bricklayer," as he was called, had made his way gradually,

always with a quarrel on his hands, till at length, having shown what he could do in one way by killing one of Henslowe's players in a duel in Hoxton Fields and being "almost at the gallows" for it, and what he could do in another by writing his *Every Man in his Humour* and four standard plays besides, he had fairly, even while Elizabeth was yet alive, taken his place as, next to Shakespeare, the great dramatist of the age. This position he had retained till Shakespeare's death in 1616, confirming it by six or seven more of his plays, including *Volpone*, *The Alchemist*, and *Bartholomew Fair*, and by seventeen or eighteen of his masques at Court. During those first thirteen years of James's reign, indeed, others of the Elizabethan seniors besides Shakespeare had divided public attention with Ben, and younger candidates for dramatic applause had appeared in Beaumont and Fletcher, Webster, and Massinger. Jonson's place among these rivals had by no means been unquestioned. Some of his plays had but moderate success; in all of them there had been a vein of dogmatism, a spirit of satire and social invective, and a parade of a new and scholarly art of construction, which had prevented them from being thoroughly popular on the stage; and, conscious of this, Ben had invariably, either in the plays themselves or in prefaces to them when they were published, announced himself as a man of a new school, taken the public by the throat as a blatant beast that knew not the right or the wrong in poetry or in anything else, and appealed in the high *odi profanum vulgus* strain from their judgment to that of the learned. Thus, in the opening of *Every Man out of his Humour* in 1599:—

"O how I hate the monstrousness of time,
Where every servile imitating spirit,
Plagued with an itching leprosy of wit,
In a mere halting fury strives to fling
His ulcerous body in the Thespian spring,
And straight leaps up a poet, but as lame
As Vulcan or the founder of Cripple-gate."

Again, in the lines appended to *The Poetaster*, when that

merciless attack on Decker, Marston, and others, was published in 1602 :—

“ That these base and beggarly conceits
Should carry it, by the multitude of voices,
Against the most abstracted work, opposed
To the stuff'd nostrils of the drunken rout !
Oh ! this would make a learn'd and liberal soul
To rive his stain'd quill up to the back,
And damn his long-watch'd labours to the fire.

I, that spend half my nights and all my days
Here in a cell to get a dark pale face,
To come forth worth the ivy and the bays,
And in this age can hope no other grace !
Leave me ! There's something come into my thought
That must and shall be sung high and aloof,
Safe from the wolf's black jaw and the dull ass's hoof ! ”

Not liking to be so bullied, the public had persisted in their instinctive preference of other plays, especially those of Shakespeare and of Beaumont and Fletcher. On the other hand, the scholarly and academic critics, pleased at being appealed to, had made the cause of Ben their own, and had championed him as the poet of the most learned art. Thus situated between the public and the learned, Ben had acted accordingly. In 1616, the very year of Shakespeare's death, he had, as if with the intention of quitting the stage altogether, collected and published in a folio volume the greater part of his plays, masques, and other compositions up to that date. Through the nine remaining years of James's reign he had not written a single new play, but had contented himself with the composition of some ten additional masques, and with those translations from Aristotle and Horace, those occasional effusions of epistolary or epigrammatic verse, and those more elaborate exercises in historical prose, the greater part of which perished in the fire which consumed his library. This was also the time of his wife's death, of his famous journey to Scotland on foot and visit to Drummond of Hawthornden, of his short residence at Oxford, of his rambles as a widower at large among his friends in other parts of England, and of his supposed second marriage and his elevation to the laureateship. In the year of the accession

of Charles, however, he had returned to the stage in his comedy of *The Staple of News*. His reappearance had by no means moved the public to enthusiasm; but his necessities had obliged him to be patient, and in 1629 he had made another trial in his *New Inn*. This comedy having been driven from the stage on the first night of its performance, he had risen in his usual fury:—

“Come, leave the loathed stage,
And the more loathsome age,
Where pride and impudence, in faction knit,
Usurp the chair of wit,
Indicting and arraigning every day
Something they call a play!
Let their fastidious, vain
Commission of the brain
Run on and rage, sweat, censure, and condemn!
They were not made for thee, nor thou for them.

Say that thou pour’st them wheat,
And they will acorns eat;
’Twere simple fury still thyself to waste
On such as have no taste,
To offer them a surfeit of pure bread
Whose appetites are dead.
No! give them grains their fill,
Husks, draff, to drink and swill:
If they love lees and leave the lusty wine,
Envy them not; their palate’s with the swine.”

Acting on this resolution, Ben had again made his formal appeal to the learned in a second volume of his “Works,” published in 1631; and Charles, humouring him in his hour of ill luck, had good-naturedly presented him with a hundred pounds out of his private purse, besides raising his salary and adding the boon of an annual tierce of Ben’s favourite wine.

Such was Ben’s literary life as he and others could look back upon it from the year 1632. He was then in his fifty-ninth year, no longer the lean thin youth that he had been six-and-thirty years before, but a huge unwieldy veteran, weighing twenty stone all but two pounds, with grey hair, and a visage, never of captivating beauty, now scarred and seamed and blotched into a sight among ten thousand. “My mountain belly and my rocky face,” is his own well-

known description. Latterly, too, this corpulent mass had been sadly wrecked by disease. Palsy had attacked him in 1628, and, though still able to move about, "in a coat like a coachman's, with slits under the arm-pits," he was more frequently to be seen in bed or in his big straw chair in his house in Westminster,—“the house under which you pass,” says Aubrey, “as you go out of the churchyard into the old palace.” Here, according to all the authorities, his style of housekeeping was none of the most orderly. His children by his first marriage were dead or dispersed; he had never been of economic habits; and, now that he was old, his besetting sin of Canary had grown upon him. “His pension, “so much as came in,” says Izaak Walton, “was given to a woman that governed him, with whom he lived and died; “and neither he nor she took much care for next week, and “would be sure not to want wine, of which he usually took “too much before he went to bed, if not oftener and sooner.”¹ In and about 1632 he seems to have been in deeper distress than usual, confined to his house for some months, if not actually bedridden, and in great want of money. “Nov. 10, “1631: It is ordered by this Court [the Court of Aldermen] “that Mr. Chamberlain shall forbear to pay any more fee or “wages unto Benjamin Jonson, the City's Chronologer, until “he shall have presented unto this Court some fruits of his “labours in that his place.”² In Ben's poems and correspondence there are allusions to the loss of this part of his income. “Yesterday,” he says in a letter to the Earl of Newcastle, “the barbarous Court of Aldermen have with- “drawn their chandlerly pension for verjuice and mustard, “£33 6s. 8d.”; and he goes on to solicit the Earl's bounty against Christmas. And so in an “Epistle Mendicant” to the Lord Treasurer Weston:—

“Disease, the enemy, and his engineers,
Want, with the rest of his concealed compeers,
Have cast a trench about me now five years,

¹ Quoted by Chalmers (Life of Jonson: English Poets) from Zouch's Life of Walton.

² Mr. Dyce's account of Middleton prefixed to edition of his works.

And made those strong approaches by false braies,
 Redoubts, half-moons, horn-works, and such close ways,
 The Muse not peeps out one of hundred days ;

But lies blocked up and straightened, narrowed in,
 Fixed to the bed and boards, unlike to win
 Health, or scarce breath, as she had never been."

Yet, poor, palsied, mendicant, and gross with wine as he was, Ben was an actual and no nominal laureate. The very men from whom he borrowed feared him and felt his weight. When he was able to go out and roll his ill-girt body down Fleet Street, heads were turned to look at him or raised for the honour of his recognition ; and, with the exception of Dryden at a later time, and of Samuel Johnson at a still later, no man can be named who, while he lived, exercised so imperiously the sovereignty of literary London.

London, which in the days of Samuel Johnson numbered 700,000 inhabitants, did not number more than a third as many in those of his earlier namesake. In a town with such a population everybody of note may know everybody else of note. The person of King Charles himself must have been very familiar to his subjects in London ; the Privy Councillors must have been as well known as the city clergy and the aldermen ; and one of the dangers for such an unpopular man as Bishop Laud was that he was apt to be recognised as he trudged along the streets. Born close to Charing Cross, and a denizen of London for the better part of his life, Ben, even had his physiognomy and figure been less remarkable, could hardly have escaped social notoriety. Like his namesake Samuel, too, he had always been a man of most "clubbable" habits, seeking refuge from the horrors of a constitutional hypochondria in all kinds of company, and domineering wherever he went by his vast information and his power in table-talk. In the earliest stage of his career he had fought his way among the Marstons, and Deckers, and Chettles, as much by browbeating them in their tavern suppers as by mauling them on the stage with his laborious dramas. Fuller's picture of the wit-combats between him and Shakespeare,—Ben the great Spanish galleon, built higher in learning but heavy and slow in moving, and

Shakespeare the English man-of-war that could tack about and take advantage of all tides,—represents him at a later stage, when his worth was established. In one respect, his conversation had a fault from which that of Dr. Samuel was free. “I was invited yesterday,” says Howell in one of his letters, “to a solemn supper by B. J.: there was good “company, excellent checr, choice wines and jovial welcome; “but one thing intervned which almost spoiled the relish “of the rest,—that B. began to engross all the discourse, “to vapour extremely of himself, and by vilifying others to “magnify his own muse.” But, as no one dared to resent Ben’s egotism, or even to hint the perception of it, to his face, so in the whole circle of his contemporaries it made nothing against such general weight of metal.

In those days, despite the greater etiquette which hedged in rank, there was far more of cordial and familiar intimacy between men of rank and men of the literary class than at present. Throughout the reign of James nothing is more striking than the habitual association of scholars, poets, and men of letters, with the noblemen and officials who composed the Court. Shakespeare’s intimacy with the Earls of Southampton and Pembroke is well known; and Shakespeare was, by his position and probably also by his character, less liable to such connexions than almost any contemporary poet. Scores of other instances of close familiarity of relationship between wits and men of the highest rank might be collected from the literary history of the time. But of all the wits and poets none had nearly such an extensive acquaintance-ship as Ben Jonson. From the King to the lowest official he knew and was known. In his epigrams, epistles, &c., we find him addressing the dignitaries of the day all round. He addresses King James and then King Charles, Lord Chancellor Ellesmere and then Lord Chancellor Bacon, the Earls of Pembroke, Salisbury, Dorset, Newcastle, Suffolk, &c., and other lords, privy counsellors, judges, and baronets, by the dozen, and all in a style implying, even when it is most respectful, that he, the bricklayer, was as good as any of them. Even when he is holding out his left hand for

money, it is with a surly jocosity, and with the bludgeon visible in his other hand. In the records of his life we have indications to the same effect. James, it is said, would have knighted him if he had cared for it; bishops and privy councillors were glad to have the honour of his company; and it was thought a feat to get him down for a while to Oxford. "He never esteemed of a man for the name of a lord," he told Drummond at Hawthornden; and other evidence bears out the assertion. Of Pembroke, who was in the habit of sending him every new-year's-day a gift of £20 to buy books, he spoke with the affection of one who saw him at all hours, and knew him thoroughly; but perhaps of Bacon alone among contemporary men of rank does he speak in a tone of conscious reverence.

If, as the representative of literature in general society, Ben had the means of forming to his own standard the contemporary critical judgment of lords and ladies, much more did he domineer in literary society itself. Any time for twenty years he had ruled without rival in the London world of authors. The quantity of verse addressed to him by his contemporaries is prodigious; the allusions to him in the literature of the time are innumerable. Some, indeed, had been beaten into submission and were still rebels at heart; and there were others who, being veteran Elizabethans like himself, could not be expected to pay him court except on a footing of ostensible equality. But the rising generation of poets and wits, all the men born since 1590,—*there* was Ben's real kingdom! What matters dogmatism to the young, what matter foibles? The affection of the "growing ones" in Britain for Ben in his day was unbounded. The very phrase for being admitted into the guild of literature was "being sealed of the tribe of Ben." The place of sealing, what could it be but the tavern? As Dryden sat afterwards at Will's, and a pinch from his snuff-box made modest merit happy, so to sup with Ben by his invitation, or under the permission of his presidency, was a thing to live for. The days of the Mermaid were over, for society was moving west. But there were other taverns whose

capabilities had been tested. There was one in particular where Ben held his usual club,—the famous Devil Tavern at Temple Bar, kept by Simon Wadloe, and deriving its name from its sign (adopted in compliment to St. Dunstan's Church on the opposite side of the street) of St. Dunstan pulling the devil by the nose. Here, in the great room called "the Apollo" (which men used to go to see as late as 1788), Ben held his accustomed court. Hither came all his cronies and companions, as well as those who desired to be sealed for the first time,—lawyers from the neighbouring Temple or other Inns of Court, fledgling dramatists who had plays in manuscript, jolly young fellows of colleges or even bachelors of divinity from Oxford or Cambridge, up on a holiday to town, and bent on a night at the Apollo as the golden fact of their visit. Over the door of the great room as you entered were these lines from Jonson's pen:—

Welcome all who lead or follow
 To the Oracle of Apollo!
 Here he speaks out of his pottle,
 Or the tripos, his tower-bottle:
 All his answers are divine;
 Truth itself doth flow in wine.
 Hang up all the poor hop-drinkers,
 Cries old Sim, the king of skinkers;
 He the half of life abuses
 That sits watering with the muses.
 Those dull girls no good can mean us;
 Wine, it is the milk of Venus,
 And the poet's horse accounted:
 Ply it and you all are mounted.
 'Tis the true Phœbæan liquor
 Cheers the brains, makes wit the quicker,
 Pays all debts, cures all diseases,
 And at once three senses pleases.
 Welcome all who lead or follow
 To the Oracle of Apollo!¹

Then, in the interior of the room, over the chimney, and under a bust of Apollo, was to be seen a board, on which were inscribed in gold letters the rules of the club, drawn up by Jonson in scholarly Latin. Among them were such as these:—That every one, not a guest, should pay his own

¹ Cunningham's Handbook of London, Art. "Devil Tavern"; and Ben

Jonson's Works, by Gifford, edit. 1838, pp. 726, 727.

score; that the waiters should be active and silent; that the rivalry should be rather in talk than in potations; that the fiddler should make his appearance only when sent for; that there should be no noisy argumentation, but wit and song in abundance; that no one should read silly poems and no one be forced to write verses; that there should be no smashing of the glasses or breaking of the furniture; and that there should be no reporting of what was said or done out of doors. From the following clause in the rules—*“Eruditi, urbani, hilares, honesti adsciscuntor; nec lectæ fœminæ repudiantor”*—it appears that members might bring “ladies” with them. With this exception, and with the exception that the laureate was president, the Apollo must have been very much such a place of evening entertainment as Londoners may still find about the same neighbourhood. There was Ben in the chair, or, in his absence, some substitute to lead the mirth; there were the tables, with the guests broken up into groups round them; there were the waiters going about taking orders, with Wadloe superintending and receiving the money; and every now and then there was the hush of the entire party for the speech or recitation, or for the song from some of the sons of melody present. If the speech or recitation, there would be the accompanying laughter and applause, and the wild clattering of glasses at the close; if the song, the full chorus at every verse, and a clattering of glasses still more uproarious. The very style of song is one that we know yet. A great favourite, of course, was “Old Sir Simon the King,” the hero of which was Wadloe himself; there were songs comic, songs sentimental, songs of the manly English type, and songs melancholy; but ever, amid them all, there was the one song melancholy of all feasts, telling how the time on earth is short, and how the bowl and good fellowship ought to make it warm.

“Here let us sport,
Boys, as we sit;
Laughter and wit
Flashing so free.

Life is but short :
 When we are gone,
 Let them sing on
 Round the old tree."

Ah ! it is the oldest of human songs, and at the same time the newest,—the song sung with scarce a variation by Egyptians, Hebrews, Assyrians, Greeks, and Romans in their turn, and by us now till *our* turn shall be over. The time comes when we too shall go, and the lights will be lit for the next company. Lo ! how for one after another, even of the company that is, there comes the skeleton-messenger that beckons him away, and how, though it is known, as the door closes after him, that he follows that messenger through cold and darkness to the grave already dug, those left behind but gather the closer together and resume their ditty :—

"Then for this reason,
 And for a season,
 Let us be merry
 Before we go."

Though Ben's critical sway extended to all kinds of literature, it was in dramatic poetry that he was pre-eminent. "He was paramount," says Fuller, "in the dramatic part of poetry, and taught the stage an exact conformity to the laws of comedians." Fuller here expresses the contemporary opinion of all the learned. Ben's plays were a new kind of moralities. "The *doctrine*, which is the principal end of poesy," he says in one place, "to inform men in the best reason of living." In other words, his theory was that the poet should be superlatively the moralist, and that every poem should be an invention of facts and circumstances in illustration of some specific moral or social purpose. Applied to the drama, the theory issued, in his own case, in that peculiar kind of drama which may be called, in language suggested by himself, the *Morality of Humours*. Finding the word "humours" in everybody's mouth,—"racked and tortured," he says, "by constant abuse,"—he had rescued it and made it his own. Thus, in the induction to *Every Man out of his Humour* in 1599 :—

“In every human body
 The choler, melancholy, phlegm, and blood,
 By reason that they flow continually
 In some one part and are not continent,
 Receive the name of *humours*. Now, thus far
 It may, by metaphor, apply itself
 Unto the general disposition,
 As, when some one peculiar quality
 Doth so possess a man that it doth draw
 All his effects, his spirits, and his powers
 In their confluences all to run one way,
 This may be truly said to be a *humour*.”

Adhering to the word as thus explained, he had asserted that all plays, and especially comedies, ought to be, and that his own would always be found to be, well-calculated exhibitions of the leading affections of the individual mind, or of the contemporary body-politic. That he had kept his promise is distinctly asserted by himself in the induction to the last but one of all his plays, the comedy of *The Magnetic Lady, or Humours Reconciled*, produced in 1632:—“The author, beginning his studies of this kind with *Every Man in his Humour* and, after, *Every Man out of his Humour*, and since continuing in all his plays, especially those of the comic thread, whereof the *New Inn* was the last, some recent humours still, or manners of men that went along with the times, finding himself now near the close or shutting-up of his circle, hath fancied to himself in idea this Magnetic Mistress,—a lady, a brave bountiful housekeeper, and a virtuous widow, who having a young niece ripe for marriage, he makes that his centre attractive to draw thither a diversity of guests, all persons of different humours, to make up his perimeter. And this he hath called *Humours Reconciled*.”

At this distance of time we have come to a very definite conclusion as to the merits of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson respectively, and also as to the relative values of their literary methods. If we do not actually pronounce Ben's theory of poetry to have been a heresy, we see in it a theory competent to sustain only poetry of a certain mixed and inferior order. Interested in Ben, and discerning in him a masculine force of intellect, it is still the dogmatic and historical

elements in his works, their blasts of personal opinion and their wealth of comic observation, that we admire; and, though we do not deny the fancy, the occasional poetic strength, and the frequent though somewhat pedantic grace, yet, were we in quest of poetry alone, we should certainly leave Ben in the middle of the way, and deviate into the adjoining thickets of Fletcher and the other dramatists. It is a curious fact, susceptible perhaps of philosophic explanation, that the function of proclaiming doctrine or morality as the chief end of poesy should belong so often to men of Ben's ill-girt type in their personal habits.

These, however, are modern conclusions, and no fact in the history of British Literature is better ascertained than that the period from 1616 onwards through the rest of Ben's own life and beyond it was a period of extraordinary deference to his influence and his maxims. In the year 1632 he had still five years of his crippled life before him; and, though his last failure in *The New Inn* had indicated his declining strength, it had not shaken the faith of his admirers. Thus Suckling, the least reverent of them, in his *Session of the Poets*, where the various writers of the day contend for the presidency:—

The first that broke silence was good old Ben,
Prepared before with Canary wine;
And he told them plainly *he* deserved the bays,
For *his* were called Works where others were but Plays,
And bid them remember how he purged the stage
Of errors that had lasted many an age;
And he hopes they did not think the *Silent Woman*,
The *Fox*, and the *Alchemist*, out-done by no man.

Apollo stopt him here and bade him not go on;
"Twas merit, he said, and not presumption
Must carry 't. At which Ben turned about,
And in great choler offered to go out.

But those that were there thought it not fit
To discontent so ancient a wit;
And therefore Apollo called him back again,
And made him mine host of his own *New Inn*.

Under the wide canopy of Ben's supremacy there still lingered a few others of the known dramatic veterans. Fletcher and Middleton were gone, with others of their

race ; but Chapman was alive, Ben's senior by seventeen years, a venerable Elizabethan, with silver whiskers and stately air, his Homeric fire not quite burnt out, and, though with far less of social weight than Ben, yet "much resorted to by young persons of parts as a poetical chronicle," and preserving the dignity of poetry by being "very choice who he admitted to him."¹ Marston and Decker were also alive, now aged men, with no enmity to Ben remaining : Marston sometimes in London, and sometimes in Coventry, where he had property ; and poor Decker, familiar all his life with misfortune and the King's Bench, still a struggling playwright and pamphleteer, somewhat of "a rogue," if Ben's character of him is to be taken, and yet the writer of some lines that live and will live. Who does not know these ?—

"The best of men
That e'er wore earth about him was a sufferer,
A soft, meek, patient, humble, tranquil spirit,
The first true gentleman that ever breathed."

Other survivors of the Elizabethan cluster of dramatists were Anthony Munday, long superannuated, the voluminous Heywood, of whose 220 plays only twenty-five remain, and John Webster, only two of whose plays had yet been published,—the *White Devil* in 1612 and again in 1631, and the *Duchess of Malfy* in 1623.

Of the Jacoban dramatists, as distinct from the Elizabethan, the greatest surviving representative was undoubtedly the modest and manly Massinger. He was now forty-eight years of age, or ten years younger than Jonson ; and he survived till 1640. For twenty-six years after his leaving Oxford in 1605 he had been writing plays and getting them acted, not without experience of poverty and hardship ; but only towards the close of James's reign had any of his plays been published or his great merits been fully recognised. His *Duke of Milain* had been printed in 1623, his *Bondman* in 1624 ; his and Decker's *Virgin Martyr*, and several other tragedies or tragi-comedies wholly by himself, including *The Fatal Dowry*, were also before the world ; and he

¹ Oldys, MS. note to Langbaine.

had just written his *New Way to Pay Old Debts*, though it was not published till 1633. Next to Massinger among the still active dramatists, and ranking next to him in the entire list of our old dramatists, unless Webster should dispute that place with him, was John Ford, of the Middle Temple, barrister.

“ Deep in a dump John Ford alone was got,
With folded arms and melancholy hat.”

And no wonder, since this was his favourite sentiment:—

“ *Penthea*. How weary I am of a lingering life,
Who count the best a misery.
Calantha. Indeed
You have no little cause ; yet none so great
As to distrust a remedy.
Penthea. That remedy
Must be a winding-sheet, a fold of lead,
And some untrod-on corner of the earth.”

Of other surviving dramatists of the same Jacoban swarm we need name only William Rowley and Nathaniel Field. Rowley's muse was still active ; but Field, who had been an actor in Shakespeare's plays in his boyhood, had now retired from the stage. He died in February 1632-3.

Of the group of play-writers belonging more properly to Charles's own reign the most important was James Shirley. He was born in London in 1594, and was educated at Merchant Taylors' School, and at St. John's College, Oxford, at the time when Laud was President of that College. Laud, says Anthony Wood, “ had a great affection for him, especially for the pregnant parts that were visible in him, but, “ he then having a broad or large mole upon his left cheek, “ which some esteemed a deformity, that worthy doctor “ would often tell him that he was an unfit person to take “ the sacred function upon him, and should never have his “ consent so to do.”¹ Shirley, migrating, however, to Cambridge, did enter into holy orders, and was for some little time a preacher at St. Albans. Becoming unsettled in his faith and inclined to the Roman Catholic Church, of which he was afterwards a professed member, he had given up his

¹ Ath. III. 737.

charge, and, after supporting himself for some time as a schoolmaster in St. Albans, had "retired to the metropolis, "where he lived in Gray's Inn, set up for a playmaker, and "gained not only a considerable livelihood, but also very "great respect and encouragement from persons of quality, "especially from Henrietta Maria, the queen-consort, who "made him her servant." He had already published four comedies, and written several more. He was in his thirty-ninth year, and had a long dramatic life yet before him.

After Shirley, among the junior dramatists, may be reckoned Thomas May. He had been born in 1595, the son of Sir Thomas May in Sussex; had been educated at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge; had held a fellowship there; but had come up to London and become an *attaché* of the Court. While James was still king, he had earned a place in letters by a comedy called *The Heir*, acted in 1620, though not published till 1633, and by a translation of Virgil's *Georgics*. Remaining about the Court, he had added to his reputation by three tragedies, a translation of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, and other works; and now, at the age of thirty-seven, somewhat fat, and with an impediment in his speech, he had some established celebrity as a dramatist and poet, which was to be curiously obscured afterwards when he became better known as the Parliamentary Secretary and authorized historian of the Long Parliament. With no such twist in the end of his career as yet anticipated, he was still loyal Tom May, a "chosen friend" of Ben Jonson, and looking, it was said, for the laureateship after Ben's death.

Dick Brome, Ben Jonson's old servant, was now beginning to apply lessons which he had learnt from Ben in the production of those comedies of real life of which he was to write some one-and-twenty in all. But, though Brome was Ben's likeliest successor in one walk of comedy, his succession to Ben's laurel was out of the question. A somewhat likelier man, as being a gentleman by birth, and of Oxford training, was Shakerly Marmion, who, after squandering his property and serving in the Low Countries,

had turned dramatist at the age of nine-and-twenty, and made at least one hit at Salisbury Court theatre in his comedy of *Holland's Leaguer*. He was to write several more plays before his death in 1639. Farther in at Court, and altogether much better known, though as yet but in his twenty-seventh year, was William Davenant. The son of an Oxford inn-keeper, he had been educated at Lincoln College, had entered the service of the Countess of Richmond and then that of Lord Brooke, and was now on terms of intimacy with the Earl of Dorset and other courtiers. He had written New-Year's-day odes and the like to the King and the Queen, odes and verses to some of the principal persons of quality, and odes on incidents of public note. His dramatic pieces already published were a tragedy called *Albovine*, *King of the Lombards*, and two tragi-comedies, entitled *The Cruel Brother* and *The Just Italian*. Altogether, with his talents and his gentlemanly manner, young Davenant was much in favour; and none the less, it seems, because of a little misfortune that had happened to him, and was a constant subject of jest to his aristocratic companions. Suckling, anticipating who should be laureate after Ben, refers to Davenant thus:—

“Will Davenant, ashamed of a foolish mischance
That he had got lately travelling in France,
Modestly hoped the handsomness of 's muse
Might any deformity about him excuse.

And surely the company would have been content,
If they could have found any precedent;
But in all their records either in verse or prose
There was not one laureate without a nose.”

There were many minor practitioners of the drama. Alabaster's Latin tragedy of *Roxana*, acted at Cambridge in Elizabeth's reign, was first published in 1632, the author being then known in his old age as a Hebrew scholar and one of the Arminianizing and Popish divines of whom the Puritans complained. Among younger academic dramatists in Latin or English, Peter Hausted of Queens', and Thomas Randolph of Trinity College, Cambridge, are already known to us; and to their names may now be added that of Dr.

John Hacket, the future Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry and biographer of Williams, but now rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn, in London, and Archdeacon of Bedford. Hacket, while at Trinity College, Cambridge, had written a comedy called *Loyola*, which had been twice acted before King James, and was well known, though not published till 1648. Hausted and Hacket were but academic dramatists; but Randolph was recognised among the dramatists of London, having already printed two comedies besides his *Jealous Lovers*. He seems to have been often up in town, and was known at the Apollo Tavern as one of Ben Jonson's favourite "sons" in the muses. He died March 1634-5, at the early age of nine-and-twenty.

A score or so more of small dramatic names,—Mabbe, Markham, Ludovick Carlell, Gomersall, &c. &c.,—might be collected. About the year 1632, indeed, a factitious impulse was given to the Drama in England by one of those very causes which had been leading to its decline.

From the time of Elizabeth, the Drama, in all its forms, had been under the ban of the stricter sort of Puritans; and it is to the growth of Puritan sentiment in London, rather than to any other cause, that the decay of the theatrical interest under Charles is perhaps to be attributed. Certain it is that the dislike which the Drama had always manifested to the Puritans as its natural enemies, and which had taken the form of satires against them on the stage, was now greatly increased. The Puritans, on the other hand, found fresh reasons for condemning the stage, independently of its increased hostility to themselves. In the Michaelmas Term of 1629, for example, London was scandalized by the appearance, for the first time, of female performers on the stage, according to a custom till then confined to France and Italy. The experiment was tried, on three distinct days, in a French play, acted by a French company of actors and actresses, first at the Blackfriars, then at the Red Bull in St. John's Street, and then at the Fortune in Cripplegate. On each occasion the performance was unsuccessful. The women, whether because they were French or because they

were women, were "hissed, hooted, and pippin-pelted from the stage" by the virtuous audience; and Sir Henry Herbert, the master of the revels, was obliged, in charity, to return part of the fee that had been paid him for allowing the experiment.¹ But, though ordinary popular feeling did the work of Puritanism in this particular, Puritanism was not satisfied; and there was in preparation, in the year 1632, an assault on the stage such as only Puritanism in its most merciless mood could administer, and in which, while the recent scandal of public acting by women was to receive due notice, the entire institution, and all its abettors, from the throne downwards, were to bear the force of the shock. It was at Christmas in this year (a little in advance, therefore, of the time with which we are concerned) that there was launched from the London press a book of a thousand pages of quarto letter-press, with the following tremendous title:—

"**HISTRIO-MASTIX**: The Player's Scourge, or Actor's Tragœdie, divided into two Parts: wherein it is largely evidenced by divers Arguments; by the concurring Authorities and Resolutions of sundry Texts of Scripture, of the whole Primitive Church both under the Law and the Gospel, of 55 Synods and Councils, of 71 Fathers and Christian writers before the year of our Lord 1200, of above 150 foreign and domestic Protestant and Popish authors since, of 40 heathen Philosophers, Historians, and Poets, of many heathen, many Christian Nations, Republics, Emperors, Princes, Magistrates, of sundry apostolical, canonical, imperial Constitutions, and of our own English Statutes, Magistrates, Universities, Writers, Preachers:—That Popular Stage Plays (the very pomps of the Divell, which we renounce in Baptism, if we believe the Fathers) are sinful, heathenish, lewd, ungodly spectacles, and most pernicious corruptions, condemned in all ages as intolerable mischiefs to Churches, to Republics, to the manners, minds, and souls of men; and that the profession of Play-Poets, or Stage-Players, together with the penning, acting, and frequenting of stage-plays, are unlawful, infamous, and misbeseeming Christians. All pretences to the contrary are here likewise fully answered, and the unlawfulness of acting or beholding academical Interludes briefly discussed; besides sundry other particulars concerning Dancing, Dicing, Health-drinking, &c., of which the Table will inform you. By WILLIAM PRYNNE, an Utter Barrister of Lincoln's Inn."

This block of a book, on which Prynne had been busy for seven years, was to have various consequences. Not only

¹ Collier's *Annals of the Stage*, II. 22-25.

✓ were dramatists, players, and all in any way connected with the theatrical interest to be roused in its behalf for personal reasons, but—on the plea that the Queen had been attacked in the book for her patronage of stage-plays and her performances personally in court-masques—there was to be a sudden rush of other classes of the community to the defence of the tottering institution. The courtiers were to get up masques and plays out of loyalty; the members of the Inns of Court were to do the same, with all the more alacrity that it was one of their number that had struck the disloyal blow; the scholars in colleges were to catch the same enthusiasm; and those who had gone to the theatres for mere amusement before were to go twice as often to spite Prynne and the Puritans. The new impulse thus given to the drama in or about 1632 was to last, to the advantage of Massinger, Ford, Shirley, Brome, Davenant, and the other younger playwrights, till the triumph of the Puritans in the Long Parliament.

Passing from the Drama of the time to its Non-dramatic Poetry, we have to note, first of all, the absence of any poet of such magnitude as to fill the place that had been left vacant by Spenser's death in 1599.

“Many a heavy look
Followed sweet Spenser, till the thickening air
Sight's farther passage stopped : a passionate tear
Fell from each nymph ; no shepherd's cheek was dry.”

Moreover, of those who had stood around when Spenser departed, and had done their best, by subsequent efforts, to continue non-dramatic poetry in England, most were now gone. Warner had been dead three-and-twenty years; Daniel and Sylvester thirteen; the dramatists who had helped most by their occasional excursions beyond the drama were dead also; Donne and Fairfax had been dead a year; and old Michael Drayton, one of the most productive, and really one of the best of them, had died still more recently (Dec. 1631), after having, in his old age, added his *Muse's Ellysium* to the ten myriads of lines of not unpleasant

verse with which, beginning in 1591, he had already satiated England. Drayton dead, the presidency, out of the drama, might, with Ben's consent, be assigned to silver-whiskered Chapman, as the most venerable survivor. He, "the learned shepherd of fair Hitching Hill," was almost as old as Spenser himself would have been if he had lived; and, although, against the natural bent of his genius, much of his time had been given to the drama, his voice had also been heard "loud and bold" in his Homeric translations and in other strains. The Non-dramatic Poetry of England over which, as lieutenant for Ben, Chapman may be regarded as thus presiding in his extreme old age, was by no means homogeneous. What with the inheritance from the past of different kinds of poetry along with Spenser's, and what with new varieties of intellectual tendency which had arisen since Spenser's death, the verse-writers of 1632 distributed themselves obviously enough into certain tribes or schools.

There was, in the first place, the school of those who may be called distinctively THE SPENSERIANs, consisting of a number of disciples of Spenser, professedly or unconsciously such. In this school may be reckoned all or nearly all of those who deserve to be called the finer poets of the time.

Though there may, in a certain sense, be *kinds* of poetry, Spenser's poetry is as nearly poetry in its pure and unmixed essence as any that the world has seen. In no other English poet, at all events, has the poetic faculty or habit of intellect *per se*, the faculty or habit of pure unperturbed ideality, been more signally exemplified. All poets, however they may differ from Spenser, must have something of that in them which was in Spenser in such luxuriant excess. If, then, even now, a verse-writer in whom there should be found nothing generically Spenserian would probably be discovered to owe the absence of the quality to his not being a poet at all, much more, so shortly after Spenser's own time, was it likely that the truest English poets should seem as if dipped in his spirit. It was almost a certificate that a verse-writer possessed the essential genius of a poet to say that he had a

resemblance to Spenser. In Chapman and Drayton themselves there is a likeness of poetic manner to Spenser, as of younger brothers to an elder and greater; the casual poetry of the dramatist Fletcher, and of other recent dramatists, had been distinctly Spenserian; and in that portion of Ben Jonson's poetry where, as in his masques, he is conceived to be most graceful and ideal, it is still of Spenser that we are reminded. There were poets, however, who were Spenserians in a more intimate sense; who were influenced by Spenser's recent genius in no merely unconscious manner by the accident of their proximity to him, but because they read and studied him systematically, devoting themselves to the very forms of poetry which he had made famous, the eclogue or pastoral, and the descriptive and narrative allegory. The most remarkable of these were William Browne and Giles and Phineas Fletcher.

In their very manner of speaking of themselves and their art the Spenserians kept up the fiction which Spenser had used so fondly, after a fashion derived from Theocritus and Virgil in their eclogues, and from Italian and Spanish poets who had revived the pastoral in modern times. The poets, according to this fiction, are always shepherds or goatherds, tuning their oaten pipes by the banks of streams, plaining in solitude the cruelty of the shepherdesses, or conversing with each other on their homely cares. Such is the guise of the poet in Spenser's pastoral descriptions; such is Spenser himself, in his character of Colin, with Thenot, Hobbinol, Thomalin, Willie and the rest around him, each with his Phœbe or Rosalind; and such, in his allegoric allusions, were the other poets of the Elizabethan age, all shepherds of an ideal Arcadia, and all with pipes in their mouths of the least usual sort. The same fiction was kept up in much of the masque poetry of Ben Jonson and the other dramatists. But none kept up the fiction so faithfully as the two non-dramatic Fletchers and Browne. In their own verses they are always shepherds. Phineas Fletcher is a Thyrsilis piping on the banks of the Camus; Giles, his brother, pipes response; and Browne is a British shepherd

of many names. In their references to contemporary poets Britain is still Arcadia and Ben and the rest keep sheep.

A misconception of the nature of the Eclogue or Pastoral has been very prevalent. No criticism of poems of this kind, from Virgil's *Bucolics* downwards, has been more common than that the poets have failed in keeping to the truth of pastoral character and pastoral life, and have made their shepherds and shepherdesses talk in a language and express feelings which neither in Arcadia nor elsewhere did shepherds and shepherdesses ever know. One is surprised that so gross a view of the matter should so long have been current. There *may*, of course, be a pastoral of real life, where the purpose is to exhibit rural manners as they actually are, among the swains of Greece, Italy, Spain, England, or Scotland. But the pastoral of real life is one thing, and the pastoral as it was conceived by Spenser, and by many of his contemporaries in and out of England, was another. The pastoral, with them, was but a device or form deemed advantageous for securing in the poet's own mind that feeling of ideality, that sense of disconnexion from definite time or place, which is almost essential to the pure exercise of poetic phantasy. If, as is held by some, the very possession of the imaginative faculty in a high degree is shown, especially in youth, by a tendency to themes and stories of purely fantastic interest, and if it is only later, when speculation and experience have braced the mind, and bound its luxuriance into strength, that human and historic themes have their turn, then what device so convenient for young poets as that traditional fiction of an Arcadia, all sylvan and simple, wherein life is a thing of a few conditions, and it is not complex civic society that is seen moving, but only rare shepherds and shepherdesses, leisurely amid leagues of untouched vegetation, out of whose nearer haunts are not yet extirpated the satyrs, the nymphs, or the green-eyed elves? So the Spenserians reasoned, if they needed to reason at all on the subject. What mattered it that no such Arcadia had ever been, that such shepherds and shepherdesses never were? The Arcadia was the imaginary world of the

poet's own phantasy, and the shepherd was the poet himself moving in that world, and weaving out his own personal song, with just as much of the circumstance of the shepherd's life thrown in as might make the song a story. Thus it was with the earlier poetry of Spenser himself. In Spenser's pastorals, though it is Colin and Hobbinol that speak, the matter is still Spenser's own. There are the Spenserian descriptions of nature, the Spenserian sorrows, the Spenserian ethics, the Spenserian politics, and Spenser's own aspirations after a higher poetic range. How does he announce himself in the opening lines of his *Faerie Queene*?

“Lo ! I, the man whose Muse whilome did maske,
As time her taught, in lowly Shephards weeds,
Am now enforst, a farre unfitter taske,
For trumpets sterne to chaunge mine Oaten reeds,
And sing of Knights and Ladies gentle deeds.”

And yet, even in that great allegoric and Arthurian romance, is it not as if the poet were still some learned shepherd of Arcady, telling forth, on its verge, to reverent audiences from the courtly world, tales which it had never been his to con had he not been all his life a practised denizen of those ideal forests, by night a watcher of the stars through their netted roofs and a listener to the satyr's laugh and the whispers of the wood-nymphs, and by day a seer of the happier visions of olden life locked up in them by enchantment, whether the passing of a solitary damsel with a flower in her hand, or the whirl, through an opening in the glade, of a troop of knights and ladies, heralded by the blast of a horn, and closed by the figure of the panting dwarf?

The Pastoral has had its day, and will return no more. But it did not die with Spenser; and by none of his near successors, I repeat, was it cherished more faithfully than by Browne and the Fletchers.

Browne was the most strictly pastoral in the form of his poems. Born in Devonshire in or about 1590, and educated for a time at Oxford,—which he had left for the Inner Temple,—he had taken his place as a poet as early as 1613, by the publication of the first part of his *Britannia's*

Pastorals. An *Elegy on Prince Henry* followed in the same year; in 1614 he published *The Shepherd's Pipe, in Seven Eclogues*; the second part of *Britannia's Pastorals* was added in 1616, with copies of verses from Ben Jonson and others; and from that time,—save that in 1620 he wrote a masque for performance at the Inner Temple, and that in 1625 he republished the two parts of his *Britannia's Pastorals* together,—he seems to have taken his farewell of poetry. According to Wood, his literary contemporaries expected from him a biographical work on the English poets; and so high was his reputation that, when he returned to Oxford in 1624 as tutor to Robert Dormer, afterwards Earl of Carnarvon, the University gave him the degree of M.A. with unusual honours. After remaining a year or two with his noble pupil, “he became,” says Wood, “a retainer “to the Pembrokian family, was beloved by that generous “count, William, Earl of Pembroke, and got wealth and “purchased an estate; which is all I know of him hitherto, “only that, as he had a little body, so a great mind.” He seems to have lived, after the Earl's death, in his native county of Devonshire, where one of his name died in 1645; but in 1632 he was in the unusual predicament of one who, still not much over forty, was known entirely by works published before his twenty-seventh year.

His *Britannia's Pastorals* appear to have been much read then by persons of fine taste; nor could one easily find now, among the books of that time, a more pleasant book of the kind for a day or two of peculiar leisure. The plan of the book is that of a story of shepherds and shepherdesses, with allegorical personages introduced into their society, wandering in quest of their loves and adventures through scenes of English rural nature; but the narrative is throughout subordinate to the descriptions for which it gives occasion. A rich and sweet, yet very varied, sensuousness, characterizes these descriptions. There are hills and woods and grassy nooks, with “mesh” stalks and wild flowers; there is a great plenitude of vegetation; there is a clear healthy air, with sunsets and sunrises, the songs of birds,

the hum of bees, the tinkling of sheep-bells, and the purling of rills. The mood is generally calm and quiet, like that of a painter of actual scenery; there is generally the faintest possible breath of human interest; but now and then the sensuous takes the hue of the ideal, and the strain rises in vigour. In the course of the poem Spenser is several times acknowledged as the poet whose genius the author venerates most. The influence of other poets may, however, be traced, and especially that of Du Bartas. The verse is the common heroic rhymed couplet, which had been used by Sylvester in his translation of Du Bartas, and indeed systematically by all English poets after Chaucer, as the fittest for ordinary description and narrative; but Browne is a far more cultured versifier than Sylvester, and his lines are linked together with an artist's fondness for truth of phrase and rhyme, and for natural ease of cadence. It is almost unjust to a poet so wide in his sensuous range to represent him by short specimens; but two may be given. Here is the break of morning:—

“ By this had Chanticleer, the village cock,
Bidden the good-wife for her maids to knock;
And the swart ploughman for his breakfast staid,
That he might till those lands were fallow laid.
The hills and valleys here and there resound
With the re-echoes of the deep-mouthed hound.
Each shepherd's daughter with her cleanly pail
Was come a-field to milk the morning's meal;
And, ere the sun had climbed the eastern hills
To gild the muttering bourns and pretty rills,
Before the labouring bee had left the hive,
And nimble fishes which in rivers dive
Began to leap and catch the drowned fly,
I rose from rest, not infelicity.”

And here, by way of variety, is a bit of flower-and-colour painting:—

“ As, in the rainbow's many-coloured hue,
Here see we watchet deepened with a blue,
There a dark tawny with a purple mixt,
Yellow and flame with streaks of green betwixt,
A bloody stream into a blushing run,
And end still with the colour which begun,
Drawing the deeper to a lighter stain,
Bringing the lightest to the deep'st again,

With such rare art each mingled with his fellow,
 The blue with watchet, green and red with yellow,
 Like to the changes which we daily see
 About the dove's neck with variety,
 Where none can say, though he it strict attends,
 Here one begins and there the other ends :
 So did the maidens with their various flowers
 Deck up their windows, and make neat their bowers,
 Using such cunning as they did dispose
 The ruddy peony with the lighter rose,
 The monk's-hood with the bugloss, and entwine
 The white, the blue, the flesh-like columbine,
 With pinks, sweet-williams, that far off the eye
 Could not the manner of their mixtures spy."

In this easy and rich style of verse, interrupted occasionally by a song or a fragment of octosyllabic metre, the pastorals proceed, with a constant variety of matter, so as to form, all in all, a poem of the sensuous-ideal kind liker to the *Endymion* of Keats than to any other subsequent poem we can name. The eclogues of *The Shepherd's Pipe* exhibit the same merits on a smaller scale, but in stanzas and varied lyrical measures.

The Fletchers were Spenserians of a more pensive and elevated strain than Browne, though less charmingly clear and luxurious in their descriptions of nature. Of a poetic race,—for their father, Giles Fletcher, a Doctor of Laws and in diplomatic employment under Elizabeth, had himself been a poet, and was the brother of Bishop Fletcher, the father of the dramatist,—the two brothers, both about the same age as Browne, had distinguished themselves as devotees of the Muse while they were yet undergraduates at Cambridge. On leaving Cambridge, they had both taken holy orders and become English parish clergymen,—Giles at Alderton in Suffolk, and Phineas at Hilgay in Norfolk. The chief remaining specimen of Giles's poetry is his poem entitled *Christ's Victory and Triumph in Heaven and Earth*, which was published at Cambridge in 1610, while the author was only Bachelor of Arts. Though he afterwards applied himself, as a clergyman, to school divinity, the poet, according to Fuller, was still discernible in all he did. "When he preached at St. Mary's (Cambridge), his prayer "before his sermon," says Fuller, "usually consisted of one

“entire allegory, not driven, but led on, most proper in all particulars.” Fuller adds that, after he was settled in Suffolk, “his clownish and low-parted parishioners, having nothing but their shoes high about them, valued not their pastor according to his worth; which disposed him to melancholy, and hastened his dissolution.” His death took place in 1623, when he was little over thirty. His elder brother Phineas lived, however, till about 1650. His first considerable appearance in print had been in 1631, when there was published an academic play entitled *Sicelides, a Piscatory*, which he had written while at Cambridge. This was followed by a prose biographical work, entitled *De Literatis Antiquæ Britannicæ*, published at Cambridge in 1632; and this by a quarto volume of his works, also published at Cambridge, and containing his long poem in twelve cantos, called *The Purple Island*, his seven *Piscatory Eclogues*, and other shorter pieces, all the produce, as he says, of his “unripe years and almost childhood.” But, though these works of Phineas were not generally accessible till so published, manuscript copies of some of them had long been in circulation; and ever since 1610 Giles and Phineas Fletcher had been named together by academic men as among the most eminent of the Cambridge poets.

Both expressly avow their affection for Spenser. Thus, Giles Fletcher, in the preface to his poem, after mentioning Sannazaro and other poets with praise, couples together “thrice-honoured Bartas and our (I know no other name “more glorious than his own) Mr. Edmund Spenser, two “blessed souls.” To the same effect Phineas, in a verse where, after declaring Virgil and Spenser to be his favourites, he concludes:—

“Their steps not following close, but far admiring,
To lackey one of *these* is all my pride’s aspiring.”

But the influence of Spenser is at once visible in their poetry. Giles Fletcher’s *Christ’s Victory and Triumph* is a poem of four cantos, in a regular and stately eight-line stanza, each canto an allegoric vision of one of the scenes in

Christ's history : the first of Mercy contending with Justice before the throne in Heaven, and of Christ's mission in the interest of Mercy ; the second of the Temptation in the Wilderness, and of Christ's triumph over the Fiend and his lures ; the third of the Passion in the Garden and at Calvary ; and the fourth of the Resurrection and Reascension into Heaven. The descriptions are in a high style of allegoric phantasy, the language of Spenser and even his cadence being but transferred to a sacred subject ; the personifications, which are numerous, are also singularly Spenserian ; and altogether the impression left is that of a fine, sensitive, and pious mind. Here is part of the allegoric description of Mercy :—

“ About her head a cypress heaven she wore,
Spread like a veil upheld with silver wire,
In which the stars so burnt in golden ore
As seemed the azure web was all on fire.”

The *Piscatory Eclogues* of Phineas Fletcher differ from Spenserian pastorals only in this, that the occupations of Thyrsilis, Thelgon, Dorus, Thomalin, and the rest, are those of fishermen rather than shepherds. Otherwise the fiction is the same ; and, following his simple fisher-lads down the Cam, or the Thames, or the Medway, or out at sea in their skiffs along the rocky coasts, the poet, just as in the other case, but with more of watery than of sylvan circumstance, expresses his own feelings and makes his own plaint. Thus, against ambition :—

“ Ah ! would thou knewest how much it better were
To bide among the simple fisher-swains.
No shrieking owl, no night-crow lodgeth here ;
Nor is our simple pleasure mixt with pains.
Our sports begin with the beginning year,
In calms to pull the leaping fish to land,
In roughs to sing and dance along the golden sand.”

But *The Purple Island* is Phineas Fletcher's greatest achievement. That also is set forth in pastoral form, as the song of the shepherd Thyrsil, for which he is crowned with bays and hyacinths by his rural companions ; but it is, throughout, a learned allegory, far longer than his brother's

sacred poem, and much more elaborate. The first canto, which is very poetically written, announces the subject, which is no other than the whole Anatomy of Man, under the image of a Purple Island. Four cantos are then taken up with the details of his corporeal anatomy. The bones, the muscles, the blood, the heart, the liver, &c., and the vital processes, up to their sublimation in the five senses, are all described in ingenious but deplorably unreadable poetic figure, and in the seven-line stanza of which the whole poem consists. This part of the poem either disgusts or amuses the reader, as the case may be; but, about the sixth canto, the poet passes from technical anatomy and physiology into what may be called the psychology of his subject, and begins to enumerate and marshal the faculties, habits, and passions of man, each under a separate personification, with a view to the great battle of the virtuous powers of the list, under their leader Eclecta, or Choice, against the vices. Then the genius of the poet, already more than indicated even in the former cantos, takes wing into a freer element, which it fills, in the remaining six cantos, with beauty and sublimity in ill-devised profusion. Some of the personifications are not surpassed in Spenser; and, on the whole, the poetry, though still wearisome from the unflagging strain of the abominable allegory, is richer than in his brother's shorter production, if not so serenely solemn. Here is a personification of Penitence:—

“ Behind him Penitence did sadly go,
 Whose cloudy dropping eyes were ever raining.
 Her swelling tears, which even in ebbing flow,
 Furrow her cheek, the sinful puddles draining.
 Much seemed she in her pensive thought molested,
 And much the mocking world her soul infested;
 More she the hateful world and most herself detested.

She was the object of lewd men's disgrace,
 The squint-eyed, wry-mouthed scoff of carnal hearts;
 Yet smiling Heaven delights to kiss her face,
 And with his blood God bathes her painful smarts;
 Affliction's iron flail her soul hath thrashed,
 Sharp circumcision's knife her heart had slashed;
 Yet was it Angels' wine which in her eyes was mashed.”

Not far from Penitence, in the procession of the Virtues, comes Elpinus or Hope, who is thus described :—

“Next went Elpinus, clad in sky-like blue ;
 And through his arms few stars did seem to peep,
 Which there the workman’s hand so finely drew
 That rocked in clouds they softly seemed to sleep.
 His rugged shield was like a rocky mould
 On which an anchor bit with surest hold,—
I hold by being held was written round in gold.”

It is uncertain whether Fairfax, the Translator of Tasso, was still alive in 1632. In all likelihood he was ; and, in any case, his version of the Italian epic, published in 1600, was still in the height of its repute as a specimen of style and genius in translation. Fairfax also might be ranked among the Spenserians.

As Chaucer’s genius had migrated, after his death, into the northern part of the island, assisting there to produce a series of northern poets decidedly superior, in the interval between Chaucer and Spenser, to the series of their southern coevals, so, though in much weaker degree, the inspiration of Spenser had also travelled north, retouching here and there a tuneful soul to poesy, even in the midst of the Presbyterian struggles which occupied the Scottish nation. In 1585 King James himself, then in his eighteenth year, had published his *Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie*. These royal exercises, however, were in the native Scottish style rather than in the English ; and perhaps the first Scotchman who wrote verses in the genuine English of Spenser and his contemporaries was Sir Robert Aytoun. Born in 1570, in his youth in the employment of James at his Scottish court, and finally, on James’s removal to England, his companion thither and one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber and private secretary to the queen, Aytoun lived till 1638, and had a reputation in London, not only as a courtier, but also as a man of literary tastes, and himself the author of some graceful lyrics. Even Ben Jonson had some pride in reporting that “Sir R. Aytoun loved him dearly.”

Aytoun’s intimate friend and fellow-Scot was Sir William

Alexander of Menstrie, known afterwards as the Earl of Stirling. Like Aytoun, he was one of the few men about the Scottish court of James VI. whom the southern muse had visited on their own side of the Tweed. Having travelled in England and abroad, he had, on his return to Scotland, astonished his private friends in that part of the world by a number of English sonnets, songs, and madrigals, celebrating, with a quiet Petrarchian melancholy, his love for a certain Scottish Aurora; and, afterwards, when he was the husband of another lady, he had written in a moralizing strain a so-called "monarchic tragedy" on the subject of Darius. It was published at Edinburgh in 1603. Thus known to James in Scotland as one of the most accomplished of his subjects there, Alexander continued, after the union of the crowns, to put forth volume after volume, professedly as a British poet, using the common literary tongue, and vying with his English contemporaries. Three new "monarchic tragedies," on the subjects of Cræsus, Alexander, and Julius Cæsar, were added to that on Darius; the Sonnets to Aurora, and other short pieces, were published or republished; and at length, in 1614, appeared his large poem, in twelve cantos of eight-line stanzas, entitled *Doom's-Day, or the Great Day of the Lord's Judgment*. About this time he had been induced by James, who called him "his philosophical poet," to enter into public employment. He had become gentleman-usher to Prince Charles, and successively knight and baronet, with various posts of emolument, and, by the king's grant, the nominal ownership of lands in Nova Scotia, with power to found colonies. After the accession of Charles, his colonial property and dignities had been increased; and, while still engaged in American colonization schemes, he had become, as we have seen, Principal Secretary of State for Scotland. In recognition of his merits in this last office he had been made a Scottish peer, with the title of Baron Alexander of Menstrie, in 1630, on his way to the Earldom of Stirling in 1633. He lived till 1640, and in 1637 republished his works collectively.

Alexander's poetry never can have been read much, and

is not now read at all, such merits as it has being as nothing against the combined influence of such quantity and such monotony. His *Monarchic Tragedies*, all illustrating the transitoriness of human grandeur, were never made for the English stage, and had choruses after the classic model; and his *Doom's-Day* is a tide of descriptive and doctrinal common-place undulating in unexceptionable metre. He must have been one of the most fluent of men; and, if it was desired that the first Scottish writer who broke through his native dialect into literary English should exhibit a facility in the new element rather than any other quality, there could not have been a fitter person for the business than the knight of Menstrie. That he was very popular personally is known. Drayton, whom he resembles in fluency, and his friendship with whom was one reason why he "was not half kind enough" to Ben Jonson, as Ben himself thought, pays him this compliment:—

"So Scotland sent us hither for our own
That man whose name I ever would have known
To stand by mine, that most ingenious knight,
My Alexander, to whom, in his right,
I want extremely. Yet, in speaking thus,
I do but show the love that was 'twixt us,
And not his numbers, which were brave and high:
So like his mind was his clear poesy."

In the same passage Drayton goes on to mention another Scottish poet with whom he was no less proud to be acquainted:—

"And my dear Drummond, to whom much I owe
For his much love; and proud was I to know
His poesy."

Coupling the two Scots together, Drayton then adds the affectionate phrase:—

"For which two worthy men
I Menstrie still shall love and Hawthornden."

With Drayton's good leave, however, Hawthornden was, poetically, far better than Menstrie. If there was any one Scotchman worthy to be named among the truest English

poets of the age between Spenser and Milton, he was William Drummond.

Born at Hawthornden, near Edinburgh, in 1585, the eldest son of Sir John Drummond, usher to James VI., Drummond was in his eighteenth year when the English and Scottish crowns were united. Having graduated at the University of Edinburgh, he went abroad to study law in 1606, taking London in his way. He returned in 1609, and, his father having died in 1610, gave up the legal profession, and fixed his residence on his beautiful paternal property. In all Scotland there is not a sweeter or more romantic spot. A favourite autumn day's excursion even now from Edinburgh is to the glen of the Esk, to see the richly wooded cliffs, and climb the fairy paths along them, between Drummond's old house of Hawthornden and the still older remains of Roslin chapel and castle. The old chapel and castle were there in Drummond's days; but the present house of Hawthornden is one mainly built by himself, on the site and with the materials of that in which he had spent the greater part of his life, and which he had made celebrated beyond Scotland. Inclined to poetry from his earliest youth, accomplished in Italian and other foreign tongues, and a studious reader of all the best literature of his period, he had appeared himself as an author in 1613, when his *Tears on the Death of Mæliades* surpassed perhaps all the other obituary tributes showered in such numbers on the grave of King James's eldest son and heir-apparent, the lamented Prince Henry. In 1616 had appeared his *Poems: Amorous, Funerall, Divine, Pastorall*, telling in the main the story of his passionate love for a lady to whom he was betrothed, and whose death in the prime of her youth and beauty had left him disconsolate. These, followed by his *Forth Feasting*, written in welcome to King James I. on his revisiting Scotland in 1617, had made Drummond's name known to the poets of South Britain; and, when Ben Jonson visited him at Hawthornden in 1619-20, he had the pleasure of receiving from Ben not only all the London gossip of the time, but also praises of his own verses. Drummond

continued to correspond with Jonson and with others of the English poets from his northern home, and was recognised by them as a member of their fraternity. His religious poems entitled *Flowers of Sion*, and his singularly beautiful prose-essay entitled *A Cypress Grove*, were published together in Edinburgh in 1623; for some years after the death of James and the accession of Charles he seems to have been abroad on various travels; but he was back again in Hawthornden in 1630, there to marry a lady to whom he was attracted by her likeness to his first love, and to live on among his books, almost a solitary representative of the finer literature in the northern kingdom. He was to write more verse and more prose, tending, however, chiefly to prose, whether in the form of Scottish History or in that of meditative and sarcastic disquisitions on questions of current Scottish politics. He was to endure the vexation of troubles and revolutions in the British Islands which neither he nor any one else could foresee at our present date, for he did not die till 1649.

Drummond's poetry is that of a fine, cultured, and gracefully fastidious mind, trained by Italian and English influences, and avoiding, as far as possible, nearer influences that might have disturbed those. That he had native Scottish humour in plenty, and could speak to his own country-folks, when he chose, racily enough and roughly enough in their own vernacular, there is no lack of proof; but his proper place, and that which was dearest to himself in his Hawthornden musings, was among the English Arcadians or Spenserians of his generation. Among them, the minor non-dramatic poets between Spenser and Milton, he deserves peculiarly honourable recognition. For a combination of poetic sensuousness, or delight in the beauty of scenery, colours, forms, and sounds, with a tender and elevated thoughtfulness, reaching to the keenly metaphysical and philosophic, it would be difficult to match him in that British group with which we have taken the liberty of more immediately connecting his name. The combination appears most happily in his sonnets and other lyrical pieces. He was

called by his contemporaries "the Scottish Petrarch," and Southey, Hallam, and other modern critics, have spoken of Drummond's sonnets, in particular, as among the best in the English language after the *very* best. This, to his Lute, may pass as a specimen :—

"My lute, be as thou wast when thou didst grow
With thy green mother in some shady grove,
When immelodious winds but made thee move,
And birds on thee their ramage did bestow.
Sith that dear voice which did thy sounds approve,
Which used in such harmonious strains to flow,
Is reft from earth to tune those spheres above,
What art thou but a harbinger of woe?
Thy pleasing notes be pleasing notes no more,
But orphan wailings to the fainting ear ;
Each stop a sigh, each sound draws forth a tear.
Be therefore silent as in woods before ;
Or, if that any hand to touch thee deign,
Like widowed turtle still her loss complain."

Among the lighter lyrics is this :—

"Now, Flora, deck thyself in fairest guise ;
If that ye, winds, would hear
A voice surpassing far Amphion's lyre,
Your stormy ehiding stay ;
Let Zephyr only breathe,
And with her tresses play,
Kissing sometimes these purple ports of death.
The winds all silent are ;
And Phœbus in his chair,
Ensafroning sea and air,
Makes vanish every star ;
Night like a drunkard reels
Beyond the hills to shun his flaming wheels ;
The fields with flowers are decked in every hue ;
The clouds bespangle with bright gold their blue ;
Here is the pleasant place,
And everything save her who all should grace."

In the more strictly narrative descriptive poems of Drummond, his *Teares on the Death of Mæliades* and his *Forth Feasting*, we are struck by his special resemblance on the whole to Browne in his *Britannia's Pastorals*, the rather because, though the two were precisely contemporary and had begun public authorship exactly in the same year, there is no evidence of their acquaintance with each other. In the two pieces mentioned Drummond manages the heroic

couplet very much in Browne's way, less variously and lusciously perhaps in respect of matter, but with more elegant cutting and finish. Thus, in the list of inducements addressed by the personified Forth to King James in 1617 persuading him to remain in his native Scotland:—

“The wanton wood-nymphs of the verdant spring
Blue, golden, purple flowers shall to thee bring ;
Pomona's fruits the panisks ; Thetis' girls
Thy Thule's amber with the ocean pearls ;
The Tritons, herdsmen of the glassy field,
Shall give thee what far-distant shores can yield,
The Serian fleeces, Erythræan gems,
Vast Plata's silver, gold of Peru streams,
Antarctic parrots, Ethiopian plumes,
Sabæan odours, myrrh, and sweet perfumes ;
And I myself, wrapt in a watchet gown,
Of reeds and lilies on my head a crown,
Shall incense to thee burn, green altars raise,
And yearly sing due pæans to thy praise.”

If, as a poet of sensuous circumstance, Drummond has any pre-eminent excellence among those we have called the English Spenserians, it is in his fondness for the clear nocturnal sky and the effects of quiet moonlight on streams and fields. Thus:—

“To western worlds when wearied day goes down,
And from Heaven's windows each star shows her head,
Earth's silent daughter, Night, is fair, though brown ;
Fair is the moon, though in love's livery clad.”

Again,

“How Night's pale Queen
With borrowed beams looks on this hanging round !”

The frequency of such nocturnal images in the poems of Drummond of Hawthornden has a constitutional significance. We see that over the lovely glen where he had his home there must have rolled occasional nights as softly sapphire as any in Italy, and that then the pensive poet would be habitually out of doors, pacing some leafy walk, and watching, with the sound of the Esk in his ear, Cynthia showering her light on the solitude, and the stars all tremulous in their fainter fires.

At the opposite polo from the SPENSERIANs or ARCADIANs were the SATIRISTS or SOCIAL POETS. The opposition is a permanent one in literature. If it is characteristic of the genius of pure imagination to shun the contemporary facts of the social world, and to wander away into regions of the ideal, where it may make its own themes and invent its own histories, dashing these, it may be, with personal pains and observations which it will not express save in that indirect fashion, there are yet always men, included in the poetical class by reason of the form of their writings, who proceed in the opposite manner, take their matter from the very thick of social life, attack abuses and wrongs just as they see them, and make verse the vehicle for passing social censure. If Virgil was the type of the one class of poets among the Romans, Juvenal was the type of the other; and Satire was perhaps the form of poetry most natural to the Roman genius. In strict theory it might be questioned whether the satire ought to be accounted poetry at all. Where *indignatio facit versus*, the result can be but metrical invective; which may be a more choice and durable literary substance than ordinary poetry, but cannot, in itself, be called poetry. Nothing is poetry that is not the produce of a mind wholly swung into phantasy. As all know, however, the universal custom of languages has included satirists among the poets. Custom, indeed, has included among the poets all who have produced excellent literary effects, of whatever kind, by fine or powerful metre. There are several reasons reconciling custom in this respect with the theory which it seems to violate. Verse is so exquisite a form of speech that, in reading masterly specimens of it, whatever the matter contained, we feel the pleasure which the sense of art communicates. Further, many of those who do write metrical satires are poets who have proved themselves such independently; and these necessarily carry the poet with them into whatever they write. Horace and Dryden are examples. In the third place, verse itself is a stimulus to imagination. The very act of writing metrically compels, to some extent, to thinking poetically. A metrical satirist,

though he may have given no independent proofs of being a poet, can hardly but feel the rhythm heating the roots of his wings and persuading him to a little flight.

The father of English Satire, in the modern form in which it has been practised by Dryden, Pope, and their successors, as distinct from the older form exemplified in Langland, Skelton, and others, was still alive in 1632, at the age of fifty-eight, but with four-and-twenty years of his eventful life yet before him. This was Joseph Hall, already known to us as Bishop of Exeter since 1627. It was now about thirty-five years since Hall, as a youth of three-and-twenty fresh from Cambridge, had published in two portions (1597 and 1598) his six books of satires, the first three entitled *Toothless Satires*, and the last three *Biting Satires*. In the opening lines of the first book he had distinctly announced himself as the beginner of a new form of literature:—

“I first adventure, with foolhardy might,
To tread the steps of perilous despite;
I first adventure, follow me who list
And be the second English Satirist.”

On inquiry it is found that Donne might have the better claim to absolute priority, *his* satires having been written about 1594. But Hall's were first published; they were written without knowledge of Donne's; and they were after a more orderly type of satire. The first book of the *Toothless Satires* was directed against the faults, literary and other, of the poets of the age; the second treated of academical abuses; the third anticipated the *Biting Satires* by treating of public manners and morality. The author's acknowledged models are Juvenal and Persius; and he professes that it was to their nervous and crabbed style of poetry, rather than to the imitation of Virgil and Spenser, that his genius inclined him:—

“Rather had I, albe in careless rhymes,
Check the misordered world and lawless times.”

What Hall's satires did towards “checking the misordered world” may not have been much; but, as compositions of

the satirical order, they have kept a place in our literature. Interesting still on historical grounds for their references to contemporary manners, they are admired for their direct energy of expression, their robust though somewhat harsh tone of feeling, and the wonderfully modern appearance of their metrical structure. Thus, on modern luxury :—

“ Time was, and that was termed the time of gold,
 When world and time were young that now are old,
 When quiet Saturn swayed the mace of lead,
 And pride was yet unborn and yet unbred ;
 Time was that, while the autumn fall did last,
 Our hungry sires gaped for the falling mast ;—
 Could no unhusked acorn leave the tree
 But there was challenge made whose it might be. . . .
 They naked went, or clad in ruder hide,
 Or home-spun russet, void of foreign pride ;
 But thou canst mask in garish gaudery,
 To suit a fool's far-fetched livery,—
 A French head joined to neck Italian,
 Thy thighs from Germany and breast from Spain ;
 An Englishman in none, a fool in all,
 Many in one, and one in several.
 Then men were men ; but now the greater part
 Beasts are in life and women are in heart.”

Thus had Hall written when Spenser was alive and Shakespeare and his coevals were in the height of their dramatic fame ; and in virtue of such verses he had been named by Meres, in his list of the English literary celebrities of 1598, as a promising English Persius. In the long intervening period of his life, however, though retaining something of the hard style of intellect shown in his satires, he had advanced into other occupations, rising step by step in the Church to the prelacy, and writing those numerous and various prose works under which the recollection of his satires had been all but buried, so that his name was no longer the English Persius, but the English Seneca.

Marston the dramatist had first appeared as an author in three books of satires, entitled *The Scourge of Villainy*, published in 1598. The fashion, having been set by Hall, Donne, and Marston, became prevalent enough during the next thirty years ; and there were few of the poets of James's reign, dramatic or other, who did not throw off occasional

pieces in the established couplet that were either satires in form or, under the name of epistles or epigrams, belonged essentially to the same class. In Ben Jonson's works, for example, are many pieces of this kind; and, on the whole, as Ben excelled his contemporaries in most things, so he excelled them in this poetry of social criticism. The quasi-Horatian epistles of Ben, the Beaumonts, and others, might be distinguished, however, from the proper Juvenalian satire which Hall had introduced.

From among the host of writers using verse for social purposes one stands out very conspicuously as the popular satirist of the day. This was George Wither, whose poetry had been all but forgotten when Anderson and Chalmers edited their general collections of our old poets, and to whom, accordingly, recent critics and historians have been the more anxious to do justice.

Born in Hampshire, in 1588, of a family of some wealth, Wither had gone from school to Magdalen College, Oxford. Here, says Wood, he "made some proficiency with much ado in academical learning, but, his geny being addicted to things more trivial, was taken home after he had spent about three years in the said house, and thence sent to one of the Inns of Chancery, and afterwards to Lincoln's Inn, to obtain knowledge in municipal law. But, his geny still hanging after things more smooth and delightful, he did at length make himself known to the world (after he had taken several rambles therein) by certain specimens of poetry."¹ Among these were *Elegies on the Death of Prince Henry*, published in 1612, and *Epithalamia, or Nuptial Poems*, on the marriage of Frederick, Count Palatine, with the Princess Elizabeth, published in 1613. In the same year with the last, the author being then twenty-five years of age, was published a volume of satirical verse entitled *Abuses Stript and Whipt*. The volume (printed, it may be worth remarking, by Humphrey Lownes) became immediately popular. This was owing partly to its adaptation to the popular taste, but partly also to the fact

¹ Athenæ, III. 761.

that the Privy Council, in consequence of some passages in the book deemed insulting to persons in authority, thought it worth while to imprison the author. From the Marshalsea prison he addressed *A Satire to the King*, fearless but loyal, which is supposed to have led to his release; and in 1615 he published *The Shepherd's Hunting, being certain Eclogues made during the Author's Imprisonment*. These, as well as their predecessors, had an immense sale, passing through edition after edition with a rapidity of which there is hardly any other example at that time; and the same popularity attended many subsequent publications of the author. In 1618 appeared *Wither's Motto*, an odd metrical exposition of his own character, of which 30,000 copies were sold in a few months; in 1619 his *Preparation to the Psalter*, written in prose, with religious poems attached; in the same year *Fidelia, a Poem*, and *Exercises on the First Psalm, both in Prose and Verse*; in 1621, *Songs of Moses and Hymns of the Old Testament*; in 1622, *Juvenilia*, or early poems, a pastoral entitled *The Mistress of Philarete*, and a larger collection of *Hymns and Songs of the Church*, with music by Orlando Gibbons; in 1628, a thick volume of verse (printed, as he says, entirely by his own hand, because he "could not get allowance to do it publicly") with the title, *Britain's Remembrancer, containing a Narrative of the Plague lately past, a Declaration of Mischiefs Present, and a Prediction of Judgments to come*. The author had again been in prison, but had apparently at last convinced the King and the Council that there was no great harm in his popularity. On the publication of his *Hymns and Songs*, at all events, a royal letter had been addressed to all printers and booksellers, stating the king's pleasure that, whereas his "well-beloved subject, George Withers, gentleman, by his great industry and diligent study, had gathered and composed" the said book, "being esteemed worthy and profitable to be inserted in convenient manner and due place into every English psalm-book in metre," the sole liberty of printing it should be reserved to him, his executors and assigns, for the period of fifty-one years. This privilege was the cause of a quarrel between

Wither and the London booksellers. They would not sell his hymns bound up with the Psalm-book, and even used the power of the trade against his other publications. From this ill-usage he appealed to the public in a bulky prose pamphlet, entitled *The Scholar's Purgatory discovered in the Stationers' Commonwealth*, addressed primarily to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops and Clergy in Convocation assembled. With the reading world, however, he continued in extraordinary favour. He was "so generally "known," says Wood, "that thousands, especially such youths "as were puritanically educated, were desirous to peruse "his future writings," and would have them in spite of the booksellers. In 1632, being then in his forty-fifth year, and having been already for nearly twenty years the pet of the public, he was engaged in bringing out a complete new translation of the Psalms, which he hoped would be bound up with the Bible, and supersede all previous versions for Church use. This work was being printed in the Netherlands.

Wither, it will have been seen, was a lyric poet and a pastoral poet, as well as a satirist or social poet. By right of one or two of his earlier pieces,—more particularly his *Mistress of Philarete*, and his *Shepherd's Hunting*, written during his first imprisonment,—he might have been mentioned among the Spenserians or Arcadians. He was personally intimate with Browne, Drayton, and other poets; he had a hand in at least one of the eclogues of Browne's *Shepherd's Pipe*; and in his own poems just mentioned there is something of the sweet sensuousness and graceful fancy found in Browne's poetry. By his contemporaries, indeed, these poems were thought to show more of true poetic fancy than any of his other writings; and recent critics, in their anxiety to resuscitate Wither, have relied chiefly on these and on a few of his select lyrics. The favourite quotation from him is from the fourth eclogue of his *Shepherd's Hunting*, in which he celebrates the power of poesy to console even the tenant of a prison.

"In my former days of bliss,
Her divine skill taught me this,—

That from everything I saw
 I could some invention draw,
 And raise pleasure to her height
 Through the meanest object's sight.
 By the murmur of a spring
 Or the least bough's rusteling,
 By a daisy whose leaves spread
 Shut when Titan goes to bed,
 Or a shady bush or tree,
 She could more infuse in me
 Than all Nature's beauties can
 In some other wiser man.
 By her help I also now
 Make this churlish place allow
 Some things that may sweeten gladness
 In the very gall of sadness.
 The dull liveness, the black shade,
 That these hanging vaults have made ;
 The strange music of the waves
 Beating in these hollow caves ;
 This black den which rocks emboss,
 Overgrown with eldest moss ;
 The rude portals that give sight
 More to terror than delight ;
 This my chamber of neglect,
 Walled about with disrespect ;
 From all these and this dull air,
 A fit object for despair,
 She hath taught me by her might
 To draw comfort and delight."

But, although there are many other passages in Wither reminding one either of Browne or of Drayton, yet, by the great bulk of his writings, he ranks rather among the Satirists than among the Arcadians. Despite the efforts of his admirers to revive a regard for his poetry, it is less as a poet than as a character of the period that he is now interesting.

At the basis of his constitution was a prodigious self-satisfaction. To aid in expressing this, he had received from nature an irresistible fluency. "He could make verses as fast as he could write them," says Aubrey, who informs us, moreover, that his wife, an Elizabeth Emerson of Lambeth, was "a great wit," and could write verses too. "His unaffected diction even now," says Mr. Craik, "has scarce a stain of age upon it, but flows on, ever fresh and transparent, like a pebbled rill." Nor were there wanting some excellent qualities to render his fluency effective. With his

self-satisfaction he conjoined some real strength of brain, a certain elevation of aim, and a perfect dauntlessness of spirit. In his very first writings he had come forward as a plain man who was to speak truth and care for nobody. "Do not look," he says, in his garrulous preface to his *Abuses Stript and Whipt*, "for Spenser's or Daniel's well-composed numbers, or the deep conceits of now-flourishing Jonson. No! say 'Tis honest plain matter,' and there's as much as I expect." And so in the text of the book, speaking of his occupations when he first wandered about London as a law-student:—

"Casting preferment's too much care aside,
And leaving that to God that can provide,
The actions of the present time I eyed,
And all her secret villainies descried;
I stript Abuse from all her colours quite,
And laid her ugly face to open sight."

Even in prison they could not break his spirit. Thus, in his *Satire to the King*, respecting the courtiers:—

"I'd have my pen so paint that, where it traces,
Each accent should draw blood into their faces.
I'd learn my muse so brave a course to fly,
Men should admire the power of poesy,
And those that dared her greatness to resist
Quake even at naming of a satirist."

And so, through the world, from that time forward, he continues to go self-labelled as "Wither, the man that would not flatter." His *Motto*, published in 1618, was, as we have said, an exhibition of his character to the public in this light. He had had his portrait painted; under it he had written the motto, *Nec habeo, nec careo, nec curo*: "Nor have I, nor want I, nor care I"; this motto he had adopted as his impress; and the poem is an illustration of it in three parts, corresponding respectively to the three clauses,—the first explaining what Wither is not, the second what he is, and the third what he cares not to have or to be. The tone throughout is that of egotistic independence.

"My mind's my kingdom, and I will permit
No other's will to have the rule of it;

For I am free, and no man's power, I know,
Did make me this, or shall unmake me now."

While expounding his own character in the poem, he launches into satires of all who are not of the same spirit with himself. The lash, though never personal in its application, excoriates where it strikes. Thus, of the poets and wits of the time :—

"I am not of a temper like to those
That can provide an hour's sad talk in prose
For any funeral, and then go dine,
And choke my grief with sugar-plums and wine.
I cannot at the claret sit and laugh,
And then, half tipsy, write an epitaph.
I cannot for reward adorn the hearse
Of some old rotten miser with my verse ;
Nor, like the poetasters of the time,
Go howl a doleful elegy in rhyme
For every lord or ladyship that dies,
And then perplex their heirs to patronise
My muddy poesy."

Wither had found patrons, however, in the general public ; and he does not seem to have been at all indifferent to *their* favour, or to the pecuniary results of it. Having once been accepted as a writer of a peculiarly honest and virtuous vein, he was ready "to express and publish his conceptions" in any innocent form that would recommend them to the popular taste. He would write songs and pastorals, like others, only taking care that they were ethically of the right sort ; he would reach the popular heart through Scriptural hymns and a new version of the Psalms ; he would not disdain even symbolical title-pages, illustrative wood-cuts, and arrangements of letter-press and binding by which his books could be converted into "lotteries." To write so as to "suit the vulgar capacity" was the rule he had prescribed for himself ; and whether the result should be called poetry or prose by the critics he professed not to care. Moreover, the idea seems to have grown upon him that, as he was a leader of the popular opinion, so he was bound to form guesses as to the issues of events and announce his conclusions in the shape of warnings and vaticinations. In this character he first distinctly appears in his *Britain's Remembrancer*, written

while the recollections of the Plague of 1625 were fresh. Addressing Britain there, he says:—

“For I will tell thy fortune, which, when they
Who are unborn shall read another day,
They will believe then that God did infuse
Into thy poet a prophetic muse,
Moreover know that He did him prefer
To be to this Isle his Remembrancer.”

Accordingly, after the publication of this book, the reputation of Wither was as much that of a political fanatic as of a poet. When we examine in what his title to the prophetic character consisted, we find that it was chiefly in an unusually strong degree of the conviction, pretty sure to be right at any time, that the cup of social iniquity was full.

“Upon thy fleets, thy havens, and thy ports,
Upon thine armies and thy strong-walled forts,
Upon thy pleasures and commodities,
Upon thy handicrafts and merchandise,
Upon the fruits and cattle in thy fields,
On what the air, the earth, or water yields,
On prince and people, on both weak and strong,
On priest and prophet, on both old and young,
Yea on each person, place, and everything,
His just deserved judgments God will bring.”

If it is essential to social health that some souls should have this feeling, even to overcharge, in every time, a man who was possessed by it in the age of Charles I. will hardly seem to have been far in error. Wither not only had it, but had it in the exact form and proportion which fitted him to be the monitor,—we had almost said the journalist,—of the time then passing. He was a lay-preacher of the very notions which formed the political creed of the middle-class English Puritans; he gave back to the citizens of London, in easy metre and rhyme, and with his name attached, the platitudes they were in the habit of expressing in their houses and shops. Thus of ambition:—

“And, though I’m loth to speak it, I protest
I think it reigns not in the elergy least;
For you at first great humbleness shall see,
Whilst their estates and fortunes meaner be.

They are industrious and take pains to teach,
 And twice a week shall be the least they preach;
 Or, in their poverty, they will not stick
 For catechizing, visiting the sick,
 With such-like duteous works of piety
 As do belong to their society.
 But, if they once but reach a vicarage,
 Or be inducted to some parsonage,
 Men must content themselves and think it well
 If once a month they hear the sermon-bell.
 But, if to any higher place they reach,
 Once in a twelvemonth is enough to preach."

If this was not poetry, it was just such straightforward metrical politics as the middle-class Puritans of the day were willing to buy and read; and, by keeping to this vein, Wither had become, some years before 1632, a recognised literary power in England. He had written for the people, and the people swore by George Wither.

Wither and his popularity seem to have been a great matter of jest to the fraternity at the Apollo Club. "Is Wither a poet?" was a question of the day with the critics there. There were arguments for as well as against; and there was some danger in speaking ill of a man of such popularity and such fluency in invective, with such a following at his back. King Ben took the responsibility on himself. In his masque of *Time Vindicated*, presented at Court on Twelfth Night, 1623, a character called Chronomastix (*i. e.* the Satirist of the Time) is introduced as a candidate for the honours of fame. The goddess Fame is seated, with her attendants, Eyes, Ears, and Nose, when Chronomastix enters.

"*Chron.* The Time! Lo, I, the man that hate the time;
 That is, that love it not; and (though in rhyme
 I here do speak it) with this whip you see
 Do lash the Time, and am myself lash-free.

Fame. Who's this?

Ears. 'Tis Chronomastix, the brave Satyr.

Nose. The gentlemanlike Satyr—cares for nobody—
 His forehead tipt with bays! Do you not know him?"

Chronomastix advances to salute Fame, saying,—

"It is for you I revel so in rhyme,
 Dear mistress, not for hope I have the Time

Will grow the better by it. To serve Fame
Is all my end, and get myself a name."

Whereupon Fame bursts forth,—

"Away ! I know thee not ! Wretched impostor,
Creature of glory, mountebank of wit,
Self-loving braggart, Fame doth sound no trumpet
To such vain empty fools ! 'Tis Infamy
Thou serv'st and follow'st, scorn of all the Muses !
Go revel with thine ignorant admirers ;
Let worthy names alone."

Chronomastix, astonished at this reception, can hardly believe that he hears aright, and recounts his triumphs as a popular author.

Ears. Rare ! how he talks in verse just as he writes !
Chron. When have I walked the streets but happy he
That had the finger first to point at me,
Prentiee or journeyman ? The shop doth know it,
The unlettered clerk, major and minor poet.
The sempster hath sat still as I passed by,
And dropt her needle. Fishwives stayed their ery.
The boy with buttons, and the basket-wench,
To vent their wares into my works do trench.
A pudding-wife that would despise the times
Hath uttered frequent penn'orths through my rhymes,
And with them dived unto the chambermaid ;
And she unto her lady hath conveyed
The seasoned morsels, who hath sent me pensions
To cherish and to heighten my inventions.
Well, Fame shall know it yet : I have my faction
And friends about me, though it please detraction
To do me this affront."

He then calls in some of his faction to stand by him. They appear, dance round him adoringly, and carry him forth from Fame's presence. Eyes, Ears, and Nose assure Fame that she has made a mistake in disowning him, and that his faction will deify him in despite. "'Twill prove but deifying of a pompion," says the tetchy lady.

Chronomastix was, perhaps, here meant by Jonson to stand for a type of popular satirists in general ; but that he had Wither in view as the least sufferable living specimen of the genus is undeniable. In some editions of Wither's first satires there had been a wood-cut representing him, precisely as he is introduced in the masque, as a satyr with a whip in

his hand. There is a distinct allusion, also, to the engraved frontispiece prefixed to his *Motto*, in which Wither is represented as a laurelled poet, leaning his back against a pillar, and gazing straight at heaven. Moreover, Chronomastix is identified with Wither by special references to Wither's clandestine dealings with printers, and to his acquaintances in London. Among those who rush in at his call are two mutes, who are thus described :—

“You'd think them rogues, but they are friends ;
 One is his printer in disguise, and keeps
 His press in a hollow tree, where, to conceal him,
 He works by glow-worm light,—the moon's too open.
 The other zealous rag is the compositor,
 Who in an angle where the ants inhabit
 (The emblems of his labours) will sit curled
 Whole days and nights and work his eyes out for him.”

What follows is more interesting to us :—

“There is a schoolmaster
 Is turning all his works, too, into Latin,—
 To pure satyric Latin ; makes his boys
 To learn him ; calls him the time's Juvenal ;
 Hangs all his school with his sharp sentences ;
 And o'er the execution-place hath painted
 Time whipt, for terror to the infantry.”

The schoolmaster here spoken of is our friend, the elder Alexander Gill, head-master of St. Paul's School, in whose *Logonomia Anglica*, published in 1619, Wither, as we have seen, had been cited expressly under the name of the English Juvenal. The compliment had been retained in the second edition of the *Logonomia* in 1621, and probably Gill had shown his admiration for Wither in other ways. There was, as we shall find, a standing feud between Ben Jonson and the Gill family ; and it is interesting to know that the feud had begun while Milton was a pupil at St. Paul's School, and therefore one of the “infantry” referred to by Ben.

Wither was not a man to let even Ben pass without an

answer. In his *Britain's Remembrancer* of 1628 he takes occasion to retaliate on Ben and all his tribe:—

“ With words ironical they do revile me ;
The Valiant Poet they in scorn do style me,
The Chronomastix.”

And, in a long continuation in the same style, Wither describes them sitting in drunken conclave at the Apollo, and settling the claims of all the poets of the day, himself included. If any one were there to defend him, they would not dare, he hints, to deny that he had merits. And this was about the right conclusion. Wither has left, together with some real poetry, a sea of the flattest verse known in our language ; but his influence was as healthy as his style was plain and apprehensible. He was a brave bull-necked Englishman, slightly crazed in the organs of combativeness and self-esteem, the same man substantially in 1632 that he was to be long afterwards as a partisan and agent of the Commonwealth and of Cromwell.

Still lower in the literary scale than Wither, and named among the poets of the day only by way of good-humoured jest, was Taylor the Water-Poet. Honest John, a Gloucester man by birth, and now over fifty years of age, had been known in his double capacity of poet and waterman for at least twenty years. In his youth he had served in the navy, and had been in Holland, Germany, and other parts of the Continent ; more recently, and since setting up as a Thames waterman, he had made wherry voyages along the English coasts, and up rivers never penetrated by a London boat before ; and he had also made a journey to Scotland on foot at the time when Ben was there. No man knew the town better than he ; and there was not a person of any mark in town or near it, from the King and the Privy Councillors down to the Gloucester carrier or the landlord of the inn on Highgate Hill, but had a word for “ The Sculler.” With a fund of rough natural humour, and an acquired knack of writing, he had won his name of “ the water-poet,” and at the same time increased his custom as a boatman, by a series

of printed effusions, none of them above a sheet or two in length, and consisting either solely of verse, or of verse and prose intermixed, under such titles as "The Travels of Twelvepence," "The Praise of Beggary and Begging," "Taylor's Pennyless Pilgrimage, or Journey without Money, from London to Edinburgh in Scotland, and back to London," "A very merry Wherry Voyage from London to York with a Pair of Oars," "A Kecksy-winsy, or a Lery-cum-Twang, wherein John Taylor hath satirically suited 750 of his bad debtors, that will not pay him for his *Journey to Scotland*," "Elegies and Religious Narrations," "The World runs on Wheels," "The Praise of Hempseed," "The Praise of a Jail, and the excellent Mystery and Necessary Use of all sorts of Hanging." His plan for disposing of these productions seems to have been to hawk them about personally among his patrons and acquaintances, or to sell them in parcels to those who retailed ballads and other cheap popular literature. In more than one instance, however, he had dedicated to the King, or come forward in some public way as a wit and pamphleteer. Thus, in 1613, he had led "a suit against the players," the object of which was to prevent the increase of play-houses on the north side of the river, it being manifestly to the advantage of the Thames watermen that the theatres should be kept on the south side. More recently he had been writing furiously against the nuisance of hackney coaches, and in favour of the old modes of locomotion by foot or on water. One way or another, his broad-sheets had a circulation which more than paid their expenses. They were good reading for the Gloucester carrier on the road, and they were laughed over at Court. King James, according to Ben, had been in the habit of saying jocularly that he knew no verses equal to the Sculler's. Confident in his popularity, the Sculler had had the audacity to print, or bind together for sale, in 1630, a folio edition of his collected "Works," including all that he had written in prose or in verse up to that date. He was to live four-and-twenty years after the publication, and, besides distinguishing himself by his sturdy loyalty during the Civil Wars, was to pen a farther

quantity of prose and verse, enough to make a second folio, had all been collected.

Distinct from both the SPENSERIANs and the SOCIAL POETS was a group of metrical writers whom it is easier to enumerate than to describe by a common name. The peculiarity by which they are associated is that they seemed to regard verse less as a vehicle for pure matter of imagination, or for social allusion and invective, than as a means of doctrinal exposition or abstruse and quaint discourse on any topic whatsoever. According to the nature of the topics on which they wrote, they might be distributed into sub-varieties. Collectively they may be described as THE POETS OF METRICAL EXPOSITION AND METRICAL INTELECTION. The double form of the name is useful. There is such a thing as *exposition* in metre,—*i. e.* Verse, on account of its own charms, or because it impresses matter on the memory more surely than prose, may be used as a vehicle for ideas already thought out or acquired by the writer in any department of science or speculation. Different from this, though likely to run into it, is *intellection* in metre,—*i. e.* the use of the stimulus of verse, its nimble and subtle action upon the thought, to generate ideas or supplementary ideas that were not in the mind before, lead to ingenious trains of thinking, and suggest odd analogies and combinations. It was mainly for poets practising this process of metrical intellection, though with some inclusion also of poets of metrical exposition, that Dr. Johnson invented, or adopted from Dryden, the designation METAPHYSICAL POETS. That, however, was a singularly unhappy choice of a name, vitiating as it did the true and specific meaning of the word “metaphysical,” and pandering to the vulgar Georgian use of the word, which made it an adjective for anything whatever that seemed hard, abstract, or bewildering.

A good deal of the English Poetry of the Elizabethan age consisted of what might be called, properly enough, metrical exposition. The poetico-political *Treatises* of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke (1554—1628), are one example; and the cele-

brated *Nosce Teipsum*, or *Poem on the Soul of Man*, of Sir John Davies (1570—1628) is another. The latter is, in fact, a treatise on Psychology in the interest of the Intuitional or Transcendental Philosophy as opposed to the Empirical, and there is not a finer metrical treatise of the sort in the language, or one in which metrical exposition comes closer to the borders of real poetry. But metrical intellection was also common enough among the Elizabethans, perhaps more common among them than it has ever been in our Islands since. That fondness for “conceits,” or the pursuit of quaint analogies and jingling word-play, with which the Elizabethan poets have been charged, Shakespeare himself not excepted, was one of the results of the wide diffusion among them of the habit of using verse merely to quicken wit and dialectic. In one Elizabethan the habit attained proportions that were enormous. If there has been any single poet in the world who may stand to all time as an example of the genius of metrical intellection at its utmost, he is John Donne. No wonder that Dr. Johnson selected Donne as the father of all his so-called English Metaphysical Poets. In him were gathered into one, as it were, all the tips and clippings of intellectual super-subtlety among the Elizabethans.

In 1632 they were still writing elegies on Donne’s death, which had occurred in the March of the preceding year. For the last portion of his life he had been known as Dr. Donne, Dean of St. Paul’s, a most pious and popular preacher, though not Calvinistic, and a man of great learning, venerated at Court and in society generally. There were those alive, however, who could remember him as he had been in his youth, ere yet he had thought of the sacred calling,—a gallant lay wit and student about town, of Roman Catholic family and connexions, secretary to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, a member of Raleigh’s club at the Mermaid, and a writer of satires, epigrams, and miscellaneous poems not specially clerical in their style or their subjects. Some of those poems had been in circulation in manuscript as early as 1593, when Spenser was yet alive and Donne was only in his twenty-first year; the best of them, as Ben Jonson

thought, had been written before 1598, when he first became acquainted with Donne. Only specimens of them had been printed, and Donne, after he became a Church of England clergyman and Doctor of Divinity, would fain have recalled all that were in print, as well as those that were in circulation in manuscript copies. They were too firmly lodged in the literature of the time to be recovered; and now, after his death, there was in preparation, under his son's care, what passes as the first collective edition of his Poems, giving to the world those earlier productions of his pen in one medley with the more sacred metrical effusions of his later years. Without much regard to the chronology of the pieces, readers look at them all now indiscriminately as Donne's poetical remains. Nor are they wrong. The pious Dean Donne, whom Herbert admired and Izaak Walton all but worshiped, was essentially the same man who had gone about with bricklayer Ben in his early dramatic days; and in all his poetical remains—his *Satires* of 1593-4, his *Metempsychosis* or *Progress of the Soul*, written in 1601, his *Elegies*, *Epithalamia*, *Epigrams*, *Epistles*, and *Lyrics*, of the same or later dates, including the *Divine Poems* which may represent him clerically and theologically—there is the same intellectual manner.¹ What a reputation he had gained by this manner among his contemporaries may be inferred from the fact that on Jonson's visit to Hawthornden in 1619-20 there was no poet besides himself of whom he talked so much as of Donne. "He esteemeth John Donne the first "poet in the world in some things," is Drummond's report; who adds, however, some severe criticisms of Ben on Donne's style, as that "for not keeping accent he deserved "hanging," and that "for not being understood he would "perish." To the same effect in Ben's verses prefixed to Donne's Poems:—

" Donne, the delight of Phoebus and each Muse,
Who to thy one all other brains refuse ;

¹ The most complete edition of Donne's Poetical Works is now that of Dr Grosart, in two volumes quarto, 1872-3, for his *Fuller Worthies* Library; and various perplexing points in the

chronology, bibliography, and classification of the Poems are discussed in those volumes. They also contain striking portraits of Donne.

Whose every work of thy most early wit
 Came forth example and remains so yet,
 Longer a-knowing than most wits do live !”

With much of the true poet in him, Donne was, most essentially, a wit, a subtle thinker and dialectician, using verse to assist him in his favourite mental exercise,—the stanza, let us say, as a wheel by which to spin out his thoughts into ingenious threads, the couplet as a shuttle by which to lay the threads together. His very notion of verse seems to be revealed in these lines in one of his love poems :—

“Then, as th’ Earth’s inward, narrow, crooked lanes
 Do purge sea-water’s fretful salt away,
 I thought, if I could draw my pains
 Through rhyme’s vexation, I should them allay.
 Grief, brought to number, cannot be so fierce ;
 For he tames it that fetters it in verse.”

Unfortunately, it was not only his love pains that he drew through “rhyme’s vexation,” but his feelings and thoughts on all subjects whatsoever. Thus it is, that, notwithstanding his great celebrity in his life, posterity in general has become utterly impatient of his poetry. Yet, in reading him, one can see on what it was the vast admiration of his contemporaries, and also of such recent critics as Coleridge and De Quincey, was founded. His poetry serves as an intellectual gymnastic, even where, as poetry, it can give but little pleasure. Here is a characteristic passage from his Elegy entitled “Of the progress of the Soul : wherein, by occasion of the religious death of Mrs. Elizabeth Drury, the incommodities of the Soul in this life and her exaltation in the next are contemplated.” The elegy, having been published in 1625, represents Donne’s later style and tone.

“She, she is gone : she is gone : when thou knowest this,
 What fragmentary rubbidge this world is
 Thou knowest, and that it is not worth a thought :
 He honours it too much that thinks it nought.
 Think, then, my soul, that death is but a groom,
 Which brings a taper to the outward room
 Whence thou spiest first a little glimmering light,
 And after brings it nearer to thy sight ;

For such approaches does heaven make in death.
 Think thyself labouring now with broken breath,
 And think those broken and soft notes to be
 Division and thy happiest harmony :
 Think thee laid on thy death-bed, loose and slack ;
 And think that but unbinding of a pack,
 To take one precious thing, thy soul, from thence.

But think that Death hath now enfranchised thee ;
 Thou hast thy expansion now and liberty.
 Think that a rusty piece discharged is flown
 In pieces, and the bullet is his own,
 And freely flies. This to thy soul allow :
 Think thy shell broke ; think thy soul hatched but now ;
 And think this slow-paced soul, which late did cleave
 To a body, and went but by the body's leave,
 Twenty, perchance, or thirty miles a day,
 Dispatches in a minute all the way
 'Twixt heaven and earth. She stays not in the air
 To look what meteors there themselves prepare.
 She carries no desire to know, nor sense,
 Whether th' air's middle region be intense ;
 For th' element of fire, she doth not know
 Whether she passed by such a place or no ;
 She baits not at the moon, nor cares to try
 Whether in that new world men live and die ;
 Venus retards her not, to enquire how she
 Can, being one star, Hesper and Vesper be ;
 He that charmed Argus' eyes, sweet Mercury,
 Works not on her, who now is grown all eye ;
 Who, if she meet the body of the Sun,
 Goes through, not staying till his course be run ;
 Who finds in Mars his camp no corps of guard,
 Nor is by Jove, nor by his father, barred,
 But, ere she can consider how she went,
 At once is at and through the firmament.
 And, as those stars were but so many beads
 Strung on one string, speed undistinguished leads
 Her through those spheres, as through those beads a string,
 Whose quick succession makes it still one thing.
 As doth the pith which, lest our bodies slack,
 Strings fast the little bones of neck and back,
 So by the soul doth Death string Heaven and Earth."

This is Donne at about his best. Throughout the rest of his poetry, with not a few passages of the same order, and with frequent feats of intellectual agility that make the reader start, the most tolerant modern taste is apt to be offended by the grossly physical cast of the images. Love in Donne's poetry is a physiological fact, susceptible of all kinds of metaphysical interpretations ; his love verses are abstruse alternations between the fact and its metaphysical

renderings; and that element in which most love poets dwell, the exquisite intermediate psychology, is all but wholly omitted. One of his short poems is entitled *The Flea*, and is an argument to his mistress in favour of their speedy marriage, deduced from the fact that, as the insect has skipped from the one to the other, and exercised its functions on both, their beings are already one within its jetty cover. In other poems facts of the most putrid order are jumbled together with others of the most sacred associations, as equally holy to the eye of practiced intellect, and equally rich in symbolisms and analogies. In short, though we must regard Donne personally as an interesting study, and though we may admit also that in his hands the art of metrical cogitation with a view to novel combinations of ideas was exercised so superbly as almost to become the legitimate principle of a new variety of literature, we cannot but be glad that the avatar of Donne, as an intermediate power in English Poetry between Spenser and Milton, was so brief and partial.

The English poet whom Dr. Johnson thought fit to treat as the true heir of Donne's manner and the second of the notable "metaphysical poets" was Abraham Cowley, who was but a boy of thirteen when Donne died. Boy as he was, he was already a versifier.* At the age of ten, when just admitted as a scholar at Westminster School, he had written his little poem of *Pyramus and Thisbe*, and presented it to the head-master, Mr. Lambert Osbaldiston, with the modest words—

"My childish muse is in her spring, and yet
Can only show some budding of her wit.
One frown upon her work, learn'd Sir, from you,
Like some unkind storm shot from your brow,
Would turn her spring to withering autumn's time,
And make her blossoms perish ere their prime."

A tinge of Donne's manner was especially visible among those who may be called the theological and ecclesiastical poets of the day. The terms "theological and ecclesiastical" are here used by way of distinction from the more general term "religious." Giles and Phineas Fletcher, and others

that have been named, were religious poets, inasmuch as they chose themes of religious interest and wrote in a religious spirit. The theology of these poets, indeed, is obvious enough, but it is not so handled as to make any sensible interruption between their poetry and the varied intelligence of the world. In the seventeenth century, however, the English nation lived and moved in a theology which had its particularities as well as its generalities; and hence there might well be poets who, in giving poetical form even to the particularities, were powerfully at one with contemporary feeling, and addressed known constituencies. Such metrical expositors of theology distributed themselves naturally into two classes, corresponding with the two prevalent varieties of English theology at that time, —the popular Calvinism and the enervating Laudism or Arminianism.

Among the poets of the popular Calvinism might be reckoned Wither, whose Hymns of the Church and other devotional lyrics have recently been reproduced for admiration as specimens of pure and simple English. So far as Wither is theological, he is Calvinistic. As a theological poet, however, he was not so popular, it would seem, as Francis Quarles; in whom, notwithstanding that his subsequent political connexions were with the Royalists, we also recognise a mode of thought essentially puritanical. In 1632 Quarles was forty years of age. An Essex man by birth, and educated at Cambridge and at Milton's own college there, he had studied law at Lincoln's Inn, had been in the service of the Queen of Bohemia abroad, and had also been some time in Ireland as private secretary to Archbishop Usher. In 1620 he had published his first poem, *The History of Jonah, or a Feast for Worms*; and this had been followed by other publications of a similar character, — e. g. *The History of Queen Esther* in 1621, *Job Militant* in 1624, *Sion's Elegies wept by Jeremie the Prophet* in 1624, *Sion's Sonnets sung by Solomon the King* in 1625, and a general collection of *Divine Poems* in 1630. The popularity of Quarles was to be immensely increased by subsequent

publications, more especially by his well-known *Emblems, Divine and Moral*, the first edition of which appeared in 1635; but already he was near being what his "Emblems" made him through the rest of that century and beyond, "the darling of our plebeian judgments." Personally, he seems to have been a man of sufficiently shrewd and comfortable habits. He was a man of business, held in succession several snug situations, and, when he died at the age of fifty-two, left eighteen children. But in his poems all is gloomy and miserable. In one of his emblems, illustrating the text, "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" the design is that of a man literally enclosed within the ribs of a skeleton, through which he gazes woefully, as through imprisoning bars. This is a type of most of his poetry. His most frequent meditation is:—

"Why, what are men but quickened lumps of earth,
A feast for worms, a bubble full of breath,
A looking-glass for grief, a flash, a minute,
A painted tomb with putrefaction in it,
A map of death, a burthen of a song,
A winter's dust, a worm of five feet long,
Begot in sin, in darkness nourished, born
In sorrow, naked, shiftless, and forlorn?

Again,

"O what a crocodilian world is this,
Composed of treacheries and ensnaring smiles!"

Without positively rejecting Quarles, the softer and more ceremonious minds in the Church of England must have found a spirit more congenial to their own in the poets of the Anglo-Catholic school. Donne himself, anti-Calvinistic in his views from the first and Roman Catholic to begin with, had written sacred poems of which Laud might have approved, though their art might have perplexed him. He had left Holy Sonnets, Hymns to God the Father, to the Virgin Mary and to the Saints, and Poems on the Annunciation, Good Friday, &c., all subtilizing English Theology into Catholicism or Semi-Catholicism. Thus:—

"For that fair blessed Mother-Maid
Whose flesh redeemed us (that she-cherubim

Which unlocked Paradise, and made
 The claim for innocence, and disseized sin ;
 Whose womb was a strange Heaven, for there
 God elothed himself and grew),
 Our zealous thanks we pour. As her deeds were
 Our helps, so are her prayers ; nor can she sue
 In vain, who hath such titles, unto You."

Inheriting Donne's death-bed blessing, and inheriting also much of his spirit and of his literary manner, but a man altogether of gentler and more tuneful heart, George Herbert, during the two years in which he survived Donne, wrote such verses on the themes in which Donne had preceded him that, when the two volumes were edited together in 1633, Herbert's under the care of Nicholas Ferrar, there was no question which would be most read. What Quarles's poetry was to plebeian Christians and to those fond of "strong meat" in theology, the same was and has been Herbert's *Temple* to Christians of more aristocratic breeding or of milder theological tastes. The annual sale of the book, for about thirty years, averaged a thousand copies. While it owed part of this popularity to the spirit of general Christian sanctity which it breathes, it owed part also to its purely intellectual affinities with the Anglican ceremonialism with which the Puritans were at feud. The book is, indeed, a poetical enunciation of the Laudian Beauty of Holiness, with a detection of that idea in all the parts of the Anglican worship, and in the architectural and other details of a well-ordered parish church. Thus the verses on the church-floor :—

"Mark you the floor? That square and speekled stone,
 Which looks so firm and strong,
 Is Patience ;
 And the other, blaek and grave, wherewith each one
 Is ehequered all along,
 Humility.
 The gentle rising, which on either hand
 Leads to the quire above,
 Is Confidence ;
 But the sweet cement, which in one sure band
 Ties the whole frame, is Love
 And Charity.

Hither sometimes Sin steals, and stains
 The marble's neat and curious veins ;

But all is cleansed when the marble weeps.
 Sometimes Death, puffing at the door,
 Blows all the dust about the floor ;
 But, while he thinks to spoil the room, he sweeps.

Blest be the Architect whose art
 Could build so strong in a weak heart."

Besides Herbert, there were others who wrote devotional poetry in the same spirit, and in a style in which Donne's literary influence was equally perceptible. Among the literary exercises which Ferrar permitted to himself, as not incompatible with the life of monastic seclusion which he had chosen, was the composition of devotional hymns to be sung in his holy household. Izaak Walton, though he was not to be publicly known as a prose author till 1640, was already a writer of occasional religious verses, or at least of verses complimentary to Donne and other masters in divinity. But the good Izaak had not found it necessary for his piety to take such stringent measures as Ferrar against all secular pursuits. He was now in his fortieth year ; he had either married, or was just about to marry ; he was carrying on a good business as a clothier near the Fleet-street end of Chancery-lane, in the parish of which Donne had been vicar ; and he had on his book-shelves, beside his fishing-tackle, not only books of sound divinity recommended to him by Donne, but also a tolerable collection of Elizabethan poetry. He must have had an affection, in particular, for Spenser and the Arcadians.

By a slight anticipation we may here name, as having had some qualities in common with Donne and Herbert, another poet who has kept his place in our collections,—William Habington, the author of *Castara*. Habington was the son of a Roman Catholic gentleman of Worcestershire, who had been imprisoned in the reign of Elizabeth for his supposed connexion with Babington's conspiracy, and had been condemned to death as one implicated in the Gunpowder Plot. He had owed his life on the latter occasion to the interest of his relative, Lord Monteagle ; and it has even been supposed that his wife, the poet's mother, was the writer of

the famous anonymous letter to Lord Monteagle which led to the discovery of the plot. If so, the poet himself may have unconsciously contributed to the important step taken by the lady in her trepidation; for he was born on the 5th of November, 1605, the very day on which King, Lords, and Commons were to have been blown up.¹ As became such a nativity, the poet was educated at Jesuit schools and colleges abroad, with the intention that he should be a Catholic priest. Declining this destiny, but remaining firm to the Catholic faith, he had returned to England, to live on the family estate in Worcestershire, which became his by his father's death. The chief event of his life before 1632 had been, it seems, his courtship of Lucy, the daughter of William Herbert, first Lord Powis. To her, under the name of Castara, he had addressed a great many sonnets and short poems in different metres, celebrating her charms corporeal and mental, first as her hopeful lover, and then as her happy and admiring husband. These poems, together with others of a pious or meditative character on texts taken from the Latin Vulgate, were in circulation among his friends in 1632, but do not seem to have been published complete till 1635, when they appeared, under the title of *Castara*, in three parts. The first part contains the verses to Castara before marriage; the second contains those to Castara as his wife; and the third consists of miscellaneous poems of piety.

Habington proclaims it to be his purpose to teach the world a new strain in poetry. Speaking in his preface of most love poets as "heathens who can give no nobler testimony of twenty years' employment than some loose copies of lust happily expressed," he hopes that, "if the innocence of a chaste muse shall be more acceptable and weigh heavier in the balance of esteem," he may drive those rivals out of the field. The poems, accordingly, are

¹ Life of Habington, by Chalmers, in "English Poets," Vol. VI. p. 440. Chalmers, however, cites a foot-note from Dod's Catholic Church History, in which "either the 4th or the 5th of

November" is made the day of Habington's birth. Guy Fawkes was caught in the cellar at one o'clock on the morning of the 5th.

poems of virtuous aristocratic wooing, and then of satisfied conjugal affection; and occasion is taken throughout to expound the author's idea of the character and behaviour proper in woman, and of her just relations to the other sex. A kind of sweet, modest punctiliosity is the virtue he strives to paint and inculcate in his ideal woman. Thus, in his prose character of "A Mistress," prefixed to the first portion of his poems: "She is deaf to the whispers of love, and "even in the marriage-hour can break off without the least "suspicion of scandal to the former liberty of her carriage. "She avoids a too near conversation with man, and, like "the Parthian, overcomes by flight. . . . She never arrived "to so much familiarity with a man as to know the diminutive of his name and call him by it, and she can show a "competent favour without yielding her hand to his gripe." And so in the description of his Castara, as the centre of all those virtues:—

" Like the violet, which alone
 Prospers in some happy shade,
 My Castara lives alone,
 To no looser eye betrayed;
 For she's to herself untrue
 Who delights in public view.

Such is her beauty as no arts
 Have enriched with borrowed grace;
 Her high birth no pride imparts,
 For she blushes in her place.
 Folly boasts a glorious blood;
 She is noblest being good.

Cautious, she knew never yet
 What a wanton courtship meant;
 Nor speaks loud to show her wit,
 In her silence eloquent.
 Of herself survey she takes,
 But 'tween men no difference makes."

This is pretty; but the poet makes it quite clear that his own virtue did not proceed from the ignorance which he commends in Castara. Poets who "adorn the wrinkled face of lust" are lectured by him thus:—

" When *we* speak love, nor art nor wit
 We gloss upon :

Our souls engender and beget
Ideas which you counterfeit
In your dull propagation.

While Time seven ages shall disperse,
We'll talk of love :
And, when our tongues hold no commerce,
Our thoughts shall mutually converse,
And yet the blood no rebel prove.

And, though we be of several kind,
Fit for offence,
Yet are we so by love refined
From impure dross we are all mind ;
Death could not more have conquered sense."

In his poems descriptive of the wifely virtues the same strain is continued, with the due variation. Modest obedience to the husband is the chief of these virtues. "She is inquisitive only of new ways to please him, and her wit sails by no other compass than that of his direction. She looks upon him as conjurers upon the circle, beyond which there is nothing but death and hell ; and in him she believes paradise circumscribed. His virtues are her wonder and imitation, and his errors her credulity thinks no more frailty than makes him descend to the title of man." And so in his appended set of meditative or religious poems, in which he describes the feelings of a good man in matters higher than the matrimonial. "Catholic faith," he says, "is the foundation on which he erects religion, knowing it a ruinous madness to build in the air of a private spirit or on the sands of any new schism. His impiety is not so bold to bring Divinity down to the mistake of Reason, or to deny those mysteries his apprehension reacheth not. His obedience moves still by the direction of the magistrate ; and, should conscience inform him that the demand is unjust, he judgeth it nevertheless high treason by rebellion to make good his tenets." From these sentences it will be seen that Habington, in this particular portion of his poems, takes a place among the religious poets of the time beside Donne and Herbert, with about as much difference as might be supposed to arise from the mode of thought of a loyal English Roman Catholic

as compared with that of two Anglican churchmen. In these poems he rises above his pedantry and frigidity, and even seems to leave poor Castara behind, as, though still perfect enough in her way, only an impediment to the higher ecstasies of his private contemplations. Thus, in his poem *Cogitabo pro Peccato Meo*, after passing in review all the stages of his past life, his love and his literature included, as but time trifled away, he concludes,—

“ But now, my soul, prepare
 To ponder what and where we are :
 How frail is life, how vain a breath
 Opinion, how uncertain death ;
 How only a poor stone shall bear
 Witness that once we were ;
 How a shrill trumpet shall
 Us to the bar as traitors call.
 Then shall we see too late that pride
 Hath hope with flattery belied,
 And that the mighty in command
 Pale cowards there must stand.”

In Habington's poetry, more easily than in any other poetry of the period of the same virtuous aim and tendency, there may be detected a characteristic which nevertheless exists in almost all the poets with whom we have associated him. It may be described as an inordinately particular recognition of the fact of sex. These words are used to distinguish between what they are here meant to signify and that apparently identical, but really different, perception which pervades the poetry of all ages, and without which history would be full of fallacy and philosophy itself imperfect,—the perception of love as an influence in all human affairs. Quite different was the mental habit of which we speak. It was rather a fascination of the mind round the radical fact of sex, a limitation of the mental activity within the range of the immediate suggestions of that fact, a diffusion of it and of deductions from it through all kinds of considerations. There may be noted, for example, in most of the writers under view, a strained attention to the fact, as if all morality depended on continual reference to it, a vigilance of it as of the only tree of the knowledge of good and evil within the whole circle of the garden wherein men

now walk. The word *sin* in their language almost invariably means but one class of those actions which are included in a larger and manlier definition. Hence, in some of them, a view of human duty negative and special rather than positive or broad. Even the saintly Herbert is not free from this narrowness, and Ferrar's very notion of the best means towards a blessed life may be referred to some such cause. But it is worse when, as is the case with some of them, they will not, with all their alarm over the fact, take the obvious precaution of getting out of its way. With some of them it is as if, in walking round and round this one charmed tree, and avoiding every other part of the garden, they divided their business between warnings not to eat of the fruit and praises of its deliciousness when licit.

But this is not all. The same fact by which, in its primary aspect, some were alternately repelled and attracted, was transformed and allegorized and sublimated in the minds of others, till it passed into a permanent mode of their thought and affected all their rhetoric. In Donne, indeed, whose grasp of the fact was bold to audacity, and in whose earlier poems there is an absolute contempt of all distinction between licit and illicit, it is as a text susceptible of endless metaphysical interpretations, in addition to the literal one, that the fact continually figures. In others, however, the fact, in proportion as it is shunned by the hard intellect, seems to take out its influence in a certain enervation and languor of sentiment, a kind of introversion of the sensual into the spiritual. In some of the devotional poets under notice it is as if the allegory of Solomon's Song had taken exclusive possession of their imagination, and had there melted and inhered till all their language was tinged by the deliquescence. Let one example suffice. In a devotional poem, written in a prayer-book sent by the poet to a lady, feminine piety is thus described:—

“Amorous languishments, luminous trances;
Sights which are not seen with eyes;
Spiritual and soul-piercing glances,
Whose pure and subtle lightning flies

Home to the heart and sets the house on fire,
 And melts it down in sweet desire,
 Yet doth not stay
 To ask the windows' leave to pass that way :
 Delicious deaths, soft exhalations
 Of soul ; dear and divine annihilations ;
 A thousand unknown rites
 Of joys and rarified delights :
 An hundred thousand loves and graces,
 And many a mystic thing
 Which the divine embraces
 Of the dear spouse of spirits with them will bring ;
 For which it is no shame
 That dull mortality must not know a name.

O fair ! O fortunate ! O rich ! O dear !
 O happy and thrice happy she,
 Dear silver-breasted dove,
 Whoe'er she be,
 Whose early love
 With winged vows
 Makes haste to meet her morning spouse,
 And close with his immortal kisses !
 Happy soul who never misses
 To improve that precious hour,
 And every day
 Seize her sweet prey,
 All fresh and fragrant as he rises,
 Dropping with a balmy shower,
 A delicious dew of spices !
 Oh, let that happy soul hold fast
 Her heavenly armful."

This is not from Donne or Herbert, or any of the other poets that have been mentioned, but from a poet usually included in the same group,—Richard Crashaw. In 1632 Crashaw, the son of an eminent London preacher, was but a young scholar, newly admitted at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and known there only as the author of some pieces of verse on general topics, in virtue of which he might have been ranked rather among the young Spenserians than among the religious poets. Had Milton, before leaving Christ's College, become acquainted with the younger versifier of Pembroke, and read his *Music's Duel*, his *Elegies on the Death of Mr. Herrys*, and such other pieces of verse, original or translated, as he then had to show, he would have found in them a sensuous beauty of style and sweetness of rhythm quite to his taste. It was only in the course of the next ten years

or so that Crashaw, still residing at Cambridge, latterly as fellow of Peterhouse, was to leave lighter Spenserian themes for the "scriptures, divine graces, martyrs, and angels," which are the subjects of the greater part of his remaining poems. It was then also that he exhibited that tendency to a mystical or seraphic piety which led him at last to forsake the Church of England for the communion of Rome. Herbert's *Temple* became the model of his religious poetry; and it is from his collection of pieces named *Steps to the Temple*, written at Cambridge as a kind of sequel to Herbert's poems, though not published till 1646; that the foregoing extract is taken. On the whole, there was a richer vein of poetical genius in Crashaw than in Herbert; but the spiritualized voluptuousness which appears in the above extract, and which characterizes many of Crashaw's religious poems, is foreign to the clear Anglican muse of Herbert. It is chargeable rather to Crashaw's idiosyncrasy as it had been affected by contemplations in a particular order of doctrines, to which the Roman Catholic Church has always attributed a peculiar religious efficacy,—the doctrines of celibacy, the immaculate conception of the Virgin, and the like. And yet in Crashaw's poetry, in this respect, we see but the undisguised excess of a mode of thought perceptible not only among the poets with whom he is usually associated, but also among cognate religious prose-writers. Apart from the modified intellectual assent expressly accorded by Donne, by Ferrar, and by others, to some of the Roman Catholic doctrines which Crashaw seems to have made his spiritual diet, we trace a more occult effect of the same influence in a rhetorical peculiarity common to many of the writers of this theological school. We cannot define the peculiarity better than by saying that it consists in a certain flowing effeminacy of expression, a certain languid sensualism of fancy, an almost cloying use of the words, "sweet," "dear," and the like, with reference to all kinds of objects. In Izaak Walton's prose, and in much of the richest English prose of the seventeenth century, this peculiarity is discernible. There is an oriental fragrance in the air, an odour as of

concealed apples, in which one breathes rather faintly, and with eyes half-shut.

There remain to be named a few WITS AND LIGHT LYRISTS who, though all known as skirmishers in the literary field before 1632, had not, up to that time, taken a definite rank among their contemporaries by regular publication. The list, to be complete, would have to include some scores of courtiers, lawyers, clergymen, &c.; but only the more important can be glanced at.

The jolly Bishop Corbet of Norwich, just removed to that see from Oxford, was now fifty years of age, of a sufficiently grave and episcopal aspect, and of Laudian or Arminian principles, but with a reputation like that of Friar Tuck in the old ballads, or of Chaucer's monk in the Canterbury Pilgrimage. His reputation for facetiousness and good fellowship had begun while he was yet a student of Christ Church, Oxford, and had accompanied him through his clerical career. It was said that, after he was Doctor of Divinity, he had, in a freak, put on a ballad-singer's jacket and sold off his stock of ballads for him at the market-cross of Abingdon. Riding once in a coach, in a very dirty lane, in wet weather, with a Dr. Stubbins, who was "one of his cronies and a jolly fat doctor," he had a break-down, the results of which he described by saying that, on recovering his senses, he found Stubbins up to the elbows in mud, and himself up to the elbows in Stubbins. "One time, as he "was confirming, the country people pressing in to see the "ceremony, said he, 'Bear off there, or I'll confirm ye with "my staff.' Another time, being to lay his hand on the "head of a man very bald, he turns to his chaplain and said, "'Some dust, Lushington,' *i. e.* to keep his hand from "slipping. This chaplain, Dr. Lushington, was a very "learned, ingenious man, and they loved one another. The "bishop would sometimes take the key of the wine-cellar, "and he and his chaplain would go and lock themselves in, "and be merry. Then first he lays down his hood, 'Thereo "'lies the doctor'; then he puts off his gown, 'There lies

“‘the bishop’: then ’twas, ‘Here’s to thee, Corbet’; ‘Here’s
 “‘to thee, Lushington.’”¹ These stories, whether true of
 the bishop or only fathered upon him, are in the exact spirit
 of the specimens of his verse that remain, written some of
 them as early as 1610, but others after he was bishop. His
 ballad entitled *The Fairies’ Farewell* has some fancy as well
 as liveliness in it.

“ At morning and at evening both
 You merry were and glad ;
 So little care of sleep or sloth
 These pretty ladies had.
 When Tom came home from labour,
 Or Ciss to milking rose,
 Then merrily, merrily went their tabour,
 And nimbly went their toes.

Witness those rings and roundelays
 Of theirs which yet remain,
 Were footed in Queen Mary’s days
 On many a grassy plain :
 But since, of late, Elizabeth,
 And, later, James came in,
 They never danced on any heath,
 As when the time hath bin.

By which we note the fairies
 Were of the old profession ;
 Their songs were Ave-Maries,
 Their dances were procession.
 But now, alas ! they all are dead,
 Or gone beyond the seas,
 Or farther for Religion fled,
 Or else they take their ease.”

More of a poet than Corbet, and accounted the prince of
 the amorous versifiers of his day, was Thomas Carew, of the
 Carews of Gloucestershire, born about 1589, and now, in his
 forty-fourth year, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber and
 Sewer in Ordinary to King Charles, who “always esteemed
 him,” says Wood, “one of the most celebrated wits in his
 court.” He was “much respected, if not adored, by the
 poets of his time, especially Ben Jonson”; and, according
 to Oldys, his verses were more in request in aristocratic
 society between 1630 and 1640 than those of any other poet.
 It is easy yet, in reading them, to see the reason of this

¹ Aubrey’s Lives.

popularity. There is a light French spirit in his love poems, a grace and even a tenderness of sentiment, and a lucid softness of style, that make them peculiarly pleasing, and that, even when he becomes indecent, help to save him. He has an elegy on Donne's death showing his extraordinary veneration for that poet. He has also verses of strong compliment to Ben Jonson and his style. But, though there is evident sincerity in his praises of these poets, and in several of his pieces he writes in their strain, Spenser and Shakespeare seem to have been his favourites for private reading, and he seems to have formed his style partly from them and partly from the light artificial French poets with whom he had become acquainted in his travels. This is in Carew's characteristic vein :—

“ He that loves a rosy cheek,
 Or a coral lip admires,
 Or from star-like eyes doth seek
 Fuel to maintain his fires,—
 As old Time makes those decay,
 So his flames must waste away.

But a smooth and stedfast mind,
 Gentle thoughts and calm desires,
 Hearts with equal love combined,
 Kindle never-dying fires.
 Where these are not, I despise
 Lovely cheeks or lips or eyes.”

These and some hundred pieces, chiefly of the same gracefully artificial cast of lyric, were published collectively as Carew's Poems in 1640. The author had died in the preceding year, regretting, according to Clarendon, that his life had not been better spent.

For one who now reads anything of Carew there are twenty who know by heart some verses of his friend and brother-courtier, Sir John Suckling. His ballad upon a wedding, with the necessary omission of a verse or two, is in all our books of poetical extracts. Hardly less familiar is his song on the bashful lover :—

“ Why so pale and wan, fond lover?
 Pr'ythee, why so pale?

Will, when looking well can't move her,
 Looking ill prevail?
 Pr'ythee, why so pale?

Why so dull and mute, young sinner?
 Pr'ythee, why so mute?

Will, when speaking well can't win her,
 Saying nothing do't?
 Pr'ythee, why so mute?

Quit, quit, for shame! This will not move,
 This cannot take her;
 If of herself she will not love,
 Nothing can make her.
 The Devil take her!"

Born in 1609, the son of a knight who was Comptroller of the Royal Household under James and Charles, Suckling had spent much of his youth abroad, where he had "taken on a little too much of the French air"; and in 1630 he had served in a campaign in the Low Countries, and been present at several battles and sieges. Returning to England in or about his twenty-second year, he was known thenceforward as perhaps the sprightliest, airiest spark about court, till his premature death just before the beginning of the Civil Wars. Aubrey obtained a minute description of him from his intimate friend Davenant. "He was incomparably ready at reparteeing, and his wit most sparkling when most set upon and provoked. He was the greatest gallant of his time, the greatest gamester both for bowling and cards; so that no shopkeeper would trust him for sixpence,—as to-day, for instance, he might, by winning, be worth 200*l.*, and the next day he might not be worth half so much, or perhaps be sometimes *minus nihilo*. He was of middle stature and slight strength, brisk round eye, reddish-faced and red-nosed (ill liver), his head not very big, his hair a kind of sand colour. His beard turned up naturally, so that he had a brisk and graceful look." Having once had to run away from a man whom he had waylaid with the intention of beating him, he was a good deal rallied on the subject of his personal courage; nor did he ever quite come up, in this respect, to what might have been expected from one who had served as a

soldier. His works, including four plays, besides his humorous lyrics, were first collected in 1646, when the author had been dead five years.

How much a long life and a cool taste may contribute to permanent literary celebrity! We see this in the case of Edmund Waller, who, though he was Suckling's senior by four years, was to live for forty-six years after Suckling was in the grave, and into the midst of a generation to whom Suckling, Carew, and the Court of Charles I. were but matters of distant recollection. The cousin of John Hampden and of Oliver Cromwell, Waller had been left, when but a child, the possessor, by his father's death, of estates in Bucks and Herts worth 3,500*l.* a-year. Thus qualified for a public life, he had, after an education at Eton, and a brief stay at King's College, Cambridge, entered King James's Parliament of 1621-22 as member for Agmondesham in Bucks. "His political and poetical life," says Dr. Johnson, "began nearly together. In his eighteenth year he wrote the poem that now appears in his works on 'The Prince's Escape at St. Andero,' a piece which justifies the observation made by one of his editors, that he attained, by a felicity like instinct, a style which will, perhaps, never be obsolete, and that, were we to judge only by the wording, we could not know what was written by him at twenty and what at fourscore." Here are a few lines from the poem:—

"Our hero set
In a small shallop, fortune in his debt,
So near a hope of crowns and sceptres more
Than even Priam, when he flourished, wore,
His loins yet full of ungot princes, all
His glory in the bud, lets nothing fall
That argues fear. If any thought annoys
The gallant youth, 'tis love's untasted joys,
And dear remembrance of that fatal glance
For which he lately pawned his heart in France,
Where he had seen a brighter nymph than she
That sprung out of his present foe, the sea.
That noble ardour, more than mortal fire,
The conquered ocean could not make expire;
Nor angry Thetis raise her waves above
Th' heroic Prince's courage or his love.
'Twas indignation and not fear he felt
The shrine should perish where that image dwelt."

These lines were probably not written in 1623, when the incident occurred, but inserted into the poem in compliment to Henrietta Maria after she had become queen. With the same metrical care, and chiefly in the same style of personal panegyric, Waller had written several other poetical trifles before 1632, and among them one on "His Majesty's receiving the news of the Duke of Buckingham's death." Meantime he had sat in Charles's first Parliament in 1625 and in his third of 1628-9, taking little part in affairs, but only feeling his way. He had married a very rich heiress, and so increased his fortune. By this lady's death, he was now, at the age of seven-and-twenty, a widower with one daughter, free to celebrate the praises of any Sæharissa or Amoret to whom he might choose to dedicate his fancy. He resided chiefly on his estate in Bucks, not writing much, nor mingling much with general society, but cultivating his talent by study. Carew and Suckling were probably acquainted with him, but he seems to have had no personal acquaintance with Ben Jonson. According to Aubrey, he was of tallish and rather slim make, his head small, his eye full and brown, and his bearing somewhat magisterial.

Another ineipient poet of the day, not absolutely unknown in London, though not so well known as the courtiers Carew and Suckling, or as the rich and gentlemanly Waller, was Robert Herrick, then vicar of the parish of Dean Prior, in Devonshire. He had been appointed to this living by the King in 1629, when he was in the thirty-eighth year of his age, the previous portion of his life, after he had left Cambridge, having been spent in or about London, where he had been born in 1591. Before removing into Devonshire, he had been "sealed of the tribe of Ben"; and the probability is that his acquaintance with Ben, and with the convivial pleasures of the Apollo and other metropolitan taverns which Ben honoured with his presence, had rather spoiled him for his clerical duties among his Devonshire parishioners. They were a rude set, he says,

"A people currish, churlish as the seas,
And rude almost as rudest salvages."

Nor was Herrick a Herbert to chime religion over their hamlets by the sound of his chapel bell. He was an Anacreon in holy orders, whiling away, at the ripe age of forty, the dulness of his Devonshire parsonage in such ditties as these :—

“Much, I know, of time is spent ;
Tell I can't what's resident.
Howsoever, cares, adieu !
I'll have nought to say to you ;
But I'll spend my coming hours
Drinking wine and crowned with flowers.”

“While the milder fates consent,
Let's enjoy our merriment,
Drink and dance and pipe and play,
Kiss our dollies night and day.”

And so, in every other poem, he sings or sips his wine, with his arm round an imaginary Julia. Like Anacreon, he is sweet in light sensuous descriptions of physical nature. “That which chiefly pleases in his poems,” says Phillips in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, “is now and then a pretty, flowery, “and pastoral gale of fancy, a vernal prospect of some hill, “cave, rock, or fountain.” There was, moreover, a tinge of amiable melancholy in his genius, the melancholy on which the Epicurean philosophy itself rests. His little poem “To the Daffodils” has tears in its very cadence :—

“Fair daffodils, we weep to see
You haste away so soon ;
As yet the early-rising sun
Has not attained his noon :
Stay, stay,
Until the hastening day
Has run
Up to the even-song ;
And, having prayed together, we
Will go with you along.

We have short time to stay as you ;
We have as short a spring,
As quick a growth to meet decay
As you or any thing.
We die
As your hours do, and dry
Away,
Like to the summer's rain,
Or as the pearls of morning dew,
Ne'er to be found again.”

For twenty years Herrick was to go on writing, in his Devonshire parsonage, such little bits of song or epigram, mixed with religious lyrics, till, when turned adrift from his parochial charge in the course of the Civil Wars, he had a very large collection of them. They were published in one thick volume in 1648; but there are allusions which show that some of them were in circulation as early as 1632, and that Herrick then regarded himself as one of the fraternity of English poets. Among persons to whom he writes, besides Jonson, are Selden and Bishop Hall. The latter was his diocesan.

Among the versifiers of the same school as Carew, Herrick, and Suckling, were the two young Cantabs, Thomas Randolph of Trinity and Cleveland of Christ's. Randolph's reputation as one of Ben's favourite "sons" was gained as much by his light occasional verses as by his plays. Of these, and of his goings to and fro between London and Cambridge, there was soon to be an end by his death in 1634. His friend Cleveland had a longer life before him. Already a pet at Cambridge, he was to be better known beyond Cambridge after his appointment to a fellowship in St. John's College in 1634; in which College he became one of the tutors, and, being excused from going into holy orders, "became the rhetoric reader, and was usually employed by "the society in composing their speeches and epistles, being "in high repute for the purity and terseness of his Latin "style." By that time Oxford had a young poet more famous than either Cleveland or Randolph,—William Cartwright of Christ Church, the son of a Gloucestershire innkeeper. In 1632 Cartwright had just taken his first degree. It was not till after 1635, when he took orders, that his great fame began. From that date to his death in 1643, at the age of thirty-two, no terms were to be too strong to express the admiration of him. He was "the most florid and seraphical preacher in the University" and "the most noted poet, orator, and philosopher of his time." There is nothing in his remaining writings to account for these hyperbolic praises. "My son Cartwright," said Ben Jonson, "writes like a

man"; and the compliment implies an acquaintance between him and Ben, begun as early as 1632, or not much later.

Corbet, Carew, Suckling, Herrick, Randolph, Cleveland, and Cartwright were all anti-Puritans, constitutionally and by profession. The Puritans, however, had at least one song-writer of their own, if they chose to prove their claim to him. Wither, in addition to his satires, his pastoral narratives, and his devotional hymns, had written, chiefly as interspersed lyrics in his earlier poems, some really good secular songs. One of these is still to be heard occasionally; and a very good song it is:—

“ Shall I, wasting in despair,
Die because a woman's fair?
Or make pale my cheeks with care
'Cause another's rosy are?
Be she fairer than the day,
Or the flowery meads in May,
If she be not so to me,
What care I how fair she be?”

To make our survey of the Poetical Literature of Great Britain in 1632 nominally complete, we must advert to the LATIN VERSIFICATION of that day by English and Scottish scholars.

The Latin Dramatists of the English Universities, with Alabaster at their head, have already been mentioned. There were scores of English scholars, however, who, without venturing on Latin plays, were in the habit of exercising themselves in Latin epigrams, elegies, and the like. A catalogue of their names might be drawn up from the volumes of congratulatory and elegiac verses issued on occasions of public interest by the *Musæ Cantabrigienses* and the *Musæ Oxonienses*.—Among the Cambridge Latinists on these occasions James Duport of Trinity College, afterwards Dean of Peterborough, deserves especial notice. Not a few pieces of Duport, besides those contributed by him to the collections referred to, were in circulation to his credit among academic readers before 1632; among which we note several to or concerning James I. and Charles I., one “*In*

Benjaminium Jonsonum, Poetam Laureatum, et Dramaticorum sui seculi facile Principem,” and two, which, from the coincidence of the titles, we judge to have been prepared for distribution in St. Mary’s, at one of the Divinity Acts of the Commencement of 1632, when Milton took his Master’s degree.¹—Not, perhaps, quite so eminent a representative of the Oxford Latinists as Duport was of those of Cambridge, but of some considerable note among them, was Alexander Gill the younger. When we last saw this unfortunate Bachelor of Divinity, in the end of 1628, he was a disgraced and degraded man, in prison, by sentence of the Star-chamber, for his wild words about the King and the assassination of Buckingham, though the parts of his sentence which doomed him to the pillory and the loss of his ears had been remitted. His punishment had brought him to his senses; and Laud, thinking him punished enough, and having a kindness for his father, had obtained from the King his full pardon in November 1630, with that of his fellow-culprit, William Grinkin. Once more at large, and restored apparently to his clerical rights and degree, Gill sought to rehabilitate himself in his literary character by publishing in 1632 a little volume of *Πάρεργα*, *sive Poetici Coquatus*, containing his collected pieces of Latin verse, with several additions. The volume is dedicated in Latin “To our most serene Lord, Charles, the best of kings, the pattern of princes, the illustrious patron of Letters and the Arts,” &c., in token of “the eternal gratitude” of the author,—some-what a change of strain from the “Fitter to stand in a Cheapside shop” of 1628; and one of the pieces is a Latin poem of equally profound respect to Laud, dated January 1, 1631-2. For the rest, one sees in the volume the same unruly and discontented Gill that he had always been. “If,” he says in the preface, “the future portion of my life, what—“ever remains to me, is to be no different from what is past,

¹ See Duport’s “*Musæ-Subsecivæ, seu Poetica Stromata*, Cantab. 1676.” One of the pieces in this volume is entitled “*In optimis renatorum operibus datur culpabilis defectus*,” and the other,

“*Nudus assensus divinitus revelatis non est fides justificans*.” As these are the themes of the Divinity Acts at the Commencement of 1632 (see ante, p. 257), my surmise is probably correct.

“there is little reason for *me* to promise myself much good—
 “will on the part of the public, who have hitherto led a life,
 “I know not by what unkindness of the stars, of incessant
 “struggle with the wrongs of men and of fortune.”¹—A
 Latinist of higher power than either Gill or Duport was
 Thomas May, among whose very various works was to be,
 in due time, a supplement to Lucan in seven books, carrying
 on the narrative to the death of Cæsar.

Scotland, poor in almost every other form of literature,
 was exceptionally rich in Latin verse. Neither the *Musæ
 Cantabrigienses* nor the *Musæ Oxonienses* will bear comparison
 with the *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*. Under this title there
 was to be published at Amsterdam in 1637, at the expense
 of a patriotic Scot, who wished to show to the learned world
 that the countrymen of Buchanan could still vie with any
 nation in Latinity, a collection, in two small densely-packed
 volumes, of choice Latin poems, by thirty-seven Scottish
 authors, styled “*hujus ævi illustrium*,” and these but a
 selection, the preface informs us, out of a much larger
 number of poets (“*innumerabilis poetarum veluti exercitus*”) who,
 since Buchanan’s death, had maintained the fame which
 he had won for his diminutive country (“*extremum hunc
 terrarum angulum penè sub ipso mundi cardine jacentem*”).
 Most of the illustrious thirty-seven, in fact, belonged to the
 preceding generation, and had been long in their graves;
 but ten or a dozen of them were alive in 1632. Of these
 the chief were Andrew Ramsay, one of the ministers of
 Edinburgh, David Wedderburn, schoolmaster of Aberdeen,
 the eccentric John Scot of Scotstarvet, brother-in-law of
 the poet Drummond, and the projector and paymaster of
 the patriotic literary demonstration, and Arthur Johnston,
 the editor. The last deserves a word by himself.—Born at
 Caskieben, near Aberdeen, in 1587, Johnston had been
 educated at Marischal College in Aberdeen, then just
 founded; he had studied medicine at Padua, and taken his
 Doctor’s degree there in 1610; he had travelled in Germany,

¹ Calendar of English State-Papers
 under date Nov. 30, 1630 (warrant for the

Pardon of Gill under the King’s sign-
 manual); and Gill’s *Poetici Conatus*.

the Netherlands, and Denmark, and had lived for many years in Paris, with extraordinary credit both as a physician and a scholar; and, some time about 1628, he had returned finally to Britain and become *Medicus Regius*, or King's Physician. He resided generally in London or near the Court; but he was often in Aberdeen for a good while together. Thus, though his first publication with his name, an *Elegia in obitum Jacobi I.*, appeared in London in 1625, his next three publications, containing the bulk of the poems afterwards reprinted in the *Delitiae*, were printed at Aberdeen—*Elegiae Duce* in 1628, *Parerga Arturi Johnstoni*, &c., in 1632, and *Epigrammata Arturi Johnstoni* in the same year. In these poems there are references to local matters and persons which imply that the author was in the midst of them. One is addressed to George Jamesone the portrait-painter; there are others to the Bishop of Aberdeen, the Provost of Aberdeen, the Aberdonian Town Council, and the like. There are also short poems to Drummond, to Alexander, and to other persons of note in Scotland or in connexion with it. He may have been out of Aberdeen before 1633, when his *Cantici Salomonis Paraphrasis Poetica* was published in London. His *Musæ Aulicæ* were also published there in 1635; but again, in 1637, it was from the Aberdonian press that there issued his most celebrated work,—that Latin version of the Psalms which was to confirm him in the reputation of having been the finest of Scottish Latinists after Buchanan. Aberdeen, indeed, had a peculiar celebrity in Scotland at that time as a seat of letters.

After this survey of British Poetry in or about the year 1632 there are several reasons why our account of the contemporary PROSE-WRITERS may be much more summary.

One is that far more of the prose of any period than of its poetry consists of intellect expended on those social questions the record of which belongs to the general historian. It may be incumbent on the historian of literature to mention some versifier whose intrinsic faculty may have been of the smallest, while the bishops, the statesmen, the

men who made society quiet or tumultuous round that versifier, who did more in a week than he did in a year, may have no recognition whatever. Laud is a less figure in our ordinary literary histories than Herrick, who would have licked his shoe; and Williams, almost every recorded saying of whom is worth a sonnet or an epigram, is hardly named among our national writers. It is necessary that this should be borne in mind. As Hallam remarked, many of those poets whom it has been our duty to mention fare all the better now because they lived long ago, and because they are presented to us through selected extracts, in which what is tolerable alone remains, while the trash is left out of account. Moreover, an antiquarian interest attaches to them, and a thought, a phrase, a fancy which we should pass with little notice in a modern writer surprises us in them into something like glee. Were it possible to disinter some of the minor English poets of 1632, so as to see them as they actually were, weak vain creatures, it would be felt that it is only conventional deference to the metrical form of writing that has given them a title to be enumerated in the same chronological list with the Shakespeares, the Jonsons, and the Donnes, while other far superior men who also laboured with the pen, but laboured only in business-like prose, are excluded from the dignity of such a fellowship. Not but that this difference of treatment is founded on reason. It is not merely valuable intellectual matter, but intellectual matter of a certain range of kinds, elaborated into one or other of a certain range of forms, that constitutes literature, in the sense in which literature can be made the subject of specific and continuous history. There may thus, in any period, be hundreds of men of wide scholarship, of quick wit, or of energetic elocution, who, though they leave writings behind them, are passed over afterwards by the literary historian, simply because their writings lack the prescribed characteristics. The duty of compensation lies with the historian of the body-politic, or with the antiquarians in special departments.

Contributing to the same result, however, is another con-

sideration. English Prose had by no means at our present date taken a development that could entitle it to co-ordinate rank with English Verse. This may have been partly owing to that general law according to which, in all nations, metrical literature has preceded literature in *oratio soluta*. But it must have been owing in a greater degree to the fact that Prose among us had emancipated itself much later than Verse among us from the trammels of a dead tongue. Almost from the first hour when Englishmen expressed their feelings in song, or sought play for their imagination in tales, they chose their vernacular for the purpose; but in those departments of literary exercise which the world recognised as the proper dominion of prose the preference had all along been for Latin over English. An English prose was, indeed, nobly disentangling itself. As was natural, it had disentangled itself first in the form and for the purposes of popular eloquence. If we discount the precedents of a Wycliffe, Chaucer in some of his works, a Sir Thomas More, and the like, the first English prose-style was that of the pulpit after the Reformation. Then, in the Elizabethan age, among a host of chroniclers, pamphleteers, and polemical theologians, there had appeared a Sidney, a Hooker, a Raleigh, and a Bacon. After such men had appeared, and there had been exhibited in their writings the union of wealth and depth of matter with beauty and even gorgeousness of form, there could no longer be a definition of literature in which English Prose should not be co-ordinate with English Verse. And yet, so much had still to be done before genius of all kinds could sufficiently master the new element and make it plastic for all purposes that, in the schemes of our ablest literary historians, it is common to count but one period of English Prose prior to Dryden and the Restoration.

For these reasons, and also because some who were prose-writers of the period were also verse-writers and have been named as such, it will be enough if, by way of appended survey of the prose literature of the period, we name only those who, from some peculiarity in the form of their writ-

ings, rose out of the crowd of the scholars and academic men, or who, without this distinction, were men of extraordinary mark. We may still allow Ben Jonson to occupy the chair; for Ben was a good prose-writer himself, and it was not only the verse-writers, but all the wits and intellectual men of his day, that he regarded as his subjects.

A very large proportion of the prose literature of the period consisted of sermons, devotional treatises, and other works of popular or practical theology. There were few Church dignitaries or clergymen of note, whether on the Laudian side or on the Calvinistic, who had not published sermons,—funeral sermons, discourses before the king, &c. —in which the aim was rather the exposition of the general principles of Christianity than the inculcation of their peculiar views as Laudians or as Calvinists. Among the devotional writings most in request were those of the recently deceased Bishop Andrewes. The “most eminent divine” in the English Church while he lived, and undoubtedly one of the first to introduce that Patristic theology which Laud afterwards sought to enforce as the only Anglican orthodoxy, Andrewes had been particularly distinguished as a pulpit orator. “He was an unimitable preacher in his way,” says Fuller, “and such plagiaries who have stolen his sermons “could never steal his preaching, and could make nothing “of that whereof he made all things as he desired.” Besides what Andrewes had published in his life, a folio volume of his sermons had been published after his death by the command of the king; and these were still serving as theological reading for persons of superior culture. “Both the learning “and the ability of Andrewes,” says Mr. Craik, “are conspicuous in everything he has written; but his eloquence, “nevertheless, is to a modern taste grotesque enough. In “his more ambitious passages, he is the very prince of “verbal posture-masters,—if not the first in date, the first in “extravagance, of the artificial, quibbling, syllable-tormenting school of our English pulpit rhetoricians; and he “undoubtedly contributed more to spread the disease of “that manner of writing than any other individual.” Some-

thing of the same manner, with the variations to be expected from a man of so subtle and abstruse a talent, is to be found in the sermons of Donne. Some of these, preached at Whitehall or before public bodies, had been accessible in print long before Donne's death, though it was not till a later period that the whole were edited.

The Calvinists were not without authors more exactly agreeable to their tastes than either Andrewes or Donne. Among the eminent Puritan preachers who had outlived Preston there was none more celebrated than the "humble and heavenly-minded" Dr. Richard Sibbes. Between 1618 and 1625 he had been preacher to the Society of Gray's Inn; and, after his appointment to the Mastership of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, he had continued to preach, with Laud's eyes upon him, at Cambridge and elsewhere. A set of sermons which he had put forth separately, and then collected in 1629 into a folio volume, under the title of *The Saint's Cordial*, were eagerly bought and read by the Puritan part of the community. To these were added, in 1632, his *Soul's Conflict with Itself*, being the substance of several sermons,—a treatise which, with *The Bruised Reed*, similarly composed, and other sermons published before his death in 1635, or shortly afterwards, has not yet ceased to be in demand. From the year 1630, onwards for twenty years or so, no writings in practical theology seem to have been so much read among the pious English middle classes as those of Sibbes.

Of higher literary pretensions than the works of Sibbes, and also soundly Calvinistic, if not obtrusively so, were the prose writings of Bishop Hall. It has already been mentioned that since the publication of his Satires in 1597 Hall had confined himself almost exclusively to prose authorship. Among his publications in the earlier part of his clerical life, while he was yet but a parish clergyman in Suffolk, or Archdeacon of Nottingham, had been his *Meditations* (1605), his *Epistles* (1608-11), and various controversial tracts, under such titles as *No Peace with Rome*, *The Apology of the Church of England against the Brownists*, &c. While Dean

of Worcester, he had published (1617), in a large folio, a "Recollection" of such treatises, dedicated to King James. Since then he had put forth a good many additional tracts and sermons, of which he was just about to make another folio. The writings of his first folio seem, however, to have been still in most general request, particularly his *Meditations*, his *Characters of Virtues and Vices*, and his *Contemplations upon the Principal Passages of the Holy Story*. In addition to their own merits, these, and indeed most of Hall's prose writings, had a merit which might have been expected from the author of the *Satires*, and which distinguished them from the mass of the theological writings of their day, the merit of careful literary execution. "He was commonly called our English Seneca," says Fuller, "for the pureness, plainness, and fulness of his style." Hall, accordingly, has still a place in the history of English theological prose between Hooker and Jeremy Taylor; and there are modern critics who, comparing Hall and Taylor, and pointing out their differences in the midst of some obvious similarities, seem to waver in their choice between them.¹ With much of Taylor's rich fancy and rhetorical copiousness, however, there is more in Hall of a certain mechanical hardness of purpose, more of astringency and of mean temper. Even in his *Meditations* there is less of a genuine meditative disposition than of a cultured habit of ethical sententiousness.

The first half of the seventeenth century was the great age of learning over Europe. A "prodigious reach of learning" distinguished, in particular, the *theologians* of those fifty years, and perhaps more the theologians of the Protestant Churches than their Catholic contemporaries. The British clergy were not behind those of any nation in this respect. "All confess," said Selden, "there never was a more learned clergy; no man taxes them with ignorance." The erudition thus general among churchmen was partly of the strict *philological* kind; but it was more of that general

¹ See Hallam, III. 126, and, for a still closer appreciation, Professor Spalding's "History of English Literature" (1853), pp. 221-226.

historical kind which concerned itself with all those facts of the past, and all those portions of the literature of the past, that bore or could be made to bear on the paramount theological and ecclesiastical controversies.¹ Out of the necessities of the original controversy with the Church of Rome there had been already bred among the British clergy, as well as among the Protestant clergy of the Continent, a vast erudition pertaining to that controversy, an erudition composed of Biblical exegesis, research into the early history of the Church, and an exact knowledge of the history of the Papacy and of the opinions of the Popish theologians. Such was the erudition of the English divines of the days of Elizabeth and of the earlier part of the reign of James, while Protestant theology was still tolerably homogeneous over Europe, and Calvinists, Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Anglicans acted as one phalanx against their common foe. On the rise of the new Patristic theology, however, as a system intermediate between the strictly Biblical theology which all Protestants had professed and the Romish theology from which they had all dissented, this erudition had become hardly sufficient. In addition to the controversy between the Papacy and Protestantism, there was now the controversy between those who were called the semi-Papists or Arminians and the more resolute Calvinistic Protestants. This controversy, though not special to England, had there its main footing. As Andrewes, Laud, and others, in their desire to place the hierarchical constitution of the Church of England and the peculiar ceremoniousness of its ritual under a stronger theoretical safeguard than Hooker's mere argument of expediency and wise political order, had formulized their views in the principle that, in matters both of rule and of doctrine, the authority of the Fathers of the first six centuries is to be regarded as supplementary to that of Scripture, so those who rejected this principle had to follow them in their Patristic lore, in order to show what sort of men those Fathers were. Hence, before the reign of Charles, an ex-

¹ See Hallam's *Literature of Europe*, III. 2.

tension of English theological scholarship,—the Patristic divines gradually diminishing their antipathy to the Roman Catholic Church, and some even receding into that Church, in the course of their battle with those who, the more they read the Fathers, maintained the more vigorously the sole authority of the Bible.

Thus, about the year 1632, there were in Britain a number of men who, with various degrees of judgment, were prodigies of acquisition and memory. Laud's acknowledged specialty was Patristic learning. Lightfoot was weighty in Rabbinical antiquities. Meade was at the head of the Apocalyptic commentators. Bishop Goodman was great in English ecclesiastical history. Archdeacon Hakewill had a wide knowledge of ancient and modern literature. Confessedly, however, the man of most colossal erudition among the clergy of the British Islands was one who did not belong to the English Church, and whose learning had not been acquired either at Oxford or at Cambridge. This was Archbishop Usher, the Primate of Ireland.

In Usher's early youth, while he was a student at Trinity College, Dublin, his preference had been for the lighter forms of literature. He knew Spenser, and did not think it impossible that he might himself be a poet. As he grew older, Nature corrected the mistake. Struck one day by Cicero's saying, "*Nescire quid antea quam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum*" ("Not to know what happened before you were born is to be always a child"), he found his genius revealed to him in the fascination of a phrase, and from that day devoted himself to History. Before he had reached his thirtieth year he was profound in universal chronology, and known to Camden and other English scholars as the most learned of Irishmen. His visits to England were always for the purpose of buying books, for himself or for the University of Dublin, where he was Divinity Professor from 1607 to 1620. Naturally, in such a position, his learning, or at least his use of it, became theological and ecclesiastical. At first, like a true historian, he had held his mind in suspense till he had determined

by independent research whether the Romish tenets or those of Protestantism were the more ancient; and, having concluded in favour of Protestantism, he had ever after been mighty in that controversy. Though his own mother had relapsed into the Catholic communion, he always strenuously opposed a toleration of the Irish Catholics. Another of his conclusions, however, was that the Calvinistic system of Protestantism was the soundest and most Scriptural. He was a zealous Predestinarian; and he had helped, at the celebrated Convocation in 1615, to settle the Articles of the Irish Church on a Calvinistic basis. Moreover, though friendly to Episcopacy as a system of Church government, he believed, with the Presbyterians, that there was no Apostolic order of bishops in the primitive ages of the Church. Though himself an archbishop, he was therefore ready for all liberal co-operation with the non-episcopal Churches or with true Protestants of any denomination. When the Arminian controversy arose, and, with it, the high Anglican theory of Episcopacy, he did not conceal his dissatisfaction; and, when it became evident that Laud contemplated a reorganization of the Irish Church according to *his* principles of theological orthodoxy, the independence of that Church became Usher's chief thought. It was the pride of the English Calvinists about the year 1632, when the learning of Laud and other prelates of his school was mentioned, to point across the Channel to the great Calvinistic Primate as a scholar who outweighed them all. His main works up to that time had been his treatise "*De Ecclesiarum Christianarum successione et statu*" (1612), tracing the history of doctrine from the seventh century downwards, and his "*Goteschalei et Predestinarianæ Controversiæ ab eo motæ Historia*," or History of the Predestinarian Controversy (1631); and he had just published, or was about to publish, his "*Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*," a collection of letters of old Irish ecclesiastics.

The British clergy had not all the learning of the country to themselves. The English lawyers had a very fair share of it, with this difference, that the learning of the lawyers

did not flow so exclusively in theological and ecclesiastical channels, but applied itself with greater freedom to secular needs and uses. The only man in the British Islands who was allowed to be more than a match for Usher in miscellaneous erudition was his friend and correspondent, the English lawyer Selden. No man in that age is more worthy of note than this superb scholar. His life, though simple in its tenor, had already been full of important incidents. Born in 1584 in an obscure Sussex village, of a parentage as mean as could well be, he had, by one of those arrangements by which poor lads were then sometimes helped on in life, been sent from Chichester School to Hart Hall, Oxford. After three or four years at Oxford, he removed to London to study law at Clifford's Inn; which society he left in 1604 for that of the Inner Temple. Though called to the bar, he never sought general practice, but "gave chamber counsel, and was a good conveyancer." From his first coming to London he was acquainted with Ben Jonson, Donne, and almost every other man of intellectual note. He would now and then attempt a copy of Greek or Latin, or even of English, verses. His fame among his associates, however, had always been for his extraordinary acumen and his boundless information. "He did, by the help of a "strong body and a vast memory," says Wood, "not only "run through the whole body of the law, but became a "prodigy in most parts of learning, especially in those "which were not common, or little frequented and regarded "by the generality of students of his time. He had great "skill in the divine and humane laws; he was a great "philologist, antiquary, herald, linguist, statesman, and "what not." After some minor exhibitions of his learning in legal tracts and in notes to a portion of Drayton's *Polyolbion*, he had published in 1614, when in his thirtieth year, his *Titles of Honour*, still one of our great authorities in all matters of heraldry. Between 1614 and 1617 he published some additional tracts, and in 1617 his treatise "*De Diis Syris*" ("Of the Syrian Gods"), a specimen of his learning of which the clergy could not speak too highly. They had

hardly had time to praise it, however, when his *History of Tithes* (1618) changed their humour. In this work not only was a view propounded as to the origin and obligation of tithes alarming to the whole clerical body, but there was an onslaught on the profession generally for laziness and other ill deserts. Answers were published to the book; and Selden was summoned before Abbot, Andrewes, and others in the High Commission Court, and obliged to apologise and recant. He seems to have submitted with grim facility, but it was thought afterwards that the clergy might have done well to let such a man alone. "The usage sunk so deep into his stomach," say Wood and Heylin, "that he did never after affect the bishops and clergy, or cordially approve their calling, though many ways were tried to gain him to the Church's interest." From that time, at all events, Selden was a leader among the English liberals, as well in ecclesiastical as in secular politics. He served in James's Parliament of 1621, and had the honour of being imprisoned for his conduct in it along with Pym and others. In the first Parliament of Charles I. he was member for a Wiltshire borough. In that Parliament, and also in the third, he stood in the front ranks of the opposition, with Eliot, Pym, Sir Edward Coke, and the other chiefs. He had a share in drawing up the Petition of Right. "With my own hand," he said, in reference to the care with which that document was prepared, "I have written out all the records from the Tower, the Exchequer, and the King's Bench, and I will engage my head Mr. Attorney shall not find in all these archives a single precedent omitted."¹ On the dissolution of that Parliament (March 1628-9) he had been arrested, with Eliot, Denzil Holles, and the other "vipers" of whom the king complained. After a little while the strictness of his confinement had been relaxed, so as to allow him to move about in town, and even to go into the country on a visit; and from May 1631 he was at full liberty, though under a

¹ Forster's Life of Sir John Eliot.

kind of bail for his good behaviour. As matters then were, he consulted his ease in avoiding farther offence. He was even willing to be on moderately friendly terms with Laud and the Court. All political activity being debarred him, he had fallen back upon his books. In 1623 he had added to his former works his "*Spicilegium in Eadmeri sex Libros Historiarum*"; in 1628 he had prepared, during the parliamentary recess, his "*Marmora Arundeliana*," or account of the Arundel marbles, then exciting the attention of artists and antiquaries; and in 1631 he published his Latin treatise on the laws of succession to property among the Hebrews. He had other treatises in contemplation; and it was understood that he had a manuscript by him quite complete, which he had written in James's reign, asserting the right of the English Crown to the dominion of the seas, in reply to a famous work of Grotius. Much of his time was spent at Wrest, in Bedfordshire, the seat of the Earl of Kent, to whom he acted as solicitor and steward, and whose countess, Elizabeth,—the daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the sister of the Dowager Countess of Pembroke and of the Countess Arundel,—was "a great encourager of learning." The countess, it may be interesting to add, had then in her employment, as private secretary or amanuensis, a youth named Samuel Butler, who was to be known long afterwards as the author of *Hudibras*; and Selden, when he was at Wrest, where the whole service of the household was at his disposal, "would often employ him to write letters beyond the sea, and translate for him."¹ When in town, Selden still lived in his chambers in the Temple,—“Paper Buildings, uppermost story,” says Aubrey, “where he had a little gallery to walk in”; and where, when any one came in to see him, he would throw “a slight stuff or silk kind of false carpet over his table,” so as not to disarrange his papers. In his appearance there was nothing of the book-worm. “Very tall,” Aubrey says: “I guess about six foot “high, sharp oval face, head not very big, long nose inclining

¹ Wood, *Athenæ*, III. 875; and Bell's *Memoir of Butler*, prefixed to his edition of Butler's *Poetical Works* (1855).

“to one side, full popping gray eye.” His face in the portraits is one of the finest possible of the clear, judicial type. Ben Jonson admired him greatly, and eulogised him in verse; and Clarendon, who knew him intimately, testifies in the strongest terms to his courtesy and readiness to communicate his knowledge.

A memorable singularity about Selden is that, while perhaps the greatest scholar of his day in England, he was yet one of its most conspicuously sceptical thinkers. With a memory full of all that had happened on the earth, he reasoned on current questions as if, the pressure of his recollections on all sides being equal, the result, for his judgment, was equilibrium. “His style in all his writings,” says Clarendon, “seems harsh and sometimes obscure;” “but in his conversation he was the most clear discourser, “and had the best faculty in making hard things easy, and “presenting them to the understanding, of any man that “hath been known.” It was early noted of him also that, whether in his writings or in his talk, his method was rather to accumulate the facts on both sides till the balance turned of itself than to advance a distinct opinion. From the specimens of his table-talk that remain we can judge of these characteristics for ourselves. Here are one or two of his sayings:—

“Every man loves to know his commander. I wear these gloves; but perhaps, if an alderman should command me, I should think much to do it. What has he to do with me? Or, if he has, peradventure I do not know it.”

“A King is a thing men have made for their own sakes, just as in a family one man is appointed to buy the meat.”

“Bishops are now unfit to govern, because of their learning. They are bred up in another Law: they run to the Text for something done among the Jews that concerns not England. ’Tis just as if a man would have a kettle, and he would not go to our braziers to have it made as they make kettles, but he would have it made as Hiram made his brass-work, who wrought in Solomon’s Temple.”

“’Twill be a great discouragement to scholars that bishops should be put down; for now the father can say to his son, and the tutor to his pupil, ‘Study hard and you shall have *vocem et sedem in Parlamento*’; then it must be ‘Study hard and you shall have a hundred a year if you please your parish.’”

“The Puritans, who will allow no free will at all, but God does all, yet will allow the subject his liberty to do or not to do, notwithstanding-

ing the King, the god upon earth. The Arminians, who hold we have free will, yet say, when we come to the King, there must be all obedience and no liberty to be looked for."

"Marriage is nothing but a civil contract. 'Tis true 'tis an ordinance of God : so is every other contract. God commands me to keep it when I have made it."

"'Tis vain to talk of an heretic, for a man for his heart can think no otherwise than he does think. In the primitive times there were many opinions ; nothing scarce but some or other held. One of these opinions being embraced by some prince and received into his kingdom, the rest were condemned as heresies ; and his religion, which was but one of the several opinions, first is said to be orthodox, and so to have continued ever since the Apostles."

"No man is wiser for his learning. It may administer matter to work in, or objects to work upon ; but wit and wisdom are born with a man."

One can see, from such sayings, that Selden was the incarnation of the anti-clerical spirit of his time. The only thing about which he seems to have had no doubt was the liberty to doubt ; and, in as far as he was a partisan of the Puritanism of our present date, it was, perhaps, in that interest and in that alone. *Περὶ παντὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν* ("Above everything, Liberty,") was the motto he had adopted ; and, as it was a part of his practical interpretation that everything should be done to break down the distinction between the clergy and the laity, he had no objection in the mean time to go along with those who were doing this on a different account.

Among friends of Selden recently dead were Speed the historian, and the great antiquary and collector of MSS., Sir Robert Cotton. Speed had died in 1629, and Cotton in 1631. The more aged antiquary and Saxon scholar, Sir Henry Spelman, was still alive. Among younger adventurers in the department of History, or at least of historical and miscellaneous compilation, was Laud's client, Peter Heylin, whose bulky geographical manual, *Microcosmus*, originally published in 1622, had already been reprinted and enlarged several times, and who had just published his *Historie of that famous Saint and Souldier of Christ Jesus, St. George of Cappadocia*. The far more admirable Fuller had not yet found out that his true vocation was History. In his twenty-fifth year, a Fellow of Sidney College, and

Prebendary of Salisbury, he had just made his first appearance as an author, in 1631, in a sacred poem, *David's hainous Sin, heartie Repentance, heavie Punishment*, which his subsequent works were to throw into oblivion.

Before the death of Elizabeth, Leicestershire had produced, and Brasenose College in Oxford had educated, two brothers, both now celebrated as scholars and writers. The elder of the two, William Burton, was, by profession, a barrister of the Inner Temple, but was better known as the author of a valuable History of Leicestershire, published in 1622. While *his* place was among the antiquarians and genealogists, that of his brother, Robert Burton, vicar of the parish of St. Thomas in Oxford, and rector of Segrave in Leicestershire, was much more peculiar. It was eleven years since he had published, under the name of Democritus Junior, his *Anatomy of Melancholy*. Of this famous book there had already been four editions, the fourth in 1632. Everybody was reading it; and, as Wood says, "gentlemen who had lost their time and were put to a push for invention" were using it to furnish themselves with "matter of discourse" and with Latin quotations to last them all their lives. The book was, in truth, no mere literary feat, but the genuine counterpart, in a strange literary form, of a mind as unusual. Burton's place is in that extraordinary class of humourists, of which, in modern times, Rabelais, Swift, and Jean Paul are, though with obvious mutual differences, the other best known examples. He led the life of a student in Christ Church, Oxford, devouring all the books in the Bodleian, and surrounded in his own chambers with a collection of "all the historical, political, and poetical tracts of his time," including a large assortment of "medical books, and of accounts of murders, monsters, and accidents." By those who knew him intimately he was esteemed "a person of great honesty, plain dealing, and charity"; and, in his talk, what was most noticed was his eternal facetiousness and his readiness in anecdote and quotation. It was known about Oxford, however, that he was the victim of an incurable hypochondria. Ostensibly to relieve himself from

the disease, he had written his book. Offered under the guise of a medico-psychological dissertation on hypochondria in all its forms, the book is an endless medley of learned quotations, floating, and only just floating, in a text of Rabelaisian humour. From numberless passages in the treatise itself, and still more from the prefixed "Satirical Epistle to the Reader," it is evident the author had a real title to his assumed name of Democritus, and that, though living as a recluse parson in Oxford, with nothing more laughable at hand than the ribaldry of the Oxford bargemen, to which, it is said, he used to listen with never-ending delight, he had gone the old philosophic round in his private meditations, and come to the conclusion, with some slight abatement through his theology, that life, if ghastly in the particular, is a huge farce in the sum. Burton died in January 1639-40, at the age of sixty-four.

The transition is natural, through Burton, from the heavy scholars of the age, to its lighter essay-writers. The example of Bacon and the popularity of Montaigne had begotten a taste for short compositions of a witty or semi-philosophical nature. A form of such compositions much in repute was that which went by the name of "Characters,"—*i. e.* graphic sketches or satirical representations of individual types of social life, such as the Merchant, the Farmer, the Sluggard, the Busy-body. Bishop Hall had given good specimens, in his miscellanies, of this style of writing; there were good specimens also among the remains of the unfortunate Sir Thomas Overbury; and the style was to continue in use throughout the century. Among the practitioners of it in or about 1632 the most popular was John Earle, afterwards chaplain to Charles II. in his exile, and made a bishop at the Restoration, but now a young man, chaplain to Philip, Earl of Pembroke, and the rector of a parish in Wilts. Though his *Microcosmography, or a Piece of the World characterised in Essays and Characters*, had been published only in 1628, and then under another name, it was already in the fifth edition. Hardly less popular, though not of the same kind, were the *Resolves* of Owen Feltham, the first edition of which had

appeared in 1628, and a second in 1631, and of which there were to be five or six additional reprints, greatly increased in bulk, in the course of the next fifty years. Both Earle and Feltham have still their admirers; but a man of far greater social mark, who may also be included among the essay-writers, was Sir Henry Wotton.

Wotton was now in his sixty-fifth year, looking back upon a life of unusual activity, which extended into the reign of Elizabeth. Born in 1568, of the important family of the Wottons of Bocton Hall, Kent, he had been educated at Oxford, and, after some years spent in foreign travel, had become secretary to the famous Earl of Essex. He was at that time intimate with Donne, and with other men of eminence in politics or letters, including Bacon, who was his kinsman. On the fall of Essex, he escaped sharing his fate by a timely flight from England; and during the rest of Elizabeth's reign he lived in exile in Florence, excluded from all chance of employment in her service. A secret mission on which he was sent by the Grand Duke of Tuscany to James VI. of Scotland led to important consequences. When James came to the English throne, Wotton was recalled, knighted, and employed in diplomatic service. He was "thrice ambassador to the Republic of Venice, once to the States of the United Provinces, twice to Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, once to the United Provinces of Upper Germany in the Convention of Heilbrunn, also to the Archduke Leopold, to the Duke of Würtemberg, to the imperial cities of Strasburg and Ulm, as also to the Emperor Ferdinand II."¹ The embassies to Germany and the Low Countries were but incidental missions towards the end of his long diplomatic life; and for the better part of twenty years his station had been Venice. It was the time of the famous contest of the Venetians with the Papacy, in the issue of which European Protestantism was so much concerned; and, as representative of Great Britain, Wotton had been in all the secret counsels of the Venetian statesmen,

¹ Wood, *Athenæ*, II. 644, and Walton's *Lives*.

and a party to all the most important negotiations of the Italian princes. No Englishman knew the Italians so well, or had been more popular or more useful in Italy. When he had done his work there, it was expected that he would be rewarded with some office at home proportionate to his services. About 1619 there had been a prospect of his being made Secretary of State. Disappointed of this or of any equivalent office, and willing, as it would seem, to retire in the evening of his days into any honourable place at home which would afford him leisure along with a sufficient maintenance, he had accepted, in 1624, the Provostship of Eton College,—a place which Bacon had solicited a year or two before, when he was degraded from the Chancellorship. “*Animas fieri sapientiores quiescendo*” was one of his favourite apophthegms; and he thanked God and the King that now, after a life of so much bustle, he was able, like Charles the Fifth, to enjoy the quiet of a cloister. Not that, as Provost of Eton, he was by any means idle. “He was a constant “cherisher,” says Walton, “of all those youths in that school “in whom he found either a constant diligence or a genius “that prompted them to learning”; he adorned the school with pictures and busts of the Greek and Roman poets and historians; he encouraged the youths to cultivate rhetoric; and he would never leave the school or come up to a group of the boys without dropping some pleasant or weighty sentence which was manna to their young minds. Moreover, in the afternoons he had always a hospitable table, at which there was a perpetual succession of guests to keep up pleasant philosophic talk; and on these occasions two or three of the most hopeful pupils of the College were always present. His wit and his great store of reminiscences made his own conversation delightful. He had seen or known intimately not only Essex, Raleigh, and the other Elizabethan statesmen, but also most of the great foreigners of the age,—Beza, Casaubon, Guarini, Sarpi, Arminius, Kepler, and princes and artists without number. Bacon had not disdained to pick up anecdotes from his cousin Wotton, and even to register his apophthegms; and among Wotton’s most interesting

letters is one to Bacon, thanking him for a gift of three copies of his *Organum*, and promising to send one of them to Kepler. When any one within the circle of his acquaintance was going abroad, nothing pleased him better than to furnish the necessary advices and letters of introduction. One of his amusements in summer was angling; and Walton speaks of his delight when the month of May came and he could go out with his rod. Of his pleasures within-doors, besides books, conversation, and smoking,—in which last, says Walton, he was “somewhat immoderate, as many thoughtful men are,”—the chief was in the pictures, gems, engravings, and coloured botanical charts, which he had brought with him from Italy. He had a Titian, one or two Bassanos, portraits of several Doges, and the like; and in all matters of art he was an acknowledged authority. Amid so many desultory occupations and pleasures, he had not time to accomplish all that was expected of him in the way of original authorship. On accepting the Provostship of Eton, he had indulged in the hope of being able to write a Life of Luther, which he had long had in view, and in which he meant to involve a history of the German Reformation; but King Charles had persuaded him to abandon this design and think rather of a history of England. All that he had done towards this work consisted of but a few fragments; and his literary reputation depended, therefore, on two controversial letters or pamphlets published by him when he was ambassador at Venice, on a little treatise entitled *The Elements of Architecture* which he had published in 1624, on a few short poems of a moral or meditative character which had got about separately and were known to be his, and on several brief essays, also unpublished, but known to his friends. The poems, the essays, and a selection of his private letters were published after his death as the *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*. The poems are in a graceful, thoughtful spirit, with a trace in them of the style of his friend Donne. The essays are mostly on historical or political topics,—a Panegyric on Charles I., a Character of William the Conqueror, a Parallel between the Character of the Earl of Essex and

that of the Duke of Buckingham, &c.; but one of them is a brief tract *On Education, or Moral Architecture*, containing hints derived from his experience as Provost of Eton School. The Panegyric on Charles is in a strain of the most reverent loyalty, and he particularly applauds Charles's policy for the suppression of controversies in the Church. "*Disputandi pruritus est Ecclesiarum scabies*" ("The itch of disputing is the leprosy of Churches") was one of his favourite aphorisms. He was himself a man of liberal views, keeping a middle way between Calvinism and Arminianism, though deferring to the policy of Laud as that of the established power of the State. All in all, he deserved his reputation as one of the most accomplished and benevolent old gentlemen of his time; and it is pleasant yet to look at his portrait, representing him, seated in his furred and embroidered gown, as Provost of Eton, leaning against a table, his head resting on his left hand, and his wise kind face looking straight towards you, as if listening so courteously.

Passing from the scholars and essay-writers to those who, by reason of a certain speculative direction of their studies, may be spoken of more properly as the *thinkers* of the time, we come upon a very interesting group, whom we cannot describe better than by calling them the Latitudinarians. Selden, as we have seen, was so critical and two-edged in his theological talk that the name Latitudinarian might have been applied to him. If Selden was a latitudinarian or rationalist, however, he was one who went with the Puritans in his political sympathies, differing in this respect from those whom we are about to name, and whose peculiarity was that, being most of them young men, detached altogether from the Puritans, and rather favourable to Laud than otherwise, they were working through Laudism to a new set of tenets. Of this group of persons mention is made by Clarendon in his *Life*, as being those with whom, in his own youth, he kept most frequent company; and it may be well, therefore, before naming them, to introduce Clarendon himself.

Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, the son of

Henry Hyde, Esq., of Pirton, in Wilts, and the nephew of Sir Nicholas Hyde, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, had been born in 1608, the same year as Milton, and was now a young barrister of the Middle Temple. Though but four-and-twenty years of age, he was a husband for the second time. His first wife, whom he had married in 1628, had died within a few months of their marriage; and his second marriage was in 1632. During the period of his widowhood he had by no means allowed his profession to occupy all his thoughts, but, being in no want of money, had "stood at gaze and irresolute what course of life to take." At this time "his chief acquaintance were Ben Jonson, John Selden, Charles Cotton, John Vaughan, Sir Kenelm Digby, Thomas May, and Thomas Carew." After his second marriage, however, he "laid aside all thoughts but of his profession"; and, though he did not discontinue his acquaintance with the persons just named, yet, with the single exception of Selden, whom he "looked upon with so much affection and reverence that he always thought himself best when he was with him," he spent less time in their society. Ben, he hints, resented this a little; for, after having had "an extraordinary kindness for Mr. Hyde," he abated it when he found he had betaken himself to business, "which he believed ought never to be preferred before his company." Besides Mr. Hyde's natural disinclination, as a married man and a rising young lawyer, to dangle any longer about such an exacting old Bacchus, there was another cause, he says, which about the same time tended to loosen that connexion. "He had then," he says, "another conjunction and communion that he took so much delight in that he embraced "it in the time of his greatest business and practice, and "would suffer no other pretence or obligation to withdraw "him from that familiarity and friendship." The new friends whose society was thus potent are enumerated by him individually. They were Sir Lucius Carey, eldest son of the Lord Viscount Falkland, Lord Deputy of Ireland; Sir Francis Wenman, of Oxfordshire; Sidney Godolphin, of Godolphin in Cornwall; Edmund Waller, of Beaconsfield;

Dr. Gilbert Sheldon; Dr. George Morley; Dr. John Earle; Mr. John Hales, of Eton; and Mr. William Chillingworth.

In the centre of the group is young Sir Lueius Carey. This young nobleman, whom his father's death was to raise to the title of Lord Falkland, had already been several years out on the world on his own account. Carefully educated in Ireland, both under private masters and at the University of Dublin, he had returned to England in 1628, at the age of eighteen, and had almost immediately come into independent possession of large estates which had been settled on him by his maternal grandfather, Lord Chief Baron Tanfield. Ben Jonson, Selden, and Hyde were among the first to find out his merits; and through them all the world heard that, if there was a bud of pre-eminent promise among the young English aristocracy, it was Sir Lueius Carey. Unfortunately, just as this opinion was beginning to be formed, he was lost for a time to his friends in London. He married, without his father's consent, a young lady "without any considerable portion"; and, as no submission could conciliate the Viscount, Sir Lueius took his displeasure so much to heart that, after trying in vain to find some military employment in Holland, he retired with his wife to his estates in England, there to give himself up to Greek and other studies, and with the resolve not to see London again for many years, though it was "the place he loved of all the world." His father's death so much sooner than had been anticipated was to bring him back into society. From the year 1633, when, at the age of three-and-twenty, he succeeded to his peerage, onwards till the commencement of the civil wars, the mansion of young Lord Falkland at Tew in Oxfordshire, about twelve miles distant from the University, was to be more noted as a centre of intellectual resort and activity than any other nobleman's mansion in England. Being so near Oxford, it "looked like the University itself," by reason of the numbers of eminent doctors and scholars from the University that made it their rendezvous. These, as well as the visitors from London, "all found their lodgings there as ready as in the colleges; nor

“did the lord of the house know of their coming or going, “nor who were in his house, till he came to dinner or supper, “where all still met; otherwise, there was no troublesome “ceremony or constraint to forbid men to come to his house, “or to make them weary of staying there, so that many “came thither to study in a better air, finding all the books “they could desire in his library, and all the persons together “whose company they could wish and not find in any other “society.”¹ Besides Hyde himself, the eight persons named above appear to have been among the most constant and most welcome of Falkland’s guests, and to have formed the nucleus of what might have been called the Falkland set. It is not till after 1633 that we are to fancy them gathered in so intimate a manner round the young Viscount’s table at Tew. Till then we are to fancy them scattered, some about London and some about Oxford, the friends of Sir Lucius Carey, the Viscount expectant.

Two of them, Waller and Earle, are already known to us. Four of the others, Wenman, Godolphin, Sheldon, and Morley, may be dismissed briefly. Wenman was a country gentleman, with property in Oxfordshire close to Falkland’s, highly esteemed at Court, Clarendon tells us, and of great weight in his part of the country, but affected, through ill health, with “a kind of laziness of mind,” unfitting him for public employment. He was a fair scholar, but “his ratiocination was above his learning.” He died just before the Civil Troubles. Sidney Godolphin, who lived to take a brief part in these troubles, was now a youth of Falkland’s own age, recently from Oxford and from foreign travel, competently wealthy, and much loved by his friends for his “excellent disposition” and his “great understanding and large fancy,” lodged in one of the smallest and most fragile bodies ever seen. Sturdier men than either Wenman or Godolphin, and with much longer lives before them, were the two clergymen, Sheldon and Morley. Sheldon, who was to die Archbishop of Canterbury in 1677, after many previous experiences and preferments, was at this time, in

¹ Clarendon’s Life, p. 22.

his thirty-fifth year, domestic chaplain to Lord Keeper Coventry. According to Burnet's character of him in later life, he was a subtle, plausible man of business, generous and charitable, but supposed "not to have a deep sense of religion," and "speaking of it most commonly as an engine of government." In this earlier time of his life he was, if anything, an Arminian or Laudian in his theology. He "was the first," it was afterwards said, "who publicly denied the Pope to be Antichrist at Oxon." If Sheldon was thus bold on one side, Morley, notwithstanding that he and Sheldon were so much together, was as bold on the other. Already, while but chaplain to Lord Carnarvon, he had, in consequence of his free talk at his College of Christ Church, Oxford, "fallen under the reproach," says Clarendon, "of holding some opinions which were not grateful to those churchmen who had the greatest power in ecclesiastical promotions." One jest of his had hit very hard. A grave country gentleman, who wished to be clear as to the nature of Arminianism, having asked him "what the Arminians held," Morley's reply was, "They hold all the best bishoprics and deaneries in the Church of England." Morley's definition of Arminianism had reached Laud's ears, and had created a prejudice against him. He lived, however, to toil for the King as hard as Laud himself would have done, and to hold two bishoprics after the Restoration.

From this description of four out of the group celebrated by Clarendon, it will be seen that those whom we have described as the Falkland set consisted of men almost all under forty, and some of them little over twenty years of age, who had the character of being "clear reasoners" in religion. If the name Latitudinarians should be too strong for some of them, it was not too strong for their three chiefs, Hales, Chillingworth, and Falkland himself.

John Hales was the veteran of the party, being about forty-eight years of age. Born at Bath in 1584, he had been educated at Corpus Christi, Oxford, and had afterwards been fellow of Merton College there. "There was never any one in the then memory of man," as Wood heard

afterwards, "that went beyond him at the University for "subtle disputations in philosophy, for his eloquent declamations and orations, as also for his exact knowledge "in the Greek tongue." He held the Greek lectureship not only in his college, but also in the University; and he was one of those who assisted Sir Henry Savile, then warden of Merton, in his edition of St. Chrysostom. In 1618 he went to Holland as chaplain to Sir Dudley Carleton, then ambassador in that quarter. He was present at the Synod of Dort, and detailed accounts of the proceedings of that synod are given in a series of letters written by him at the time. After his return, "though he might have promised "himself any preferment in the Church, he withdrew himself "from all pursuits of that kind into a private fellowship in "the College of Eton, where his friend Sir Harry Savile was "provost, where he lived amongst his books." Under Savile's successors in the provostship—Thomas Murray (1621-2—1623) and Sir Henry Wotton—Hales continued in the same modest retirement, from which nothing could draw him. He had fifty pounds a-year, he used to say, more than he could spend; "and yet," adds Clarendon, "besides being very charitable to all poor people, even to "liberality, he had made a greater and better collection of "books than were to be found in any other private library "that I have seen." His great learning and "profound judgment" were combined with the most punctilious integrity and the utmost modesty of demeanour, so that there was no man of the day of whom more people spoke well. He was of very small stature,—“a pretty little man,” says Aubrey, “sanguine, and of cheerful countenance.” Wotton used to call him his “walking library”; and one of the attractions of Wotton’s table was that Hales was to be seen there. “When the court was at Windsor,” says Aubrey, “the learned courtiers much delighted in his company.” Occasionally he visited London, and he also made periodical visits to Oxford. “He had,” says Clarendon, “whether “from his natural temper and constitution, or from his long “retirement from all crowds, or from his discerning spirit,

“contracted some opinions which were not received, nor by him published, except in private discourses, and then rather upon occasion of dispute than of positive opinion.” As to the nature of those opinions Aubrey is more outspoken. “I have heard his nephew, Mr. Sloper, say that he much loved to read Stephanus, who was a Familist, I think, that first wrote of that sect of the Family of Love: he was mightily taken with it, and was wont to say that some time or other these fine notions would take in the world.” Again, according to Aubrey, “he was one of the first Socinians in England,—I think, *the* first.” His cardinal tenet, however, was the duty and expediency of religious toleration. “Nothing troubled him more,” says Clarendon, “than the brawls which were grown from religion; and he therefore exceedingly detested the tyranny of the Church of Rome,—more for their imposing uncharitably upon the consciences of other men than for the errors in their own opinions; and would often say that he would renounce the religion of the Church of England to-morrow if it obliged him to believe that any other Christians should be damned, and that nobody would conclude another man to be damned who did not wish him so.” Something of this philosophical Latitudinarianism had appeared in his “*Dissertatio de Pace et Concordiâ Ecclesiæ*,” published in 1628, and in letters on metaphysical and other topics to his friends; and later writings were to express his views on Church polity more fully.¹

Chillingworth, of whom we have had a glimpse already, in curious circumstances, at Trinity College, Oxford, in 1628, was now in his thirty-first year. He had just returned to England and been welcomed back to Protestantism by his godfather Laud, after his brief aberration among the Jesuits, who were pursuing him with hootings for his inconstancy. His aberration, however, had been but a natural incident in the history of a mind made for arguing; nor would he ever

¹ Clarendon's Life; Aubrey's Lives; Wood's Athenæ, III. 409-416; and “The Works of the ever-memorable

Mr. John Hales of Eton, now first collected”: 3 vols., Glasgow, 1765.

allow that it was in the least to be blamed or regretted. Imbued with the Patristic theology of Laud, he had gone over to the Catholic Church, because logical consistency with Laudian premises seemed to lead him thither. He had scarcely been in that Church when his reason set to work to bring him back again, not as a Protestant of the common school, but as one who had arrived at the conclusion that "exemption from error was neither inherent in nor necessary to any Church." He had scruples about some of the Thirty-nine Articles, and the report at Oxford was that he had become a Socinian. He had "such a habit of doubting," says Clarendon, "that by degrees he grew confident of "nothing, and a sceptic at least in the greatest mysteries of "faith." It was not till some years later that, in reply to the attacks of the Jesuits, he was to write his famous defence of Protestantism, *The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation*; but he was broaching his arguments in private talk, hitting the Papists hard enough, and yet, as Hobbes said of him when his book came out, "like some "lusty fighters that will give a damnable back-blow now "and then to their own party." All in all, he went with Hales, Falkland, and the rest, as a member of that Protestant Latitudinarian party which was growing up under Laud's government, and was to survive it. "He and Lord Falkland," says Aubrey, "had such extraordinary clear reasons "that they were wont to say at Oxon that, if the Great Turk "were to be converted by natural reasons, these two were "the persons to convert him." Like Hales and Godolphin, Chillingworth was a little man,—"blackish hair, and of a "saturnine countenance," adds Aubrey.

It was an age in which small men were unusually prominent. Falkland himself was of the number. He used to say that one of the reasons of his friendship for Godolphin was that in Godolphin's presence he could feel himself "the properer man." But small stature was not his only disadvantage. "His person and presence," says Clarendon, "were in no degree attractive or promising; his motion not "graceful, and his aspect so far from inviting that it had

“something in it of simplicity; and his voice the worst of
“the three, and so untuned that, instead of reconciling, it
“offended the ear so that nobody would have expected
“music from that tongue. Sure no man was less beholden
“to nature for his recommendation into the world. But
“then,” adds Clarendon, in a panegyric the most glowing
and affectionate that has come from his pen, “no man
“sooner or more disappointed this general and customary
“prejudice. That little person and small stature was
“quickly found to contain a great heart, a courage so keen
“and a nature so fearless that no composition of the
“strongest limbs and most harmonious and proportioned
“presence and strength ever more disposed any man to the
“greatest enterprises, it being his greatest weakness to be
“too solicitous for such adventures; and that untuned
“tongue and voice easily discovered itself to be supplied
“and governed by a mind and understanding so excellent
“that the wit and weight of all he said carried another kind
“of lustre and admiration in it, and even another kind
“of acceptation from the persons present, than any orna-
“ment of delivery could reasonably promise itself or is
“usually attended with; and his disposition and nature was
“so gentle and obliging, and so much delighted in courtesy,
“kindness, and generosity, that all mankind could not but
“admire and love him.” This is a character from the
recollection of his whole life; but already in 1632 it was
beginning to be deserved. His generosity was such that
“he seemed to have his estate in trust for all worthy persons
“who stood in want of supplies and encouragement, as Ben
“Jonson and many others of that time, whose fortunes
“required and whose spirits made them superior to ordinary
“obligations, which yet they were content to receive from
“him.” In reading, as Clarendon thought, he at length
came up to Hales. Besides the classics, he had betaken
himself to the Greek and Latin Fathers, and to all the best
ecclesiastical writers, on the principle that a man could not
inquire too diligently or curiously into the real opinions of
those who were cited so confidently by men who differed

the farthest among themselves. He had thus been led to some conclusions "on which he was in his own judgment "most clear," though he would "never think the worse or in "any degree decline the familiarity of those who were of "another mind." Aubrey is not positively sure whether he or Hales was the first Socinian in England, but knows that he was one of the first to import the books of Socinus.

There were Englishmen alive whose speculations were going beyond those of the Latitudinarians, and, indeed, penetrating into tracks lying wholly out of the region of current clerical controversy. Bacon, it is true, had had no proper successor; and, to an extent which seems surprising after the appearance of such a man, the national mind had again retracted itself into the defined channels of theological debate. But Bacon's notions were permeating educated society, tending in some quarters to develop quietly a new interest in physical science, and in others provoking theologians themselves into exercises of secular speculation. There were also some minds that were disporting themselves, each in its own way, in regions of the *scibile* not included in recognised English theology.—Whether among those who were doing so with any discernible effect upon their contemporaries we ought to reckon the Paracelsian and Rosicrucian theosophist Robert Fludd (1574-1637) may admit of question. Fludd was then well known as a physician in Fenchurch-street, London; but, with the exception of Selden, who is said to have held him in high esteem, and perhaps of one or two other omnivorous readers, Englishmen seem to have let his works alone, as not knowing what to make of them.—Much better known in the world than Fludd, and a thinker of a less uncouth school, was the eccentric Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1581-1633), the eldest brother of the poet Herbert. In 1624 he had published at Paris, where he was then English ambassador, his celebrated treatise *De Veritate, prout distinguitur a Revelatione, a Verisimili, a Possibili, et a Falso*,—a book, as he says himself in his autobiography, "so different from anything which had been written before" that he had not dared to publish

it till, in answer to his prayers, he had received a supernatural sign from heaven. He had circulated copies among the continental thinkers, "without suffering it to be divulged to others"; but, satisfied with the result, he was now preparing a second edition, to be published in London. When this edition appeared in 1633, it bore the *imprimatur* of Laud's domestic chaplain, stating that nothing had been found in it "contrary to good morals or the truth of the faith." It is the custom now, however, to regard the book as the first English Deistical treatise, and the author as the first English Deist.—It may be doubted whether this judgment is correct. It may even be doubted whether, if the conspicuous heads of that day were carefully counted, there might not be found among them one or two whose speculations passed the bounds of any form of Theism whatever. Had Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, for example, attempted about this time to publish works such as were afterwards to make him famous, the probability is that *they* would have been stopped. But, though Hobbes was now in his forty-fifth year, he seemed to be conscious that he was to live to the age of ninety-one, and need be in no hurry to trouble people with his speculations. On leaving Oxford in or about 1610, he had gone into the service of William Cavendish, Earl of Devonshire; he had travelled in France and Italy as companion to the Earl's son; on his return, continuing in the Earl's service as his secretary, he had begun a new course of study on his own account, furbishing up his forgotten Greek and Latin, betaking himself again to logic and philosophy, visiting stationers' shops to "lie gaping on maps," and cultivating acquaintance with Bacon, Lord Herbert of Cheshire, and Selden. After the Earl's death in 1628, he had gone abroad again as tutor in another family; but he had returned in 1631, to become tutor to the eldest son of the new Earl, his former pupil. In 1629 he had published his first work, a folio volume entitled *Eight Books of the Peloponnesian Warre, written by Thucydides, the sonne of Olorus; interpreted with faith and diligence immediately out of the Greeke, by Thomas Hobbes,*

Secretary to the late Earl of Devonshire. Just about the time when it appeared, he had betaken himself with extraordinary avidity to geometry; and, had one predicted the tenor of his future life, one would have anticipated nothing more formidable from him than some additional translations from the Greek historians and some treatises in mathematics. Those who knew him intimately, however, were aware that there was dangerous matter in him.¹

Of what we should now call Newspaper and Pamphlet Literature there was not much show in Britain about the year 1632. Improving on stray previous attempts at gazettes, Nathaniel Butter, a London bookseller, had established a weekly news-sheet in 1622. The demand for his *corantos*, as they were called, had greatly increased in consequence of the desire for continental news in England during the 'Thirty Years' War. Butter's *corantos*, however, were innocent enough productions, comment or discussion being avoided, and the news being for the most part foreign. The more dangerous part of a journalist's work fell to be performed, so far as it was performed at all, by writers of tracts and pamphlets. Of the number of these was poor Dr. Leighton, in prison since 1630. Leighton's *Plea against Prelacy*, as we saw, had been printed in Holland; and it was thence, and more particularly from Amsterdam, that there still came most of the very vehement tracts against prelacy, the constitution of the Church of England, and the policy of Charles. But, ever since the Elizabethan days of the Marprelate Tracts, "the press in the hollow tree" had been one of the domestic institutions of England; and not only was there much clandestine printing in Charles's reign, but there were booksellers, who, on principle or for gain, made the sale of pamphlets and treatises that might have been considered libellous against individuals or the state a special part of their business. Marked men as writers of Puritan tracts were Henry Burton and John Bastwick. Burton was rector of Little St. Matthew's, in Friday-street, London,

¹ Aubrey's *Life of Hobbes*, and Wood's *Athenæ*, III. 1206.

and in some esteem among the Puritans as the author of *A Censure of Simony*, published in 1624, an anti-popish tract entitled *The Baiting of the Pope's Bull*, published in 1627, and a subsequent volume of a devotional kind. Bastwick, a younger man than Burton, was of the medical profession, and settled at Colchester. In 1624 he had published at Leyden a small treatise entitled "*Elenchus Religionis Papis-ticæ, in quo probatur neque Apostolicam, neque Catholicam, immo neque Romanam, esse*"; and he had other tracts in preparation. But the most terrible phenomenon as a Puritan pamphleteer was the lawyer William Prynne. Born near Bath in 1600, and educated at Oriel College, Oxford, afterwards admitted of Lincoln's Inn, and there noted as a disciple and admirer of Dr. Preston, Prynne, though still a young man, was a veteran pamphleteer. Here are the titles of three of eight pamphlets of his which had preceded his *Histriomastix* :—

"Health's Sickness ; or a Compendious and Brief Discourse, proving the Drinking and Pledging of Healths to be sinful and utterly unlawful unto Christians," &c. 1628. pp. 86.

"The Unloveliness of Love-locks ; or a Summary Discourse proving the wearing and nourishing of a Lock or Love-lock to be altogether unseemly and unlawful unto Christians : In which there are likewise some passages collected out of the Fathers, Councils, and sundry Authors and Historians, against Face-painting, the Wearing of supposititious, powdered, frizzled, or extraordinary long hair, the inordinate affectation of corporal beauty, and Women's mannish, unnatural, impudent, and unchristian cutting of their hair, the epidemical vanities and vices of our age." 1628. pp. 63.

"The Church of England's Old Antithesis to New Arminianism : wherein the 7 Anti-Arminian orthodox tenets are evidently proved, their 7 opposite Arminian (once Popish and Pelagian) errors are manifestly disproved, to be the ancient, established, and undoubted doctrine of the Church of England," &c. 1629. pp. 280.

Aubrey's portrait of Prynne refers to a somewhat later period, but will not be amiss here. "He was always temperate," says Aubrey, "and a very hard student, and he had a prodigious memory. His manner of study was this :—He wore a long quilt cap, which came two or three inches at least over his eyes, which served him as an umbrella to defend his eyes from the light. About every three hours his man was to bring him a roll and a pot of

“ale, to refoeillate his wasted spirits: so he studied and
“drank and munched some bread; and this maintained him
“till night, and then he made a good supper. He was of a
“strange saturnine complexion: Sir C. W. [Sir Christopher
“Wren?] said once that he had the countenance of a witch.”
Of Prynne, as well as of Burton and Bastwick, we shall hear
again.

It may help to throw light on some points which our survey of British literature about the year 1632 may have left still obscure if we append some information as to the forms and statistics of the British book-trade at that time.

From the time of the establishment of printing in England, but more especially after the Reformation, there had been interferences of the Government with the book-trade. The first proper attempt to consolidate the trade, however, had been the incorporation of the Stationers' Company of London in the reign of Philip and Mary. By an Act of 1557, conferring the exclusive privilege of printing and publishing books in the English dominions on ninety-seven London stationers, and on their successors by regular apprenticeship, literature had been centralised in one spot, where it could be under the immediate inspection of Government. No one could legally print books, unless by special licence, who was not a member of the Stationers' Company; and the Company might lawfully search for and seize any books printed against their privilege. Illegal printing was to be punishable by fine and imprisonment. These restrictions had been continued under Elizabeth; but, that the determination of what should be published might not be left wholly to the discretion of the Company incorporated by her Popish sister, it had been decreed, by the fifty-first of the Injunctions concerning Religion promulgated in 1559, that no book in any language, school-books and established classics excepted, should thenceforward be printed without previous licence from the Queen, or by six of her Privy Council, or by the Chancellors of the two Universities, or by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, or by the

Bishop of London, or by the Bishop Ordinary and the Archdeacon of the place of publication. This regulation, ratified by a decree in Star-chamber in 1566, had continued in force till 1586, when it was somewhat modified. The privilege which the two Universities had always naturally claimed as seats of learning, and the occasional exercise of which had caused disputes between them and the London printers, was then confirmed or recognised; and it was settled by a new decree in Star-chamber that, in addition to the printing-presses under the control of the London Company, there might be one press at Oxford and another at Cambridge,—the owners of these presses, however, to have only one apprentice at a time, and to employ London journeymen when they required extra service.¹ At the same time the right of licensing books to be printed was transferred to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, both or either; except in the case of documents officially entrusted to the Queen's printer, and also in the case of law-books, the right of licensing which was to belong to the Chief Justices and the Chief Baron. This arrangement, modified and relaxed a little to suit convenience, had served through the rest of the reign of Elizabeth and the whole of the reign of James. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London were still the censors-general of literature for all England; and it was part of the duty of their chaplains to examine works intended for the press, so that they might be legally entered at Stationers' Hall as allowed by authority, and might then appear with the words "*cum privilegio*," or some equivalent legend, prefixed to them.

To no part of his supposed duty was Laud more attentive than to the regulation of the press. It would appear, indeed, that from 1627 onwards he had all but relieved Archbishop Abbot of this, as of so many others of his functions. By 1632, however, though still acting as censor-in-chief, he had consented to a division of labour. We find, at all events, that the Vice-Chancellors of the two Universities then exercised the right of licensing books to be printed at the

¹ Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, II. 424.

University-presses, and that, even as regarded the London book-trade itself, Laud's chaplains were not the only licensers. Sermons, theological and philosophical treatises, and perhaps the majority of all works whatever, were licensed by them, with the occasional admission of an *imprimatur*, by way of variety, from one of Abbot's more puritanical chaplains. But, in some departments, licenses seem to have come also from the Judges and from the Secretary of State's office; and, in the department of plays and poetry, there is documentary proof that Sir Henry Herbert exercised the privilege. As Master of the Revels, and licenser of plays to be acted, Sir Henry was, indeed, the fittest official person to license all analogous publications.

By whomsoever the license was given, the formality attending legal publication was the same. The manuscript, bearing the licenser's certificate and thus made vendible, was committed to the press by the author or by the bookseller who had acquired it from him; and, some time before the publication, the bookseller had it registered as his copy, for a fee of sixpence, in the books of the Stationers' Company. Simple registration in this manner was all that the law required;¹ but books continued to appear with the legend "*cum privilegio*" prefixed to them, and sometimes with an exact copy of the licenser's certificate, according to a form then recently invented or adopted from abroad. Thus, in the first English edition of Lord Herbert of Cherbury's treatise:—

"Perlegi hunc Tractatum, cui titulo est '*De Veritate, prout distinguitur a Revelatione, a Verisimili, a Possibili, et a Falso*,' qui quidem liber continet paginas jam impressas 227, manuscriptas autem circa 17; in quibus nihil reperio bonis moribus aut veritati Fidei contrarium quominus cum utilitate publicâ imprimatur:—Gulielmus Haywood, Episc. Londin. capell. domest: Dec. 31, 1632."

If it be true that Usher's *Goteschalci et Predestinarianæ Controversiæ ab eo motæ Historia*, published in 1631, was the

¹ The regulations of the Stationers' Company were not always attended to. There were certainly publications of the day, printed and sold in London, of which no trace is to be found in the Registers of the Hall. In not a few

tracts of the time,—Prynne's "*Unloveliness of Love-Locks*" and others of his earlier pieces included,—the title-page bears no printer's or publisher's name, but only the words "*Printed at London*," or the like.

first Latin work printed in Ireland, the entire contribution of the Irish press to the current literature of the three kingdoms in 1632 may be assumed to have been very small.¹ The contribution from Scotland had been much larger. As early as 1551 it had been “devisit, statute, and ordanit” by an Act of the Scottish Parliament “that na prentir presume, “attempt, or tak upone hand to prent ony bukis, ballatis, “sangis, blasphematiounis, rymes or tragedies, outhir in “Latine or Inglis tongue” until the same had been “sene, “vewit, and examit be sum wyse and discreit persounis depute “thairto be the ordinaris quhatsumever, and thairafter ane “license had and obtenit,” under pain of “confiscatioun of “all the prentair’s gudes and banissing him of the realme “for ever.”² From such an act one would infer, even were there not independent proof of the fact, that there was some literary activity in Scotland before James succeeded to the throne. To what extent it had been kept up in the interval we have already had the means of judging. In and about 1632 books were occasionally published in Edinburgh and at Aberdeen; though even then we find one or two Scottish parsons, as if unwilling to be hid under a bushel, negotiating with London printers, and pushing their sermons into the London market. For such works as were printed in Scotland the licensers were the academic or ecclesiastical authorities.

In 1632, just as now, people complained of a plethora of books. “Good God!” says Wither in his *Scholar’s Purgatory*, “how many dungboats full of fruitless volumes do they “yearly foist upon his Majesty’s subjects; how many hundred reams of foolish, profane, and senseless ballads do “they quarterly disperse abroad!” To the same effect Burton in the preface to his *Anatomy of Melancholy*. “In “this scribbling age,” he says, “the number of books is “without number. What a company of poets hath this year

¹ Most of Usher’s publications, prior to 1632, were printed in London. His “*Veterum Epistolarum Sylloge*,” however, published in that year, was issued

at Dublin, “*Ex officinâ typographicâ Societatis Bibliopolorum*.”

² Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, II. 488-9.

"brought out! as Pliny complains to Sosius Senecio. What "a catalogue of new books all this year, all this age, I say, "have our Frankfort marts, our domestic marts, brought "out! *Quis tam avidus librorum helluo?* Who can read "them? We are oppressed with them; our eyes ache with "reading, our fingers with turning." Of divinity especially there was a glut. "There be so many books in that kind," says Burton, "so many commentaries, treatises, pamphlets, "expositions, sermons, that whole teams of oxen cannot "draw them; and, had I been as forward and ambitious as "some others, I might have haply printed a sermon at Paul's "Cross, a sermon in St. Mary's, Oxon, a sermon in Christ "Church, or a sermon before the Right Honourable, Right "Reverend, a sermon before the Right Worshipful, a sermon "in Latin, in English, a sermon with a name, a sermon "without, a sermon, a sermon, a sermon." With such complaints in our ears, it is somewhat amusing to compare the actual statistics of the British book-trade of 1632 with the statistics of the same trade now.

The entire number of books and pamphlets of all kinds, including new editions and reprints, now annually published in the United Kingdom, exceeds 5,000. This is at the rate of nearly fourteen publications every day. The registers of Stationers' Hall for 1632 and the adjacent years tell a very different story. The entire number of entries of new copies and of transfers of old copies there registered as having taken place in the London book-trade during the year 1630 is 150, or not quite three a-week. The corresponding number for the year 1631 is 138; for 1632, only 109; in 1633 it rises to 154; and in 1634 it again declines to 126. With all allowance for publications out of London, and for publications in London not registered, it seems from these statistics as if, big and little taken together, it *was* possible for a diligent reader to become acquainted in some measure with every book that was published. As it may be interesting to have the most exact and authentic information possible respecting the nature and the quantity of literary matter thus supplied to the English reading public by the legitimate

book-trade of London during a given consecutive period, one may here present, from the registers of the Stationers' Company, a list of all the entries of new copies and of transfers of copy during the complete half-year from the 1st of July to the 31st of December 1632:—

- July 5. *Quaternio, seu via quadrupla ad vitam rectam*, by Tho. Nash.
- „ „ *Cures without care*, by M. S.”
- „ 16. Hall dues paid on Butter's corantos for the preceding half-year.
- „ „ Three Ballads entitled 1. *Man's Felicity and Misery*; 2. *Knavery in all Trades*; 3. *Monday's Work*.
- „ „ *Ornithologia, or the History of Birds and Fowles*.
- „ 19. *The Swedish Intelligencer, the Second Part*; being a continuation of the former story, from the victory of Leipsick unto the Conquest of Bavaria. This is a publication of Butter's.
- „ 25. *A Treatise of Types and Figures of Christ*, by Tho. Taylor, D.D.
- „ 27. Three of Butter's corantos registered.
- „ „ A Ballad entitled *When the Fox begins to preach beware your Geese*.
- Aug. 3. *A Historie of the Warres of Ireland, with mappes*; written by Sir George Carey, Earl of Totnes, sometime President there.
- „ „ A Ballad called *News from the King of Sweden*.
- „ „ *An Exposition of the 12th Chapter of the Revelation of St. John*, by Tho. Taylor, D.D.
- „ 14. *Quadrivium Sionis: or the Four Waies to Sion*: by John Moules, B.D.
- „ 21. *A Commentary or Exposition upon the 2d Epistle of St. Peter*, by Tho. Adams.
- „ 26. Transferred to Mr. Joyce Norton and Mr. Whittaker the copyright or part-copyright of 98 books, the property of a deceased bookseller. The list includes, besides many books now forgotten, *Gerard's Herbal*, *Keckermann's Logic*, the *Basilicon Doron*, *Willett's Hexapla in Genesin*, *Camden's Britannia*, *Beza's Latin Testament*, *Selden's Titles of Honor*, *Bacon's Wisdom of the Ancients*, *Calvin's Institutes*, and *Fairfax's Tasso*.
- Sept. 3. A Ballad entitled *Love's Solace, or Sweet is the lass that loves me*.
- „ 4. Transfer of copyright in two Sermons, entitled *Repentance and Of the Lord's Supper*, both by Mr. John Bradford, and in *A Catechism containing the sum of the Gospels*, by Edm. Littleton.
- „ 9. *The Church's Rest, with the use made of it, in 9 sermons*, with 8 other *Select Sermons*, by Dr. Jo. Burgess.
- „ 13. *A Book of Verses and Poems by Dr. Donne*, entered as the copy of John Marriott, with the exception of “The Five Satires, and the 1st, 2d, 10th, 11th, and 13th Elegies”: these to be Marriott's “when he brings lawful authority.”

- Sept. 21. *Analysis or Resolution of Merchants' Accompts*, by Ralph Sanderson, Accomptant.
- " " *A Treatise of Justification, setting down the true doctrine of Justification*, by Bishop Downham.
- " " *An Exposition upon the Lord's Prayer, delivered at Leith in Scotland in 22 Sermons*, by Mr. William Wishart, parson of Restolrigg.
- " 22. *The Serpentine Lines of Proportion, with the Instruments belonging thereunto*, by Tho. Browne, a lover of the mathematical practice. (Can this be an early publication of Browne of Norwich?)
- " 27. Rowley's Tragedy of *All's Lost by Lust*.
- Oct. 10. *The Returning Backslider, or Ephraim's Repentance*, by R. Sibbs, D.D.: being sermons delivered in Gray's Inn.
- " " Sibbes's *Cantica Canticorum, or a Discourse of the Union and Communion betwixt Christ and the Church*, delivered in divers sermons in Gray's Inn.
- " 20. *Ovid's Tristia in English verse*, translated by Wye Saltonstall.
- " 23. *Viginti Propositiones Catholicæ*, by the Right Rev. Father in God, Joseph, Bishop of Exon, i. e. Bishop Hall.
- " 24. A Book called *Poeticall Blossomes*, and containing the Tragical Stories of Constantia and Philetus, and Pyramus and Thisbe in verse, by Abra. Cowley.
- " " *Certain Paradoxes and Problems in prose, written by J. Donne*.
- " 27. *A Table called A yearly Continuation of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London*.
- " 31. John Marriott enters the *Five Satires written by Dr. J. Dun (Donne)* excepted in his last entry.
- Nov. 2. A Comedy called *The Costly Whore*.
- " 8. *Gerardi Mercatoris Atlas*, in Latin and in English.
- Dec. 19. *A Visitation Sermon preached before the Archbishop of Canterbury*, by Fra. Rogers, D.D.
- " " *A Funeral Sermon*, by the same.
- " 22. *The Schoolmaster or Theatre of Table Philosophie, and Ptolemie's Astronomie*.
- " " *Nine Sermons*, by the late Dr. Preston.
- " 24. *A comfortable Treatise concerning Temptations*, by Mr. Capell.¹

¹ The list is from the Books of the Stationers' Company, as inspected by myself; but I have given the entries in a somewhat abridged form. In the original the name of the bookseller or firm entering the copy is always given, and there is also given in most of the entries the name of the licenser of the book, together with a note stating by what official authority of the Company the entry is allowed—whether that of both the wardens of the year, or of only one, or of a court-meeting. The first of the above-quoted entries, for example, stands as follows:—"5th Jly: Mr. John Dawson [the book-seller] entered for his copy, under the

"hands of Mr. Buckner [the licenser] "and both the wardens, a book called "*Quaternio, seu via quadrupla ad vitam rectam*: 6d. [the registration-fee]." The other entries are after the same formula. The names of the booksellers collectively who made the entries are—Dawson, Jones, Bntter and Browne, Grove, Coates and Legatt and Coates, Daulman, Milbourne, Blackmore, Matthews, Bloome, Norton and Whittaker, Henry and Moses Bell, Marriott, Harper, Edwards, Serle, Green, Sheares, Sparkes, Adderton, Gosson, and Badger. The names of the licensers are—Mr. Buckner, Mr. Topsall, Mr. Wecherlyn, Mr. Austen, Sir Henry Herbert, and

This list ought to be more edifying than it looks. It is a conspectus of the new publications and of the books in vogue in London through the latter half of the year 1632, and corresponds to the book-advertisement columns of any of our leading literary journals at present through a period of twenty-six weeks. Half-a-year of the published matter of England in those days, it will be seen, was a much more manageable thing, the single embryo-newspaper included, than any half-year of the published matter of Great Britain now, our numberless newspapers left wholly out of the calculation.

Mr. Haywood. Sir Henry Herbert licenses almost all the poetry—Donne's Poems, &c., Cowley's Poetical Blossoms, Rowley's Tragedy, and the translation

of Ovid. The other licensers were, I think, with the exception of Wechelyn, Abbot's or Laud's chaplains.

CHAPTER IV.

AT HORTON, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

1632—1633.

“AT my father’s country-residence, whither he had retired
“to pass his old age, I, with every advantage of leisure,
“spent a complete holiday in reading over the Greek and
“Latin writers: not but that sometimes I exchanged the
“country for the town, either for the purpose of buying
“books, or for that of learning anything new in Mathematics
“or in Music, in which sciences I then delighted. I had
“passed five years in this manner when, after my mother’s
“death, being desirous of seeing foreign lands, and espec-
“ally Italy, I went abroad with one servant, having entreated
“and obtained my father’s consent.”¹ It is the purpose of
the present chapter to fill up the five years, or, more exactly,
the five years and nine months, of Milton’s life thus sketched
by himself in outline.

The “paternal country-residence” (*paternum rus*) mentioned by Milton was at Horton, near Colnbrook, in that part of Buckinghamshire which borders on Middlesex, Berkshire, and Surrey.

Colnbrook is about seventeen miles due west from London, and may be reached now from London either by the Langley Station of the Great Western Railway or by the Wraybury Station of the London, Richmond, and Windsor line. Lying as it does midway between the two railways, and about two miles from either, the town is one of those which have declined in importance since the rise of our railway system. Till then, though never of more than a thousand inhabitants,

¹ *Defensio Secunda*: Works, VI. 287.

and consisting but of one narrow street of houses and a few offshoots, Colnbrook, as being a stage on one of the great highways between London and the West of England, was a place of considerable bustle. In the best of the old coaching days as many as a hundred coaches are said to have passed through it daily; and in still older times carriers and travellers on horseback, setting out from London by Hyde Park Corner, and passing through Kensington, Hammersmith, Turnham Green, Brentford, and Hounslow, would stop to bait at Colnbrook, on their way to Maidenhead, Reading, or places still farther west, or, coming from those places Londonwards, would rest at Colnbrook before attacking the residue of road between them and the metropolis. Hence, in old times, Colnbrook was noted for its inns.

Part of the town of Colnbrook is in the parish of Horton, which extends in the opposite direction to the vicinity of Windsor. The village of Horton, which gives its name to the parish, is about a mile from Colnbrook, intermediate between it and the Wraysbury station on the London and South Western line. Sauntering, any sunny afternoon, from Colnbrook, either towards Wraysbury, or towards Datchet, which is the next station Windsorwards on the same line, the chance pedestrian, with no purpose in view except a leisurely walk to the train, might come to a point near the meeting of some quiet cross-roads, where, by lingering a little, he would discover symptoms of a village. There is no appearance of a continuous street; but a great tree in the centre of the space where three roads meet suggests that there may be more habitations about the spot than are at first visible; and, on looking down one of the roads, the suggestion is confirmed by the sight of a church-tower, a few paces to the left, all but hidden by intervening foliage.—On making towards this church, one finds it a small but very ancient edifice, as old probably as the twelfth or thirteenth century. It stands back from the road in a cemetery, in front of which, and close to the road, are two extremely old yew trees. The tower, which is square, is picturesquely covered with ivy; the walls are strong and

chequered with flints and brickwork; and the entrance from the cemetery is by a low porch. Should the door be open, the neat and venerable aspect of the church externally might induce the stranger to stroll up the cemetery-walk to have a glimpse of the interior. He would see no old inscriptions or tombstones in the cemetery, nothing old in it but the yew trees; but within the church he would find both stone and wood-work of sufficient antiquity. There is an old Norman arch within the main porch; there is a nave with two aisles and a chancel; between the nave and the aisles are short circular columns supporting arches; the pulpit and the pews look as if they had served already for a century or two of rural English Sundays; and there is a stone baptismal font, evidently coeval with the church. All this the visitor might mark with the ordinary interest with which whatever is ecclesiastical and old is noted in a country walk; and only on inquiry might he learn that the church was Horton Church, and that in one of the pews before him, or the spot occupied by one of them, Milton had worshipped regularly, with others of his family, while resident in the village, from the twenty-fourth to the thirtieth year of his age. This information obtained, and confirmed by an evidence which the visitor may behold in the church with his own eyes, the fabric would be examined with new interest. There would be another glance round among the pews within; outside, there would be another look at the tower and at the yew trees in the cemetery; nor would a few minutes more be judged ill-spent in scanning the village come upon so unexpectedly. A few minutes would suffice; and, after extricating himself from the little group of houses scattered irregularly round the church in separate grounds and gardens, the pedestrian would continue his walk to Wraysbury or to Datchet.¹—In and about the neighbourhood through which he has passed so cursorily it will be for us to linger for a longer while, throwing it back, as far as fancy will permit, to that time when its Miltonic celebrity

¹ The description of Horton church is kept as it was in the first edition. There

have, I understand, been some changes and repairs lately.

was earned, and when, though Wraysbury and Datchet existed close by, as now, no trains whistled through them, and Colnbrook commanded the circumjacent traffic.

With the exception of the church, Horton as it was known to Milton is to be found rather in the roads, the paths, and the general aspect of the fields and vegetation than in the actual houses now remaining. Around the village, and indeed over the whole parish and the adjacent parts of this angle of Bucks, the land is of a kind characteristic of England. It is a rich, teeming, verdurous flat, charming by its appearance of plenty, and by the goodly show of wood along the fields and pastures, in the nooks where the houses nestle, and everywhere in all directions to the sky-bound verge of the landscape. The beech, which is nowhere finer than in some parts of Buckinghamshire, is not so common in this part; one sees a good many ugly pollards along the streams; but there are elms, alders, poplars, and cedars; there is no lack of shrubbery and hedging; and in spring the orchards are abloom with white and pink for miles round. What strikes one most in walking about the neighbourhood, after its extraordinary flatness, is the canal-like abundance and distribution of water. There are rivulets brimming through the meadows among rushes and water-plants; and, by the very sides of the ways, in lieu of ditches, there are slow runnels, in which one can see the minnows swimming. Most of these streamlets and runnels are connected with the Colne; which, having separated itself into several channels in a higher part of its course near Uxbridge, continues for a good many miles to divide Bucks from Middlesex by one or other of these channels on their way to the Thames. The chief branch of the river, after flowing through Colnbrook, to which it gives its name, passes close by Horton. It is a darkish stream, frequently, like its sister-branches, flooding the lands along its course; which are, accordingly, kept in pasture. Close to Horton the Colne drives several mills. There are excellent wheatfields and beanfields in the neighbourhood; but the greater proportion of the land is in grass. In Milton's time the proportion of meadow to land under

plough must have been much greater. On the whole, without taking into account the vicinity of other scenes of beauty and interest, including nothing less than royal Windsor itself, the towers and battlements of which govern the whole landscape, Horton was, and might still be, a pleasant place of retirement either after London or after Cambridge. One could lie under elm-trees on a lawn, or saunter in meadows by the side of a stream, or watch a mill-wheel from a rustic bridge, or walk along quiet roads well hedged, or deviate into paths leading by farm-yards and orchards, and through pastures for horses, cows and sheep. The occupations of the place were wholly agricultural. There was nothing of the nature of manufacture at that time in the whole county of Buckingham.

About twenty years ago there were but seven families in Horton and its neighbourhood in a grade of life superior to that of tradesmen and husbandmen. Of the seven houses which those families inhabited only five had special names. These were Horton Manor House, The Rectory, Berkin Manor House, Horton Cottage, and Horton Cedars.¹ Two hundred and thirty years earlier, the economy of the place must have been much the same. Out of a total population of some three or four hundred in the parish, only four or five families can have been considered as of the rank of gentry, and these must have had their residences grouped in or close by the village, on spots corresponding to those similarly occupied now.

The most important house in the neighbourhood in 1632 was the *Manor House*, situated on an open tract of ground behind the church. The occupants of this house and the lords of the manor of Horton were the well-known Buckinghamshire family of the Bulstrodes, of the ancient Bulstrodes of Bulstrode in Hedgerly parish, about nine miles distant, and of Upton, about four miles distant, both in the same hundred of Bucks as that to which Horton belongs. Known from of old as the Bulstrodes of Hedgerly-Bulstrode

¹ Kelly's Post-office Directory for Bucks, 1854.

and of Upton, the family had had connexions with Horton since the reign of Henry VI.¹; and from 1571, at which date the registers of Horton commence, I find the births, marriages, and deaths of Bulstrodes incessant in the parish.² It seems, however, to have been after the death of Edward Bulstrode of Hedgerly-Bulstrode and Upton that Horton became the favourite residence of the *main* line of the Bulstrodes. This Edward, dying in 1595 at the age of forty-eight, left a young family of sons and daughters by his wife Cecil or Cicely, daughter of Sir John Croke, of Chilton, Bucks. One of the daughters, Elizabeth Bulstrode, having married, in 1602, James, afterwards Sir James, Whitlocke, judge of the King's Bench, became the mother of the celebrated Bulstrode Whitlocke; a younger son, Edward, born in 1586, entered the Inner Temple, and rose to distinction as a lawyer, under the patronage of Judge Whitlocke; but the bulk of the family property came to the eldest son, Henry Bulstrode, born at Upton in 1578. This Henry, though still styled of Hedgerly-Bulstrode and of Upton, as his ancestors had been, seems to have resided commonly, if not habitually, at Horton. He seems to have done so, at all events, after his marriage, in or about 1602, with Mary, daughter of Thomas Read, of Barton, Berks. Of seven children borne to him by that wife before her death in 1614,—Thomas, Henry, Edward, Elizabeth, Mary, Cicely, and Dorothy,—I find the baptisms of four, and the burials of two who died young, recorded in the Horton register. The births of the others, including Thomas, the eldest son and heir, took place probably at Upton; where also, in the family vault of the Bulstrodes, was buried the mother, though her death occurred at Horton. A few months after her death (July 1615) Henry Bulstrode married, for his second wife, Bridget, widow of John Allen, citizen of London; and with her he continued to reside at Horton as before, increas-

¹ *Liber Famelicus* of Sir James Whitlocke, edited by John Bruce, Esq. (1858), p. 28.

² The earliest entries of the name

are the baptism-entries of "Edward Bowlstrode, the sonne of John Bowlstrode," in 1576, and "Margaret," daughter of the same John, in 1578.

ing his property in the neighbourhood by new purchases. As he had no family by this second wife, it is his children by the first that furnish thenceforward the family incidents to the parish registers. They furnish a fair proportion. The marriage, indeed, of the eldest son, Thomas Bulstrode, with Coluberry, daughter of Simon Mayne, of Dinton, took place elsewhere; but the young couple had not been long married when they came to reside at Horton, where their eldest son, Samuel, was baptized, Nov. 5, 1629, and their second, Simon, April 7, 1631, and where all their subsequent children were born. Moreover, at Horton took place the marriages of three others of the children of Henry Bulstrode: that of Mary to Thomas Knight, of Reading, Aug. 1630; that of Cicely to Philip Smith, Feb. 14, 1632-3; and that of Edward, the only other surviving son, to Mildred, daughter of George Brown, of Ashford, Kent, Sept. 24, 1633. This last couple, as well as Thomas and his wife, settled at Horton and contributed baptisms to the register. Connected with Horton, therefore, during the first year or eighteen months of Milton's stay there, there were three Bulstrodes, heads of families. There was the elderly squire and grandfather, Henry Bulstrode, Esq., now again a widower by his second wife's death in Oct. 1631; there was his eldest son, Thomas, the heir-apparent; and there was the younger son, Edward. To this resident colony of Bulstrodes one must imagine the occasional visits of uncle Edward Bulstrode, the lawyer (advanced to be Lent-Reader of his Inn, in Nov. 1632), and of cousin Bulstrode Whitlocke, the younger but more distinguished lawyer of the Middle Temple, now in his twenty-eighth year, and by his father's recent death (June 22, 1632) proprietor of Fawley, in the same county of Bucks, but on the Oxfordshire border. Horton Manor House, accordingly, must have been a somewhat bustling mansion when Milton first knew it. You could not take a walk through the village without tumbling over a little Bulstrode with a hoop or meeting a little Bulstrode in long clothes. The elderly squire survived at the head of the colony till 1643, a man of note in the county,

and with service on the Parliamentary side in the Civil Wars reserved for his last years.¹

Such of the Horton Bulstrodes as the Manor House could not contain were probably accommodated in *Place House*, which stood in the manorial grounds, but close to the church on the tower side, and with but a wall separating its garden from the churchyard. Of this mansion, which had been built in the reign of Elizabeth, an old engraving still exists, from which we can judge it to have been a comfortable residence in the taste of that day.

A third house of some consequence near the village was *The Rectory*, inhabited, when Milton took up his abode in Horton, by the Rev. Edward Goodal, rector of the parish. He had been presented in 1631 by Henry Bulstrode, Esq., on the vacation of the living by the previous rector, Francis Boswell.² He had formerly been assistant to the celebrated Puritan minister, Thomas Gataker, of Rotherhithe; in which situation, it may be remembered, Milton's tutor, Young, is believed to have officiated for a time. "Among the persons "of note that had been his (Gataker's) assistants," says Simeon Ashe in his memoir of Gataker appended to his

¹ The foregoing particulars relative to the Bulstrode family have been digested from pedigrees in the *Heralds' Visitations for Bucks in 1634* (Harl. MSS. 1102 and 1391), from *Wood's Athenæ*, III. 471-2, from *Lipscombe's Buckinghamshire* (IV. pp. 503, 572-5, &c., where, however, there are several errors), and from my own examination of the Horton parish registers. Some particulars have been supplied by Sir James Whitlocke's *Liber Famelicus*, edited by Mr. Bruce (1858). I have seen, in the State Paper Office, a correspondence, dated 1634, between Henry Bulstrode and the two officials of the College of Arms (J. Philpot, Somerset Herald, and W. Ryley, Bluemantle) who were engaged in that year in the *Heralds' Visitation of Bucks*. The correspondence consists of—(1) A letter from Henry Bulstrode, dated "Horton, 14th July, 1634," addressed to the two officials, excusing himself for not meeting them next day, according to summons, but stating that he has sent by his servant "such arms

and matter of information for his descents as upon so short a time he could find"; (2) An angry reply of the officials, dated "— July, 1634," to the effect that, the "scoecheon" he had sent by his servant having "more coats quartered than in the former visitation," and having been returned to him in consequence, with a demand for "further proof," and also for the Herald's fees, and he having not only neglected the demand, but made a talk of the affair among the gentry of the county, and "dissuaded others to in-conformity," he is in consequence summoned to appear, on the 11th of October next, before the Earl of Arundel, as Earl Marshal, to answer for his contempt, under a penalty of £10, and "the farther peril and trouble that may ensue."

² *Lipscombe's Buckinghamshire*, under "Horton." The name of Goodal's predecessor is there given as William Boswell; but in the parish-registers I find it written "Francis."

funeral sermon in 1655, was "Mr. Goodal, minister at Horton, "by Colnbrook." There is no trace, however, of any such notability attained by Mr. Goodal as was attained by Young. All we know of him is that he did the duties of his parish from 1631 to 1652 for an income of about £100 a-year, lived with his wife Sarah in the Rectory, and wrote with his own hand, among the other entries of those twenty years in the parish books, the records of the baptisms and the deaths of some of his own little ones.

All these houses have disappeared,¹ nor does that fourth and still more interesting house in Horton remain in which Milton lived with his father. Todd, on making inquiry of the Rector of Horton in 1808, was informed that the house had been pulled down about ten years before that date, *i. e.* about 1798. This information was accompanied by no description of the site or the appearance of the house which had been so pulled down; and, though Todd's informant, who must have seen the house himself, lived to 1850, he does not seem to have been farther questioned on the subject. While he was still alive, however, there was a tradition at Horton, which has found its way into books,

¹ It may not be uninteresting here to trace, as far as possible, the subsequent history of the three houses named in the text:—

1. *The Manor House*.—The house, with the manor, came into possession of a new family, the Scaweins, about 1658, who were lords of the manor till 1782, when one of them sold it. After a Mr. Cook of Beaconsfield, and a Mrs. Hickford, as intermediate proprietors, Thomas Williams, Esq., M.P., purchased the manor in 1794; and it is now, I believe, in the possession of his descendants. The old manor-house in which, according to Lysons, in his *MS. Collections for Buckinghamshire* (Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 9439), "many arms of Bulstrode" were still to be seen when he wrote, was pulled down, except a small part, a few years before the publication of his printed account of Bucks in 1813.

2. *Place House*.—See *Gent. Mag.* for Aug. 1791, where an account is given of the history of the house. Early in last century it was occupied, under the Scaweins, by the family of the Brere-

woods. When they left it, it was rented for a long time by one Mayhew, a gardener; being much out of repair, it was demolished in or about 1775,—a view of it having been taken two years before by F. Brerewood; and, for some time thereafter, the grounds attached to the house were let to a Mr. Cox for £22 10s. a year.—A fragment of an old brick-wall and arch still marked the site of *Place House* in the ground by the church when I first knew Horton.

3. *The Rectory*.—The present rectory does not seem to be the old one, being a comparatively modern-looking house, but with parts of it oldish, on the turn of the road from the village towards Colnbrook, and with a fine view of Windsor Castle and the intermediate country. I remember with gratitude its late occupant, the Rev. R. G. Foot, B.A., Rector of Horton, for his great kindness in answering my queries respecting Horton, and in permitting me to examine the parish registers at full leisure, and to make extracts from them.

that Milton's house was one which stood on the site of the new mansion called Berkin Manor House, near the church, but on the opposite side of the road, with streams of water running through and along the grounds. In the garden of this house there was shown, within living memory, the remnant of an apple-tree, under which, according to the innocent style of local legend about such things, Milton used to sit and write.

In *some* house near the old church of Horton, and with the tower of the church close in view, Milton's father had chosen to spend his declining years, "retired from the cares and fatigues of the world."¹ His age at the time was about sixty-nine; that of his wife was probably nine years less. Besides themselves and their servants, the only other constant inmate of the house was their son John. Their daughter, Mrs. Phillips, now the mother of two surviving children,

¹ Three questions occur here, to which I cannot give satisfactory answers, but to which answers may yet turn up. 1. At what time did Milton's father retire to Horton? Milton, in the first of his Latin elegies, written to Diodati, during the supposed period of his rustication from Cambridge, in 1626, speaks of a delicious residence somewhere out of town,—"suburbani nobilis umbra loci,"—as then one of his pleasures, alternately with the theatricals and other gaieties of London. Can the "*locus suburbanus*" mentioned thus early be the house at Horton? The term "*suburbanus*" would seem inappropriate to a place distant eighteen miles from London; but in a subsequent letter of Dec. 14, 1634, Milton uses the same term, when it is most natural to suppose that he was writing from Horton. He dates the letter "*E suburbano nostro*." Again, in the seventh of the Academic Prologues (delivered, probably, in Milton's last college session of 1631-2), he speaks of the "groves, and rivers, and beloved village elms," amid which, in the preceding summer, he had spent a delightful vacation, and the recollection of which was still with him; and this *may* refer to Horton. On the whole, my impression is that, though the house at Horton may have been taken by the elder Milton some

little time before 1632, it cannot have been long before; and I am inclined to think that the "*locus suburbanus*" of 1626 was some other place which the old scrivener may have had nearer London. The manner in which Milton speaks of his retiring to Horton, on leaving Cambridge, seems to indicate that the place was rather new to him. If we suppose that the vacation of 1631 was the first he had spent there, the enthusiasm of his allusions in the Prologue would be accounted for. 2. Had the elder Milton *purchased* a house and land at Horton; or did he only hold a house and grounds by rent on lease? The second supposition is the more probable, as there is no mention of Miltons among the lauded gentry of Bucks in the Visitation of 1634, and no mention of any subsequent possession or sale of lands there by the family. 3. If the house and grounds were held by tenancy, from whom were they held? Warton, in a note on Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis* (quoted by Todd, VII. 381), says, "His father's house and lands at Horton, near Colnhrook, were held under the Earl of Bridgewater." No authority is given for this statement, nor have I been able to find any. The Bulstrodes were the chief proprietors of land about Horton.

both of them sons, was living with her husband in London ; and Christopher also can have been but an occasional visitor at this time at the house in Horton. "Christopher Milton, "second son of John Milton of London, gentleman, admitted "of the Inner Temple, 22d September, 1632," is a record in the Inner Temple books ; from which it appears that Milton's younger brother, having left Christ's College, Cambridge, at the same time as himself, after having been there only two years, and consequently without taking a degree, began, at the age of sixteen years and nine months, the professional study of law in London. The Inn at which he was entered was that to which Edward Bulstrode, and also Selden, belonged.

The materials relating to Milton's life at Horton are considerably more rich for the first two years and five months of the entire period than for what remains. We may, therefore, take this first portion of his Horton life as a little whole by itself, while dating, as far as possible, the individual incidents.

Now was the time for the youth to take in those "images of rural nature", in so far as such were still wanting, which poets are supposed pre-eminently to require. There is no reason to believe that he missed his opportunities. One can look back and see him through those years of his first acquaintance with Horton. Now, under the elms on his father's lawn, he listens to the rural hum, and marks the branches as they wave and the birds as they fly ; now, in the garden, he notes the annual series of the plants and the daily blooming of the roses. In his walks in the neighbourhood, also, he observes not only the wayside vegetation, but the whole wide face of the landscape, rich in wood and meadow, to the royal towers of Windsor and the bounding line of the low Surrey hills. Over this landscape, changing its livery from day to day, fall the varying seasons. Light green spring comes, with its showers and its days of keener blue, when nature is warm at the root, and all things gain in liveliness ; spring changes into summer, when all is one

wealth of leafage, and the gorgeous bloom of the orchards passes into the forming fruit; summer deepens into autumn, gathering the tanned haycocks and tumbling the golden grain; and, at last, when the brown and yellow leaves have fallen, and the winds have blown them and the rains rotted them, comes winter with his biting breath, and the fields are either all white, so that the most familiar eye hardly knows them, or they lie in mire, and in the dull brumous air the stripped stems and netted twig-work of the trees are like a painting in China ink. And the seasons have each their occupations. Now the plough is afield; now the sower casts the seed; now the sheep are shorn; now the mower whets his scythe. There is, moreover, the quicker continual alternation of night and day, dipping the landscape in darkness or in lunar tints, and bringing it back again in all the colours of the morn. In summer the twilight steals slowly over the lawn, and, seated at the open window, the poet, who has heard the lark's carol abroad by day, will listen, in the stillness, for the first song of the nightingale; and, when the night is farther advanced, may there not be a walk on the lawn, to observe the trembling tops of the poplars, and to drink, before the soul is done with that day more, the glory of the tranquil stars? Look on, thou glorious youth, at stars and trees, at the beauties of day and the beauties of night, at the changing aspects of the seasons, and at all that the seasons bring! No future years of thy life, perchance, are to be so happy and calm as these; and a time is to come, at all events, when what thine eye may have already gathered of nature's facts and appearances must suffice thee for ever, and when, judging thy chambers of imagery sufficiently furnished, God will shut thee in.

Not the scenery only about Horton, but the little society of the village itself, becomes gradually known to the scrivener's thoughtful son. As he saunters along the road, handsome and fair-haired, the field-labourers and servants touch their hats, and think him a little haughty. He comes to know the Hawkinsons, the Spensers, the Bowdens, the

Michells, and the other denizens of the place of sufficient standing to take their turn as churchwardens. He visits the Bulstrodes at the Manor House or at Place House, and Mr. Goodal at the Rectory, or he meets these and others sometimes under his father's roof. Every Sunday, in any case, he is one of the little congregation in Horton Church, when all Horton is gathered under his eye; and, as he sits in the pew with his father and mother, and listens to Mr. Goodal's sermon, the presence of the young scholar and critic from Cambridge moves Mr. Goodal to a more ingenious strain than need be, and secures for the parish their Rector's very best.

Walks in the environs of Horton there must, of course, have been. The most frequent would be to Colnbrook; along the narrow street of which, to the bridge over the Colne, Milton must have often strolled, passing those old gabled houses some of which still stand, and loitering by the gateways of the quaint old inns. Not seldom, however, the walk would be along the banks of the Colne, the other way from Horton, towards Wraybury and the Thames, and on to within view of Magna Charta Island and the famous field of Runnymede. Nor would walks be unfrequent in still another direction. He could walk from Horton to the neighbouring village of Datchet, with Windsor Castle fixing the eye all along the road, and thence either to Windsor itself, past Datchet mead, where fat Sir John was tumbled into the Thames out of the buck-basket, and through the park where he was pinched and scorched by the fairies, or aside to academic Eton, where Sir Henry Wotton ruled the College as provost, and one of the fellows was the learned Hales.

By far the most frequent journeys, however, as Milton himself informs us, were to London, the distance to which was but two hours of good riding, or five of steady walking, with Brentford to break the journey in the middle, and where there were Christopher's rooms or Mrs. Phillips's house to receive him, if the old house in Bread-Street was no longer available. Whatever new acquaintances Milton

made in those occasional visits to London,—sometimes, perhaps, for a week together,—he kept up closely his acquaintance with the Gills. It was not young Gill's fault if either he or his father were long out of the public mouth; and in 1632 he is found in another of his scrapes. There was, it may be remembered, a standing feud between Ben Jonson and the Gill family, Ben having attacked old Mr. Gill as early as 1623 for his patronage of Wither's satires.¹ This had rankled in young Gill's mind, and in the winter of 1632 he had an opportunity for revenge. "Ben Jonson, "who I thought dead," writes Mr. Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, September 20, 1632, "has written a play "against next term, called *The Magnetic Lady*."² This, the last but one of all Ben's regular plays, was, it seems, a greater failure on the stage than even its predecessor, *The New Inn*. It was expected that, as usual, Ben would print it to show the public that they were fools; and, in anticipation of this, Gill wrote and circulated the following squib:—

"UPON BEN JONSON'S MAGNETICK LADY.

'*Parturiunt montes, nascetur*,' &c.

"Is this your loadstone, Ben, that must attract
 Applause and laughter at each scene and act?
 Is this the child of your bed-ridden wit,
 And none but the Blackfriars foster it? . . .
 O, how thy friend Nat Butter 'gan to melt
 When as the poorness of thy plot he smelt,
 And Inigo with laughter there grew fat
 That there was nothing worth the laughing at!
 And yet thou crazy art and confident,
 Belching out full-mouthed oaths with foul intent,
 Calling us fools and rogues, unlettered men,
 Poor narrow souls that cannot judge of Ben.
 Yet (which is worse), after three shameful foils,
 The printers must be put to farther toils;
 Whereas, indeed, to vindicate thy fame,
 Thou hadst better given thy pamphlet to the flame.
 O what a strange prodigious year 't will be
 If this thy play come forth in Thirty-Three!
 Let doomsday rather come on New Year's Eve! . . .
 But, to advise thee, Ben: in this strict age
 A brick-bill's fitter for thee than a stage;

¹ See antè, p. 481.

also Collier's *Annals of the Stage*, II.

² Harl. MS. quoted by Gifford. See 43, 44.

Thou better know'st a grounſel how to lay
 Than lay the plot or groundwork of a play;
 And better canſt direct to cap a chimney
 Than to converſe with Clio and Polyhymny.
 Fall then to work in thy old age again:
 Take up your trug and trowel, gentle Ben!"¹

This attack naturally provoked Ben's admirers; and one of them, Zouch Townley, replied to it. But Ben liked to settle his own quarrels; and the following is a fragment of an answer he wrote:—

"Shall the proſperity of a pardon ſtill
 Secure thy railing rhymes, infamous Gill,
 At libelling? Shall no Star-chamber peers,
 Pillory, nor whip, nor want of ears,
 All which thou haſt incurred deſervedly,
 No degradation from the miniſtry
 To be the Denis of thy father's ſchool,
 Keep in thy bawling wit, thou bawling fool?
 Thinking to ſtir me, thou haſt loſt thy end.
 I'll laugh at thee, poor wretched tyke. Go ſend
 Thy blatant muſe abroad, and teach it rather
 A tune to drown the ballads of thy father;
 For thou haſt nought in thee to cure his fame
 But tune and noiſe, the echo of his ſhame,
 A rogue by ſtatute, cenſured to be whipt,
 Cropt, branded, ſlit, neck-ſtocked. Go, you are ſtript!"

Interested, doubtless, in ſuch matters relating to his friends, Milton viſited London, he tells us, for certain ſpecial objects. He bought books to carry back with him to Horton, and he took leſſons in mathematics and in muſic. Among the mathematical teachers of that day in London it would be difficult to name any that were ſo well known as John Greaves, profeſſor of geometry, and Henry Gellibrand, profeſſor of aſtronomy, in Greſham College; nor does there ſeem to have been any very high mathematical teaching in London except in connexion with that inſtitution. In muſic, beſides ſome ſurvivors of the older Engliſh ſchool, there were now younger celebrities. Among theſe were the two brothers, William and Henry Lawes.

Sons of Thomas Lawes, vicar-choral of Salisbury Cathedral,

¹ Quoted (more fully) from the MS. in the Aſhmolean by Bliss in his edition of Wood's *Athenæ*, II. 598-9. It is there quoted under the impreſſion that

the author was Gill the elder; but Bliss corrects the miſtake in a note to the ſubſequent article on the younger Gill, in vol. III. p. 42.

the brothers had been trained from their childhood for the profession of music. They had both been taken into the service of Charles I., as gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, servants of "the private Musick," and what not. William was considerably the elder; Henry had been born in 1600. The reputation of both as composers was already well established; their airs, fantasias, catches, &c., were in circulation in manuscript; and their services were beginning to be much in request for the music to new masques. From the manner in which they are always spoken of, they seem both to have been men of upright and amiable character; and the face of Henry, in an extant portrait of him by Faithorne, has a certain fine seriousness which is highly pleasing. He was destined to a wider and longer celebrity than his brother. About the year 1632, with something of that fame still to make, he was much employed as a teacher of music in noble and wealthy families. He had a special appointment of this kind in the family of the Earl of Bridgewater, the young members of which, and particularly the young ladies, were among his most hopeful pupils. Through this connexion, and his connexion with the Court, he had a wide circle of acquaintances, including Carew, Herrick, Davenant, Waller, and other wits and poets. Bulstrode Whitlocke, who had no small name among his lawyer friends as an amateur in music, knew Lawes well; and I have found the shade of a possibility that he had given lessons to some of the Bulstrodes of Horton. That Milton, a passionate lover of music, and now cultivating that art by regular study, should have come to know Lawes on his own account about this time would have been a matter of course, even if the acquaintance had not been already formed through his father, at whose house in Bread Street, we are to remember, all that was musical in London, in that generation as in the preceding, must have been familiar independently, on account of the musical reputation and tastes of the Scrivener himself.

After all, Milton's visits to London, whether for mathematics or for music, can have been but occasional. His time, he tells us, was spent chiefly at Horton, in quiet and

leisurely study. "There I spent a complete holiday in "perusing the Greek and Latin writers" are his words; and they imply a good collection of books, and a steady and systematic course of reading. From various circumstances we should judge that about this time he read more assiduously in the Greek writers than he had formerly done. The existence of a copy of Aratus, which he had bought in 1631, and which is annotated here and there by his hand, has been already mentioned. There are also extant copies of two other Greek authors, bearing his name on their fly-leaves and annotations in his hand on the margin throughout. One is a copy of Paul Stephens's edition of Euripides, in two volumes quarto, published in 1602; the other is a copy of Lycophron. Both were purchased by him in 1634, the Euripides for 12*s.* 6*d.* and the Lycophron for 3*s.*¹ It was probably about this time, too, that Milton's "ceaseless round of study and reading" led him from "the laureate fraternity of poets," and from those "orators and historians" who had been chiefly associated with the poets in the classic studies of the University, on "to the shady spaces of philosophy" in Xenophon and Plato. Of Milton's early reverence for Plato there have been already abundant indications; but no reader of his works can doubt that there must have been some period of his life in particular when he drank long and deeply of the Platonic philosophy.

If Milton's readings in the Classics and in Italian writers were assiduous through the first two years and a half of his residence at Horton, it is not to be supposed that he neglected at the same time the literature of his own country.

¹ The *Euripides* was in the possession of Francis Hare, Bishop of Chichester; on whose death, in 1740, it became the property of John Whiston, a bookseller. From him it was bought by Dr. Birch, in 1754; after whose death it became the property of Joseph Cradock, Esq., of Gumly, in Leicestershire. When Dr. Johnson wrote his *Life of Milton*, in 1779, the book, by "Mr. Cradock's kindness," was in his hands. "The margin," he says, "is sometimes noted, but I have found nothing remarkable." Barnes, however, had previously used

it for his edition of Euripides; and Richard Paul Jodrell, in his *Illustrations of Euripides*, in 1781, adopts one or two of the MS. readings, and accuses Barnes of having availed himself of the rest without acknowledgment. By Mr. Cradock the book was bequeathed to the late Sir Henry Halford; and beyond this point I have not traced it. The copy of *Lycophron*, according to Todd, was, in 1809, in the possession of Lord Charlemont, and had been used by Mr. Meen, with a view to a new edition of the poet.

Not to mention the older English classics, there were the contemporary issues of the English press from which he might cull books that suited him. Of the books registered for publication in London through the first half-year of the period under notice a list has already been given. The registers for the year 1633 exhibit 154 new publications or transfers of copyright, including new plays by Shirley, Ford, Shakerly Marmion, Heywood, Gervase Markham, and Decker, and also poems and translations by May, and sermons and theological tracts by Bishop Hall and Sibbes. For the year 1634 one finds 126 publications or transfers registered, including a tragedy by Ford, Wither's Emblems, a Treatise on Decimals by W. Barton, Habington's Castara, Quarles's Emblems, a play by Massinger, a play by Shirley, and various theological works.

Meanwhile Milton's own muse was not idle. It is a matter not to be forgotten in the history of Buckinghamshire that as many as ten of the English poems of Milton, including four of the most important of all, may claim to have been written at Horton, and all save one of these during those first two years and a half of his residence at Horton with which we are now concerned. The evidence is certain as regards some, and more or less probable as regards the others.

L'ALLEGRO AND IL PENSEROSO.

The probability is that these two celebrated pieces were written at Horton in the autumn or latter part of 1632, and were the first exercises of Milton's muse in his rustic retirement there.¹ It is possible that the notion of such a pair of

¹ The pieces first appeared in Milton's edition of his *Minor Poems* in 1645; and, as they are not dated there, as others of the pieces are, by Milton himself, their date is matter of inference. That they were composed before 1633 is suggested by the fact that they are not among those poems of Milton of which we have the preserved drafts in his own hand in the famous volume of Milton MSS. at Cambridge. The set of sheets of which that volume is com-

posed was first used by Milton for draft purposes, there is reason to believe, in the year 1633; and, as it contains the drafts of all his English Poems known to have been written between that year and 1645, the omission of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* seems to certify that he had these already by him in 1633 in another manuscript. They can hardly, however, have been among the compositions of his University period; at least, we hear of nothing such among

short compositions, collecting and weaving together the circumstances in nature and life suggestive to the recluse of cheerfulness on the one hand and of pensiveness or melancholy on the other, may have occurred to Milton in the course of his readings; and his commentators have referred, with some plausibility, to certain passages in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, and to a song in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Nice Valour*, as having helped him not only to the notion, but also to some of the fancies and phrases in which he has given it expression. Be this as it may, Milton certainly did what no English poet had done before when he provided our language with two companion poems dedicated to the two conditions of mind. The exquisite feeling with which circumstances were chosen or invented in true poetic relation to the two moods, and the imaginative subtlety and musical art in expression with which they were woven together, made the success of the attempt complete; and, while our language lasts, these two beautiful compositions will rank by themselves, safe from the possibility of being ever superseded.

In L'ALLEGRO the poet bids Melancholy begone, and invokes Mirth or Euphrosyne, the daughter of Bacchus and Venus, or rather of Zephyr and Aurora. Let her come attended by Jest and Jollity, Sport and Laughter; let her come dancing and leading forth with her the mountain nymph Liberty. The time is early morning, for the pleasures in joining her train are, first of all, these:—

To hear the lark begin his flight,
And, singing, startle the dull night,
From his watch-tower in the skies,
Till the dappled dawn doth rise;
Then to come, in spite of sorrow,
And at my window bid good-morrow
Through the sweet-briar or the vine,
Or the twisted eglantine; |

his compositions of those seven years. They seem thus to be referred by mere external probability precisely to the time where we have ventured to place them, the latter half of 1632; and the

internal evidence, their spirit of rural leisure after academic occupation, favours the same conjecture. The inference, however, does not amount to positive certainty.

While the cock with lively din
Scatters the rear of darkness thin,
And to the stack or the barn-door,
Stoutly struts his dames before :
Oft listening how the hounds and horn
Cheerly rouse the slumbering morn,
From the side of some hoar hill,
Through the high wood echoing shrill ;
Sometime walking, not unseen,
By hedge-row elms, on hillocks green,
Right against the eastern gate
Where the great sun begins his state,
Robed in flames and amber light,
The clouds in thousand liveries dight ;
While the ploughman near at hand
Whistles o'er the furrowed land,
And the milkmaid singeth blythe,
And the mower whets his scythe,
And every shepherd tells his tale
Under the hawthorn in the dale.
Straight mine eye hath caught new pleasures,
Whilst the landskip round it measures :
Russet lawns and fallows grey,
Where the nibbling flocks do stray ;
Mountains on whose barren breast
The labouring clouds do often rest ;
Meadows trim, with daisies pied ;
Shallow brooks and rivers wide ;
Towers and battlements it sees,
Bosomed high in tufted trees,
Where perhaps some beauty lies,
The cynosure of neighbouring eyes.

Then, as day advances, according to the season, it will be the reapers at their work or at their dinner among the sheaves, or the haymakers in the meadow, that will be the objects of sight ; or, should it chance to be holiday-time and the waning day be fine, it may be the dance of the youths and maidens from the hamlets under some chequered shade to the sound of the rebeck, while the merry bells are ringing and the older folks look on. When the daylight fails, then come other amusements, the nut-brown ale on the cottage-bench, and the stories of fairies and goblins and of the nightly pranks of Robin Goodfellow. After a round of such stories the rustics go to their early rest ; and at this

point the poet, still in the cheerful mood, but catering for himself, would change the scene :—

Towered cities please us then,
And the busy hum of men.

The meaning is not necessarily that then the poet conceives himself personally taken from the country to the city, but that, still in the country, he may, after the rustics have retired to rest, farther protract *his* more educated day by imaginations of the city over delightful books. Reading the lighter old romances or reading modern masques, he would be present at splendid city-pageants of knights and ladies. There might be literary pleasure still more real in the pages of the dramatic poets, taking one anon to the well-trod stage ; where,

If Jonson's learned sock be on,
Or sweetest Shakespeare, Fancy's child,
Warble his native wood-notes wild,

what truer gaiety could heart desire ? But, even after Jonson and Shakespeare in their finest comedies, let the closing rapture still be in music. Let soft Lydian airs, married to immortal verse, pierce the soul in notes of linked sweetness, such as Orpheus would raise his head to listen to from his bed of heaped-up flowers in Elysium, or as, had Pluto himself heard them, would have moved him to set free his half-regained Eurydice.

IL PENSEROSO is constructed on the principle of contrast to the preceding, part for part. Bidding Mirth begone, the poet invokes the divine maid Melancholy, the daughter of Saturn and Vesta. Let her come robed in pensive black, with rapt and heaven-directed eyes, attended by Peace, Fast, Leisure, and, above all, the cherub Contemplation. And the time of *her* coming will, of course, be the evening, when, if there is aught to break the silence, it will be the song of the nightingale :—

Sweet bird, that shunn'st the noise of folly,
Most musical, most melancholy !
Thee, chauntress, oft the woods among
I woo, to hear thy even-song ;

And, missing thee, I walk unseen
 On the dry smooth-shaven green,
 To behold the wandering moon
 Riding near her highest noon,
 Like one that had been led astray
 Through the heaven's wide pathless way,
 And oft, as if her head she bowed,
 Stooping through a fleecy cloud.
 Oft, on a plat of rising ground,
 I hear the far-off curfew sound,
 Over some wide-watered shore,
 Swinging slow with sullen roar.

These, the nocturnal sights and sounds, befit the mood of melancholy. Or, should the air without not permit, then let the place be some room where the glowing embers but make the gloom more solemn, and where nothing is heard but the cricket on the hearth or the drowsy voice of the passing bellman. Later, towards midnight, the lamp will be lit in some high tower-chamber, within which, as its solitary light is seen from afar, the pale student will outwatch the Bear while communing with mystical Hermes, or will unsphere the soul of Plato from his writings, to learn the deeper secrets of philosophy and magic. Or, should the books not be those of philosophy but of poesy, then the poesy must be that of fate and tragedy, such as the severe Greek muse gave to the ancient world, or whatever in a similar strain the efforts of modern genius may more rarely have bodied forth. O that the song of Musæus or of Orpheus could be revived! One might go back, at least, to parts of old Chaucer,

Him that left half-told
 The story of Cambuscan bold,
 Of Camball, and of Algarsife,
 And who had Canace to wife,
 That owned the virtuous ring and glass,
 And of the wondrous horse of brass
 On which the Tartar king did ride.

Or there might be readings in Spenser or other great bards
 who

In sage and solemn tunes have sung
 Of turneys and of trophies hung,

Of forests, and enchantments drear,
Where more is meant than meets the ear.

In such studies and weirdly phantasies let the night pass ; and let the morning slowly break on the watcher, not clear and gay, but sombre and cloudy, the winds rocking the trees, and the big rain-drops that the night has gathered falling audibly one by one. Then, when the sun is abroad and his beams have dried up the showers, let the watcher, his pillow yet untouched, sally forth, only to lose himself in the depths of some forest of monumental oaks or pines, where, recumbent in some close covert by a brook, he may be hushed to sleep by the hum of bees or the gush of a waterfall. Let mysterious dreams come in his sleep, and, when he awakes, let it be as if surrounded by spiritual music. His heart full of such music, whither can his returning footsteps take him, ere the new day has fully begun, but to the studious cloisters of the cathedral near ? There let his due feet never fail. Let him love

The high-embowèd roof,
With antique pillars massy proof,
And storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light.
There let the pealing organ blow,
To the full-voiced quire below,
In service high and anthems clear.

And so, thoughtfully, day after day, let his time pass, till old age shall find him a holy hermit, whose wisdom from the past may have something in it of a prophetic strain.

These pleasures, Melancholy, give ;
And I with thee will choose to live.

In L'ALLEGRO and IL PENSEROSO we have poetry in its most quiet intellectual essence, neither elevated into song by the lyric passion, nor recommended to non-poetic tastes by the interfusion of doctrine. They belong, on the whole, to the idyllic or sensuous-ideal class of compositions, in which we see the poet relaxing himself for his own pleasure in the calmest possible exercise of his peculiar intellectual habit. In few poems in our language may the nature of the

purely poetic or imaginative state of mind be better studied ; and in the fact that two such poems of pure and unperturbed phantasy were written by Milton at this particular period of his life we seem to have an indication that, in his retirement at Horton, he was laying to sleep for the time certain dogmatic elements in his temper which had necessarily appeared in his conduct and in some of his writings amid the bustle of the University. It is but the same remark in another form to say that these two poems afford fresh evidence of the fact that, while Milton's readings in preceding and contemporary English poetry were very extensive, his chief favourites among immediately preceding poets were those whom we have called the Spenserians. To this succession of the Spenserians, if to any literary succession at all, Milton for the present belonged. "Milton," says Dryden, "was "the poetical son of Spenser, for we [poets] have our lineal "descents and clans as well as other families." Nor was this merely Dryden's opinion ; for he adds, "Milton has "acknowledged to me that Spenser was his original."¹ It is in such preceding poetry, accordingly, as that of Browne, Giles and Phineas Fletcher, Drummond of Hawthornden, Ben Jonson in his masques, and Fletcher and other dramatists in corresponding parts of their works, that we see the nearest resemblances, both in matter and in form, to the *Ode on the Death of a Fair Infant*, the *Hymn on the Nativity*, and the *Allegro* and *Penseroso*. If, however, in virtue of the matter and form of those poems, Milton, at this period of his life, may be linked with the Spenserian succession, he was already, on the same evidence, a Spenserian with important differences. As in all that he had yet written a critic, even while fondly tracing his relations to the Spenserian school, could have had little difficulty in recognising a certain assemblage of qualities peculiarly Miltonic, so these would have been discernible again in the *Allegro* and *Penseroso*. Most remarkable perhaps was a certain solemnity of tone, mingling with the sensuous beauty even where it was lightest and most graceful. There were evidences also of a mind of

¹ Dryden in his Preface to his "Fables," 1699.

the finest classic culture, and trained and disciplined to classical accuracy in the use of speech. Word follows word and clause fits into clause in Milton's verse with a precision and neatness not usual in Spenser himself or in the most careful of his followers, and proving a higher severity of artistic taste and rule. All in all, it might have been predicted that, if any one of the general Spenserian succession should break that succession and become himself a new point of departure in the history of English Poetry, it would be the young poet of Horton.

So far as the scenery in *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* was suggested from any one place, it was probably from Horton and its neighbourhood. In the morning scene in *L'Allegro* nearly all the details of landscape are such as Horton would furnish to this day; and, though other localities in southern England would furnish most of them quite as well, one or two might be claimed by Horton as not so common. The towers and battlements "bosomed high in tufted trees" are almost evidently Windsor Castle; and a characteristic morning sound at Horton to this day is that of "the hounds and horn" from Windsor Park when the royal huntsmen are out. It would be a great mistake, however, and a most prosaic misconception of Milton's intention, to suppose fidelity in the poem to the scenery of any one place, even the place where it was written. The poem was not intended as the description of any actual rural neighbourhood, but as the generalized visual illustration of a mood of mind. The scenery, therefore, might be visionary or eclectic, made up of idealized recollections from various spots. The lines,

Mountains, on whose barren breast
The labouring clouds do often rest,

import at least one feature for which the flat scenery of Horton offers no original. And so in the *Penseroso*. The sound of the distant roar of the sea so effectively introduced into that poem is an utter impossibility for any part of Buckinghamshire. The Gothic cathedral, also, in whose cloisters the pensive youth walks in the morning, is an

addition we not whence,—whether from Old St. Paul's, London, or from any one of twenty other Gothic churches or chapels Milton may have had in remembrance, what need to inquire? With these exceptions, and perhaps that of the curfew-bell, the landscape of the *Penseroso* may be that of the *Allegro* made melancholy by moonlight.

SONG ON MAY MORNING AND SONNET TO THE NIGHTINGALE.

It was at Horton, on the first of May 1633, if we may give so exact a date on conjecture to what has come down to us undated, that Milton wrote this dainty little thing:—

Now the bright morning-star, Day's harbinger,
Comes dancing from the east, and leads with her
The flowery May, who from her green lap throws
The yellow cowslip and the pale primrose.

Hail, bounteous May, that dost inspire
Mirth, and youth, and warm desire !
Woods and groves are of thy dressing ;
Hill and dale doth boast thy blessing.

Thus we salute thee with our early song,
And welcome thee, and wish thee long.

Within the same month, if we guess aright, he wrote his kindred piece to the Nightingale. Only once before, in his Sonnet on having arrived at the age of three-and-twenty, had he tried his hand in that “Petrarchian Stanza” which his readings in the Italian poets had made so familiar to his ear. He now ventures on a second attempt:—

O Nightingale that on yon bloomy spray
Warblest at eve, when all the woods are still,
Thou with fresh hope the lover's heart dost fill.
While the jolly hours lead on propitious May,
Thy liquid notes that close the eye of day,
First heard before the shallow cuckoo's bill,
Portend success in love. O, if Jove's will
Have linked that amorous power to thy soft lay,
Now timely sing, ere the rude bird of hate
Foretell my hopeless doom, in some grove nigh ;
As thou from year to year hast sung too late
For my relief, yet hadst no reason why.
Whether the Muse or Love call thee his mate,
Both them I serve, and of their train am I.

Some early May evening, it would seem, in that quickening season when the fancies of youth turn lightly to thoughts of love, Milton at Horton remembered the old superstition that he who in that month hears the nightingale before the cuckoo will wed or woo fortunately before the year is over, while he who hears the cuckoo first need expect no such luck. With this fancy in his mind, he listens that evening for the omen of his fate. Surely in past years the cuckoo must have been heard first, for is he not now in the prime of youth and yet neither wedded nor a wooer? Whether the song of the nightingale bodes success in poetry or success in love, he hopes the nightingale may be first this year.¹

ARCADES.

This little piece is far more important biographically than its bulk might indicate. It exhibits Milton breaking forth, if we may so say, into an enlarged circle of connexions with contemporary society and the literature then in fashion. It connects him, more especially, with one rather remarkable family among the English nobility of that day, and through them with the Acted Drama, and the passion for one form of dramatic amusement in particular, in and round the Court of Charles I. To understand the little piece, in fact, in its proper biographical setting, we must come to it after a considerable circuit of preliminary researches and explanations.

In the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, and through the reign of James I., the Masque had been the favourite

¹ The dating of these two pieces in 1633 rests on the same reasons that have made us refer *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* to the latter half of 1632 (see footnote ante pp. 569, 570). They appeared without dates in the 1645 edition of Milton's Poems; and they can hardly have been written after 1633, inasmuch as they are not among the pieces in those preserved sheets of Milton's MSS. at Cambridge which appear to contain all that he wrote in English Verse between 1633 and 1645. On the other hand, they can hardly be

pushed back into the University period, breathing so fondly as they do of "the rural green," and the rather because the sentiment of the sonnet suits the twenty-fifth year of Milton's age better than an earlier. Even if 1632 or 1631, however, were voted to be the year, Horton need not lose the credit. Though it was after July 1632 that Milton retired thither for good, his father may have possessed his little place there, and Milton may have known it by visits from Cambridge, a year or two before that date.

form of private theatricals. If the sovereign visited a subject, or if one distinguished subject visited another ceremoniously, it was frequent enough for part of the ceremonial to consist of an acted pageant, with speeches, &c., by persons allegorically dressed, stationed at the park gate, thence to accompany the visitor to the great hall of the mansion, where the allegory might end in more elaborate scenic effects and more pertinent compliments and gratulations. The preparation of such pageants, on commission from those who required them, had become part of the dramatic profession; and in the hands of such men as Chapman, Fletcher, and, above all, Ben Jonson, the literary capabilities of the Masque had been extended and perfected. In the matters of music, machinery, and decoration, there had been a corresponding improvement under the superintendence of such artists as Inigo Jones. On the part of the poet, the business was to seize the meaning of the occasion in celebration of which the masque was held, and then to invent some allegory, or adapt some scrap of Grecian mythology or mediæval and chivalrous legend, in the action of which the meaning could somehow be symbolised, while at the same time room was left for dances, comicalities, and the expected songs and duets. The machinist, on his part, receiving the story from the poet, or concocting it with him, had to devise the seenie and other visual effects and surprises required for its proper presentation. The aid of the musical composer was essential for any important masque trusting much to song and recitative. Finally, much depended on the skill of the masquers in their parts, and their willingness to spend money beforehand in rich costumes.

About the year 1633, as we already know, a factitious impulse for the time was given to dramatic entertainments generally in London by the indignant reaction against Prynne's *Histriomastix*. While punishment on account of the book was in preparation for the author, all the loyal were on the alert to show how they resented the insult to Majesty conveyed in certain phrases which seemed to reflect gener-

ally on the royal patronage of the Drama, and on Queen Henrietta Maria in particular for her recent performances in a pastoral at Somerset House. Above all, as Prynne was a barrister and had dedicated his book to the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn, this feeling rose to enthusiasm among the lawyers. "About Allhallowtide [Nov. 1633]," Bulstrode Whitlocke informs us in his *Memorials*, "several of the "principal members of the Society of the four Inns of Court, "amongst whom some were servants to the King, had a "design that the Inns of Court should present their service "to the King and Queen and testify their affections to them "by the outward and splendid visible testimony of a royal. "masque of all the four societies joining together, to be "by them brought to the Court as an expression of their "love and duty to their majesties. This was hinted at in "the Court, and by them intimated to the chief of these "societies that it would be well taken from them." In short, it was settled that there should be such a masque at the expense of the four Inns as had never before been presented in England, and a committee was appointed to make all the arrangements.

The Committee consisted of two members from each society. From the Middle Temple there were Mr. Hyde and Whitlocke himself; from the Inner Temple, Selden and Sir Edward Herbert; from Lincoln's Inn, Mr. Attorney-General Noy and Mr. Gerling; and from Gray's Inn, Mr. John Finch and another. This committee appointed several sub-committees for the different parts of the business. "To me in particular," says Whitlocke, "was committed "the whole care and charge of all the music for this great "masque"; and he informs us that he selected Mr. Simon Ivy and Mr. Henry Lawes to compose the airs, lessons, songs, &c., and to be masters of all the music under him, besides securing the services of four Frenchmen, who were musicians of the Queen's Chapel, and of all such Italians, Germans, or natives as were noted for their musical talent in London. Meanwhile Shirley had been appointed to write the poetry; Inigo Jones had undertaken the ma-

chinery; Selden's antiquarian knowledge was in request for costumes; Noy, Hyde, and the others were doing their parts; and a selection had been made of four of the handsomest young barristers from each Inn, sixteen splendid fellows in all, to be the chief masquers and do the dancing. The Banqueting House at Whitehall was suitably prepared; and, at last, on Candlemas Night (Feb. 3, 1633-4), after many rehearsals, infinite pains, and some disputes about precedence, the great affair came off.

On that day, in the afternoon, all the masquers, musicians, actors, &c., met at Ely House, Holborn; and, in the evening, everything being ready, the procession set out, moving down Chancery-lane towards Whitehall. First went twenty footmen in scarlet liveries and silver lace, as marshal-men to clear the way; then Mr. Darrel of Lincoln's Inn, "an extraordinary handsome proper gentleman," as marshal-in-chief, gorgeously mounted, and with lackeys carrying torches before him; then one hundred gentlemen of the Inns, twenty-five from each, selected for their handsomeness, each mounted on a fine horse and splendidly apparelled, with lackeys carrying torches and pages carrying cloaks. "The richness of their apparel and furniture," says Whitlocke, "glittering by the light of the multitude of torches attending on them, with the motion and stirring of their mettled horses and the many and various gay liveries of their servants, but especially the personal beauty and gallantry of the handsome young gentlemen, made the most glorious and splendid show that ever was beheld in England." So much for the first part of the procession, which was attended by its proper music. Next came the antimasquers, with their comic and satirical part. Of these first came an antimasque of cripples and beggars mounted on pitiful horses, "the poorest, leanest jades that could be anywhere gotten," with a music of keys and tongs, and with habits and properties on the grotesqueness of which Noy and Selden had lavished all their ingenuity. Then, preceded by "men on horseback playing upon pipes, whistles, and instruments sounding notes like those of birds of all sorts

“and in excellent concert,” came an antimasque of birds,—to wit, “an owl in an ivy-bush, with many several sorts of “other birds in a cluster round about the owl, gazing as it “were upon her,”—all these birds being nothing else than little boys popped into covers of the shapes of birds, and very ingeniously fitted, all sitting on small horses, with footmen going by them with torches. Next, preceded by musicians on horseback, with bagpipes, hornpipes, and all kinds of squeaking northern instruments, came an antimasque of greedy Scotchmen and other Northerners; which antimasque was intended as a satire on the monopolies then so much complained of. Conspicuous in this antimasque were two figures. One was “a big fellow, on a little horse with “a great bit in his mouth, begging a patent that none in “the kingdom might ride their horses but with bits bought “of him”; the other was “a fellow with a bunch of carrots “on his head and a capon upon his fist,” describing a projector begging a privilege for fourteen years for his discovery of the art of feeding capons on carrots. When there had been enough of such ribaldry, there followed the finest part of the procession. First came all the musicians of the masque, in chariots purposely devised for the occasion, playing most beautiful music. They were followed by the sixteen grand masquers in their superb habits, drawn, four and four, in four chariots like Roman triumphal cars. First came the chariot of the four Gray’s Inn masquers, the colours of which were silver and crimson, with footmen walking by the side with flambeaux. Separated from it by a band of musicians, came next the chariot of the four masquers of the Middle Temple, the colours of which were silver and blue. Musicians again followed; and then, in order, the chariot of the Inner Temple masquers, and that of the Lincoln’s Inn masquers, differently coloured. “The torches and flaming “huge flambeaux,” says Whitlocke, “borne by the side of “each chariot, made it seem lightsome as at noonday, but “more glittering, and gave a full and clear light to all the “streets and windows as they passed by.” The whole procession moved slowly, and all London was crowded along

the line of march. Holborn, Chancery-lane, and the Strand had never seen such a sight.

Meantime the Banqueting House at Whitehall was crowded with ladies, lords, and gentlemen of quality, jewelled and apparelled in their best, waiting for the arrival of the masquers. The King and Queen could hardly get in, so great was the assembly. Their Majesties watched the approaching procession from a window looking straight into the street, and were so pleased that they sent to desire it to fetch a turn round the tilt-yard that they might see it all again. Then, the masquers having entered, and all being seated, the Masque began. Whitlocke, whose heart was with the music, explodes at this point in a general rapture at the wonderful success of everything; and we have to turn to Shirley's pages for a more particular account of the masque itself.¹

The Masque was *The Triumph of Peace*. A beautiful and appropriate proscenium had been prepared; and, "a curtain being suddenly drawn up, the scene was discovered, representing a large street, with sumptuous palaces, lodges, porticos, and other noble pieces of architecture, with pleasant trees and grounds. This, going far from the eye, opens into a spacious place, adorned with public and private buildings seen afar off, representing the forum or piazza of Peace. Over all was a clear sky, with transparent clouds, which enlightened all the scene." When the spectators had sufficiently entertained themselves with this scene, two allegorical personages, Opinion and Confidence, enter and talk. They are joined by Novelty, Admiration, Fancy, Jollity, and Laughter; and the seven together have a chat about the coming entertainment. Then the same personages perform a dance in their respective natures, as composing the first antimasque; after which they continue their talk, the scene changing into "a tavern, with a flaming red lattice, several drinking-rooms, and a back-door, but especially a conceited sign and an eminent bush." Five of the colloquists then depart, leaving Opinion and Fancy as

¹ Shirley's Works, by Dyce, vol. VI. pp. 257-261.

commentators on what is to follow. This consists of a comic allegory of the social results of peace, in three parts,—first an antimasque of the master of the tavern, wenches, servants, gamesters, and the beggars and cripples of the procession, all dancing and expressing their natures; then an antimasque of six projectors, including the inventor of the new bit and the discoverer of the nutritiousness of carrots, dancing first singly and then together; and then (the tavern scene having changed to a woody landscape) the antimasque of the owl and the other birds, with fantastic variations of a merchant among thieves, nymphs chased by satyrs, huntsmen, a knight and his squire attacking wind-mills, men playing at bowls, &c. Opinion and Fancy, whose interspersed comments can but faintly have indicated the allegoric meaning of those sights, are then rejoined by their five companions; and, after a brief dialogue, they all go off, scared by the sound of aerial music heralding some new vision. These gone, “there appears in the highest and foremost part of the heaven, by little and little, to break forth a whitish cloud, bearing a chariot, feigned of goldsmith’s work; and in it sat Irene or Peace, in a flowery vesture like the Spring, a garland of olives on her head, a branch of palm in her hand, buskins of green taffeta, great puffs about her neck and shoulders.” Descending from her chariot, Peace sings two short songs, each ending in a chorus; after which “out of the highest part of the opposite side came softly descending another cloud, of an orient colour, bearing a silver chariot curiously wrought, and differing in all things from the first, in which sat Eunomia or Law, in a purple satin robe, adorned with golden stars, a mantle of carnation laced and fringed with gold, a coronet of light upon her head, buskins of purple drawn out with yellow.” She also sings a song, ending in a chorus. Then “a third cloud, of various colour from the other two, begins to descend towards the middle of the scene with somewhat a more swifter motion; and in it sat a person, representing Dikè or Justice, in the midst, in a white robe and mantle of satin, fair long hair circled with

“a coronet of silver pikes, white wings and buskins, a crown
“imperial in her hand.” She also sings, Irene and Eunomia
joining with her in chorus; and then the whole train of
musicians, advancing to the King and Queen, sing an ode
felicitating them, and praying that their reign may exhibit
the joint influences of Irene, Eunomia, and Dikè. There-
upon the scene was again changed, and the sixteen grand
masquers appeared sitting on a kind of hill, shaped in terraces,
under an arbour beautifully contrived, so that the sky beyond
could be seen through the branches. The masquers, repre-
senting the sons of Peace, Law, and Justice, wore habits
between the ancient and the modern, “their bodies carn-
“ation, the shoulders trimmed with knots of pure silver and
“scallop of white and carnation,” and “about their hats
“wreaths of olive and plumes of white feathers; underneath
“whom sat Genius, an angelical person with wings of
“several-coloured feathers, a carnation robe tucked up,
“yellow long hair bound with a silver coronet, a small white
“rod in his hand, and white buskins.” Genius descends
to the stage and speaks a speech; after which the masquers
dance and retire. A song is then sung by the Hours and
Chorus, complimentary to the King and Queen; the musicians
re-enter; and the masquers dance their main dance and
retire. Then, to a confused noise of “*Come in,*” “*Knock ’em*
down,” and the like, in the midst of which the machinery
seems to crack and give way, there bursts in a rabble of
carpenters, painters, tailors, and their wives, determined, in
spite of guards and halberds, to see the show. They gratify
their curiosity, have a dance, and bundle out again. There
is then another song, encouraging the masquers to their
revels with the ladies; and the masquers choose partners
among the ladies and dance. By this time the night is far
gone, or is supposed to be; and so, after the revels, the
scene changes into “a plain champaign country, and above
“a darkish sky with dusky clouds, through which appears
“the new moon, but with a faint light by the approach of
“morning.” Gradually a vapour rises, and out of this comes
a cloud of strange shape and colour, in which sits a young

maid, with a dim torch in her hand, her face, arms, and breast of an olive colour, a string of great pearls about her neck, "her garment transparent, the ground dark blue and "sprinkled with silver spangles, her buskins white trimmed "with gold." This is Amphilukè or Dawn. She sings a song and begins to ascend; and, as she ascends, the masquers are called from their revels by a final song of other voices. By the time it is done, Amphilukè is hidden in the heavens, the masquers desist, and the scene closes.

"Thus," says Whitlocke, "was this earthly pomp and "glory, if not vanity, soon past, over and gone, as if it had "never been." But the success had been complete, every part of the masque having been simply as good as it could be, save (if we may venture, on our own account now, on the impertinent criticism) the single matter of the poetry. That is very wretched stuff, even from Shirley. The cost of the masque to the Four Inns and to the masquers in private expenses amounted in all to £21,000; of which, says Whitlocke, about £1,000 went for the music. Ivy and Lawes had £100 apiece; and, as it was thought well to be particularly courteous to the four French musical gentlemen in the Queen's service, Whitlocke invited them to a collation in the great room of the Apollo in the Devil Tavern, and caused to be served up to each of them for the first dish a covered plate containing forty pieces of gold in French coin.

The success of the great Masque of the Inns of Court caused a furor for the time in courtly circles for this species of entertainment. Indeed, only a fortnight after that performance;—to wit, on Shrove-Tuesday night, Feb. 18, 1633-4,—there was presented in the same place the scarcely less famous Masque of *Cælum Britannicum*, the literary part by Carew, the music by Henry Lawes, and the scenery and appurtenances by Inigo Jones. As the entertainment was a royal one, and the masquers were the King himself and fourteen of the chief nobles, with ten "young lords and noblemen's sons" for the juvenile parts, there were in this masque special features of attraction. In structure it was

an absurd allegoric medley of speeches in prose and verso by Mercury, Momus, &c., with songs celebrating the advance of the British Islands from Druidic times to the starry reign of Charles; but in literary execution it was much superior to that of Shirley. Sir Henry Herbert enters it in his books as "the noblest mask of my time to this day." In general celebrity, however, Shirley's carried the hour; and he and the gentlemen of the Inns of Court had the satisfaction of assisting at a second performance of it, arranged within a week after the first, to gratify the Queen's expressed wish. This second performance took place in the Merchants' Hall in the City, at the expense of the Lord Mayor.—Besides the three entertainments thus occurring so close together, there were others of minor note about the same period. Altogether the closing months of 1633 and the early months of 1634 were a busy time in the theatrical world, and Prynne must have groaned in spirit.¹

Among the "young lords and noblemen's sons" who acted the juvenile parts in Carew's masque of *Cælum Britannicum*, while his Majesty and some lords of full age acted the senior parts, one notes Viscount Brackley and his brother Mr. Thomas Egerton, the two sons of the Earl of Bridgewater. They may have been selected, as promising pupils of Henry Lawes, to sing in some of the musical parts. All that we know of the Bridgewater family, however, tends to show that there was an unusual aptitude among its members generally for amusements of this kind.

John Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater, Privy Councillor, &c., was born about 1579, and was consequently now about fifty-four years of age. He was the son of the famous Lord Chancellor Ellesmere by his first marriage, and the only surviving male heir of that statesman's name. His elevation to the earldom of Bridgewater in May 1617 had been a mark of respect for his father's memory,—the Chancellor himself, for

¹ Mr. Collier enumerates thirteen regular plays acted before the king and queen between Nov. 16, 1633, and Jan. 30, 1633-4, in addition to the three

masques and several new plays in the succeeding month. Among the plays was Fletcher's pastoral of *The Faithful Shepherdess*.

whom the honour had been intended, having just then died (March 15, 1616-17) in the inferior dignity of Viscount Brackley, to which he had been raised by James only five months before (Nov. 7, 1616), after having been known for thirteen years as Baron Ellesmere. While both father and son were alive, they had been additionally connected by a double marriage. In 1600 the Chancellor, not yet Baron Ellesmere, but only Sir Thomas Egerton, Keeper of the Great Seal, had married for his third wife Alice, the daughter of Sir John Spencer of Althorpe, Northamptonshire, and then Countess-Dowager of Derby by the death, six years previously, of her first husband, Ferdinando Stanley, fifth Earl of Derby; and about the same time his son, then Mr. Egerton, had married that lady's second daughter by her former marriage. After the Chancellor's decease, his widow, who had all along retained her title of Countess-Dowager of Derby, and who may have been about her fifty-sixth year at the beginning of her second widowhood, had continued to reside chiefly at Harefield in Middlesex, about four miles from Uxbridge, and on the borders of Bucks; which estate she had purchased, jointly with the Chancellor, in 1601, and which had been his and her favourite country residence during his life.¹ The chief seat of her step-son and her daughter, the Earl and Countess of Bridgewater, was at Ashridge, in the parish of Little Gaddesden, Hertfordshire, about sixteen miles distant from Harefield, and also on the borders of Bucks.² Here or in London had been born most of the members of a numerous family. There had been in all four sons and eleven daughters, of whom, however, there had died two sons and three daughters, leaving alive, in 1634, ten children. In order of age they were as follows:—the Lady Frances Egerton, Lady Arabella, Lady Elizabeth, Lady Mary, Lady Penelope, Lady Catherine, Lady Magdalen, Lady Alice, Viscount Brackley, and Mr. Thomas Egerton. The two youngest were the juvenile performers in Carew's masque. They were then mere boys, — John, Viscount

¹ Lysons's *Middlesex*, under *Harefield*.

² Clutterbuck's *History of the County of Herts*, vol. I., under *Little Gaddesden*.

Brackley, in his twelfth or thirteenth year, and Mr. Thomas Egerton about a year younger. The Lady Alice, the sister next above them in age, was in her fourteenth or fifteenth year. Of the elder sisters several were already married. The eldest, Frances, about thirty years of age, was the wife of Sir John Hobart of Blickling, Norfolk; and the next, Arabella, was the wife of Oliver, Lord St. John of Bletso, son and heir of the Earl of Bolingbroke.

Altogether the family of the Egertons was one of the most accomplished among the English aristocracy. Respecting the Earl of Bridgewater himself we have the testimony of his tombstone, so far as that may serve, that he was "endowed with incomparable parts, both natural and acquired," that he "seldom spake but he did either instruct or delight those that heard him," and that he was "a profound scholar, an able statesman, and a good Christian."¹ This character is confirmed, in part, by what is known of his previous history; and there is evidence in his own handwriting on books, and in dedications of books to him, that he had some reputation as a patron of literature.² His countess, according to *her* epitaph, was "unparalleled in the gifts of nature and grace, being strong of constitution, admirable for beauty, generous in carriage, of a sweet and noble disposition, wise in her affairs, cheerful in discourse, liberal to the poor, pious towards God, good to all."³ The children were worthy of their parentage. Lord Brackley and his brother were two pleasing black-haired boys, and there are portraits of the Lady Alice and of some of her elder sisters which represent them as very handsome. To the musical accomplishments of the Lady Alice and the Lady Mary at this precise time we have Lawes's distinct testimony

¹ Inscription in Little Gaddesden Church, Herts, from Clutterbuck's *Hertfordshire*. The Earl died Dec. 1649, aged 70.

² *Egerton Papers* of Camden Society; records of the Earl's attendances at Privy Council meetings, his appointments on commissions, &c., in Rymer and Rushworth; also references to him in the *Catalogue of the Bridgewater Library*, published by Mr. Collier in

1837. In the last is a fac-simile of his autograph, from a volume of religious poetry, presented to him by John Vicars in 1625. In the Library of the University of Edinburgh I came accidentally on a book certified by his autograph as having belonged to him.

³ Inscription in Little Gaddesden Church. She died but two years after our present date,—to wit, in March 1635-6, aged 52.

many years afterwards (1653), when, in dedicating his *Ayres and Dialogues* to them in their then married condition, he says, "No sooner I thought of making them public than of "inscribing them to your ladyships, most of them being "composed when I was employed by your ever-honoured "parents to attend your ladyships' education in music; who " (as in other accomplishments fit for persons of your quality) "excelled most ladies especially in vocal music, wherein "you were so absolute that you gave life and honour to all "I set and taught you, and that with more understanding "than a new generation, pretending to skill, are capable of."

Notwithstanding some family differences while the old Chancellor had been alive, there seems to have been very cordial intercourse now between the Bridgewater family of Ashridge and their venerable relative, the Countess-Dowager of Derby, at Harefield. As standing to her in the double relation of grandchildren and step-grandchildren, the eight young Egerton ladies and their two brothers had naturally their full share in her affection. They and their parents, however, were not her only near relatives. Two other daughters of hers by her first husband, the Earl of Derby, had likewise married and had also had children. The youngest, Lady Elizabeth Stanley, had married in June 1603, at a very early age, Henry, Lord Hastings, who, in December 1605, succeeded his grandfather in the earldom of Huntingdon, with its estates of Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire, &c. After a married life of thirty years, she died in London, a month before Carew's masque was performed, and was buried at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, leaving four grown-up sons and daughters, viz. — Ferdinando, Lord Hastings, born 1608, heir-apparent to the earldom; his brother Henry, afterwards Lord Loughborough; Alice, born 1606, and now married to Sir Gervase Clifton; and another daughter, named Elizabeth.¹ The fate of Lady Anne Stanley, the eldest daughter of the Countess of Derby, had been

¹ Collins's Peerage and Nichols's *Leicestershire*. There is a funeral sermon on the Countess of Huntingdon,

published in 1635, with a sonnet to her memory by Lord Falkland. Donne also has poems to her.

more varied and unhappy. By her first marriage with the munificent Grey Bridges, fifth Lord Chandos, who had died in early manhood in 1621, she had four surviving children—George Bridges, now Lord Chandos, about fifteen years of age; William, somewhat younger; and two daughters. She had contracted a second marriage, however, in 1624, with Mervin, Lord Audley, Earl of Castlehaven, then a widower with six children,—a union of unexampled wretchedness, which had been dissolved by the execution of the Earl in 1631; since which time she had lived in retirement under her former name of Lady Chandos.¹ Her son, Lord Chandos, had acted as page in Carew's masque, along with his cousins, Viscount Braekley and Mr. Thomas Egerton.

Thus, in 1633, the Countess-Dowager of Derby had at least twenty relatives alive in direct descent from her. There were her two surviving daughters, the widowed Lady Chandos and the Countess of Bridgewater; and there were eighteen grandchildren, of whom four were sons and daughters of Lady Chandos by her first husband, ten were sons and daughters of the Earl and Countess of Bridgewater, and four were sons and daughters of the deceased Countess of Huntingdon. As some of the young Egertons and Hastingses were married, the descent was already sprouting into the fourth generation, and the venerable Countess may have had great-grandchildren. All this without taking into account her numerous collateral relations, whether of the line of the male Speneers of Althorpe, or descended from her sisters, of whom one had married George Carey, second Lord Hunsdon, and another successively William Stanley, Lord Monteagle, Henry Compton, first Lord Compton, and Robert Saekville, Earl of Dorset. The mansion and estate of Harefield were to descend, after the Countess-Dowager's death, to her eldest daughter, Lady Chandos, and that widowed lady and her two young sons and one of her young daughters were already, in fact, domiciled at Harefield with the Countess. Expectations of inheritance apart, there was every reason why all the relatives of the aged lady should

¹ *Memoirs of the Peers of James I.*, by Sir Egerton Bridges, 1802, pp. 392-393.

be punctiliously respectful to her while she lived. She was the relic of times already romantic in the haze of the past, and there was, perhaps, no aged gentlewoman then living that carried in her memory, or could suggest by her mere presence to others, a nobler series of poetic recollections.

In her maidenhood, in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth, she and her sisters at Althorpe had been the occasional companions of their relative, the poet Spenser, then young as themselves and unknown to the world. Later, when he *was* known, it had been his pleasure to speak of himself as their humble and admiring kinsman, and to associate their names with his poetry. His *Muiopotmos* was dedicated to one of the sisters, Elizabeth, then Lady Carey, afterwards Lady Hunsdon; and his *Mother Hubbard's Tale* was dedicated, in 1591, to her sister Anne, Lady Compton and Monteagle. To *our* countess, Alice, the youngest of the sisters, he dedicated in the same year his *Tears of the Muses*,—a poem of much interest now, as describing the state of English poetry at that time, and as containing Spenser's supposed reference to Shakespeare as "our pleasant Willy." The Countess was then known as Lady Strange, as her husband, Ferdinando, Lord Strange, did not attain the Earldom of Derby till the death of his father, Henry, the fourth earl, Sept. 25, 1593. If the lady was deemed worthy of regard on her own account, the reputation of the nobleman to whom she was married was such as to invest her with additional claims to honour. No nobleman was of greater note in the contemporary world of letters. He was himself a poet; among the dramatic companies of the time was one retained by him and called Lord Strange's Players; and Nash, Greene, and the other dramatists whom we remember as Shakespeare's seniors, were his clients and panegyrists. Nash, in particular, is glowing in his praises of "thrice noble Amyntas," as he calls Lord Strange, "the matchless image of honour and magnificent rewarder of virtue." Moreover, he was of a family distinguished from the rest of the English aristocracy as being related, by no

remote connexion, to the blood-royal.¹ All this is recognised by Spenser in the dedication in question. It is as follows :—

“Most brave and noble Ladie : The things that make ye so much honored of the world as ye bee are such as (without my simple lines testimonie) are throughlie knowne to all men ; namely, your excellent beautie, your vertuous behavior, and your noble match with that most honourable Lord, the very Paterne of right Nobilitie. But the causes for which ye have thus deserved of me to be honoured (if honour it be at all) are both your particular bounties and also some private bands of affinitie which it hath pleased your Ladiship to acknowledge. Of which whenas I found myselve in no part worthie, I devised this last slender meanes, both to intimate my humble affection to your Ladiship, and also to make the same universallie knowne to the world, that by honouring you they might know me, and by knowing me they might honor you. Vouchsafe, noble Lady, to accept this simple remembrance, thogh not worthy of yourself, yet such as perhaps, by good acceptance thereof, ye may hereafter cull out a more meet and memorable evidence of your own excellent deserts. So, recommending the same to your Ladiship’s good liking, I humbly take leave. Your La : humbly ever. ED. SP.”

This dedication was but the first of a long series of poetic honours which had been paid to the Countess of Derby. As the critics interpret the allusions in Spenser’s pastoral of *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, she is the “Amaryllis” of that poem, and “Amyntas,” the noble poet whose decease is there lamented, is her husband, the Earl of Derby, then just dead, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and the first of his new title (April 16, 1594) :—

“Amyntas quite has gone and lies full low,
Having his Amaryllis left to mone.
Helpe, O ye shepheards, helpe ye all in this,
Helpe Amaryllis this her losse to mourne :
Her losse is yours, your losse Amyntas is,
Amyntas, floure of shepheards pride forlorne :
He whilest he livèd was the noblest swaine
That ever pipèd in an oaten quill ;
Both did he other which could pipe maintaine,
And eke could pipe himselve with passing skill.”²

¹ For an account of Ferdinando, Lord Strange, fifth Earl of Derby, see Walpole’s “Royal and Noble Authors,” enlarged by Park (1806), II. 45-51; where is quoted a pastoral ballad by the earl, the only known specimen of his muse. See also a characteristic letter of his to the Earl of Essex, of date Jan. 17, 1593-4, in Lodge’s “Illustrations,” and many interesting particulars

relating to his connexions with Elizabethan literature in the *Stanley Papers* of the Chetham Society (1853),—especially vol. I. of these papers, entitled “The Earls of Derby and the Verse-writers and Poets of the 16th and 17th centuries, by Thomas Heywood, F.S.A.” (pp. 30-37).

² For an account of the peculiar circumstances of the Earl of Derby’s

Again, farther on in the same poem, where, passing from the shepherds, the poet enumerates the nymphs of the British Isle, he introduces, after others, Amaryllis again and her two sisters:—

“ Ne lesse praisworthie are the sisters three,
The honor of the noble familie
Of which I meanest boast myselfe to be,
And most that unto them I am so nie,
Phyllis, Carillis, and sweet Amaryllis.
Phyllis the faire is eldest of the three ;
The next to her is bountifull Carillis ;
But th’ youngest is the highest in degree.”

Each of the three is then celebrated separately, the lines respecting Amaryllis containing another allusion to her widowhood:—

“ But Amaryllis whether fortunate
Or else unfortunate may I aread,
That freed is from Cupids yoke by fate,
Since which she doth new bands adventure dread ?
Shepherd, whatever thou hast heard to be
In this or that prayd diversly apart,
In her thou maist them all assembled see,
And seald up in the treasure of her hart.”

Five years after those lines were written, and when the poet who had written them was in his grave (1600), Amaryllis *had* braved “ new bands’ adventure ” in marrying the Lord Keeper Egerton.¹ This marriage was not a remove out of the world of poetry and poets, but rather into the very midst of it. If the Lord Keeper did not “ pipe himself with passing skill,” as Amyntas had done, he was officially in the very centre of those who could do nothing else than pipe. His duties, first as Lord Keeper to Elizabeth, and then as Lord Chancellor to James till the year 1616, brought him into continual relations, more especially, with the dramatic

death see Walpole’s “ Royal and Noble Authors,” *ut supra*, and Lodge’s “ Illustrations.” The story was that the Jesuits had tampered with him, to make him “ assume the title of king in right of his grandmother,” and that, for revealing their treason, he was secretly poisoned. His clients among the poets lamented his premature death as the greatest loss to English letters since the death of Sidney ; and Spenser, who had been blamed by Nash for not hon-

ouring him sufficiently in verse during his life, takes the opportunity to write the obituary tribute in the text.

¹ Egerton had been connected with the Derby family, as their legal adviser, and also as “ Master of the Game in Bidston Park, Cheshire,” as early as 1589, and must thus have been well acquainted with the noble “ Amaryllis ” while as yet there was no hope that ever she would be his. (See *Stanley Papers*, vol. II.)

poets of that dramatic age. His name, consequently, is studded all over the poetry of the period, in epistles, dedications, &c. The Countess of Derby, both as his wife and on her own account, shared in these poetic laudations. The following associations with her name are worthy of notice :—

1602. Queen Elizabeth paid a visit of four days (July 31—Aug. 3) to the Lord Keeper and the Countess of Derby at their house at Harefield, and was entertained with extraordinary pomp and pageantry. On her first arrival at the Harefield estate she was received, at a place called Dew's Farm, with a kind of masque of speeches delivered to her by allegorical personages (a farmer, a dairy-maid, &c.). As it chanced to rain at the time, she heard these speeches, on horseback, under a great tree, and was then attended by the allegorical persons to "a long avenue of elms leading to the house," and which ever afterwards, in honour of her having passed through it, was called the Queen's Walk. At the Queen's departure, there was again a kind of masque along the avenue, with speeches of farewell.¹

1603. A set of verses on the death of Elizabeth, entitled *The Death of Delia, with Teares of her Funeral*, was inscribed to the Countess of Derby.²

1605. A "Countess of Derby" is one of the noble ladies who assist Queen Anne in Ben Jonson's *Masque of Blackness*, "personated at the Court at Whitehall on Twelfth night." It is not certain whether this was our Countess-Dowager or her younger contemporary, the wife of her late husband's successor, William, sixth Earl of Derby.

1607. A Masque, prepared by the poet Marston, was presented before the Countess, in the month of August this year, in honour of a visit which she paid to her son-in-law and daughter, the Earl and Countess of Huntingdon, at their seat at Ashby-de-la-Zouch. The MS. of the masque, which is still preserved, is entitled "*The Lorde and Lady of Huntingdon's Entertainment of their right noble Mother, Alice, Countess-Dowager of Derby, the firste nighte of her Honour's arrivall at the House of Ashby.*" The Earl had come to his title about eighteen months before,—Dec. 31, 1605 ; and this, the first visit of "their right noble mother" to the hereditary seat of the earldom, was thought worthy of poetic commemoration. Accordingly, "when her ladyship approached the park corner," she was received with a burst of trumpets, &c. ; then, on entering the park, she found herself before "an antique gate," near which was stationed "an old enchantress attired in crimson velvet, with pale face and dark hair," who saluted her with a speech of a forbidding nature. Saturn, hearing the speech, and perceiving who the visitor is, exclaims "Peace, stay ; it is, it is, it is even she !" and corrects the preceding speech by one of ardent welcome. The enchantress is awed, and the Countess, with the whole attending troop, passes on to the house. Then there is more allegory and speechmaking on "the stairs leading to the great cham-

¹ For detailed accounts of this visit, see the "Egerton Papers" of the Camden Society, pp. 340-347 ; also Lysons's

Middlesex, and Nichols's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. III.

² Nichols's *Progresses*, vol. III.

ber"; after which, in the great chamber itself, comes the regular masque, "presented by four knights and four gentlemen," with Cynthia descending in a cloud "in a habit of blue satin finely embroidered with stars and clouds," Ariadne rising to meet her, &c., and speeches and songs in compliment to the Countess. From a separate sheet in the MS. it appears that there were introduced into the masque thirteen stanzas of compliment, each prepared by the poet to be spoken by a separate lady of the company then at Ashby, and an additional stanza of thanks to be spoken by the Countess herself. The names of the thirteen ladies are given. Among them are Lady Huntingdon, Lady Hunsdon (the Countess of Derby's sister, and Spenser's *Phyllis*), Lady Berkeley (Lady Hunsdon's daughter), Lady Compton (the Countess's other sister, and Spenser's *Carillis*), and Mrs. Egerton. The poetry of the masque throughout is poor stuff. The MS. bears a dedication to the Countess of Derby in Marston's own hand, as follows:—

"If my slight muse may suit yo^r. noble merit,
My hopes are crown'd, and I shall cheere my sperit;
But, if my weake quill droopes or seems unfitt,
'Tis not yo^r. want of worth, but mine of witt.
The servant of yo^r. honor'd Virtues,
JOHN MARSTON."¹

1608. A Countess of Derby (this or the other) assisted in Ben Jonson's *Masque of Beauty*, performed by the Queen and her Ladies.

1609-10, Feb. 2. She assisted in Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queens*, performed by the Queen and her Ladies, another of the performers being her daughter, the Countess of Huntingdon.

1611. Davies of Hereford, in his *Scourge of Folly*, has a copy of verses to the Countess, as his "good lady and mistress." He had previously (1609) dedicated another of his writings, *Holy Roode, or Christ's Crosse*, to the Countess and her three daughters, in the following terms:—"To the Right Honourable well-accomplished Lady Alice, Countess of Derby, my good lady and mistress, and to her three right noble daughters, by birth, nature, and education, the Lady Elizabeth, Countess of Huntingdon, the Lady Frances Egerton, and the Lady Ann, wife to the truly noble Lord Gray Chandois that now is, be all comfort whensoever *crost*." Davies was celebrated for his caligraphy, and his dedications in the original manuscript derive significance from the picturesque ingenuities of the penmanship."²

1616. The *Historie of Trebizonde* (a set of tales), by Thomas Gainsforde, is dedicated to the Countess in a strain of "the most exalted panegyrick."³

These few notes of incidents in the life of the Countess on to the date of her second widowhood (1616-17) give some significance to Warton's phrase, "The peerage-book of this

¹ An abstract of this masque was first given from the MS. by Todd in the notes to the *Arcades*, in his edition of Milton; but the masque is now included in Mr. Halliwell's edition of Marston's works, 1856.

² Warton's notes to *Arcades*; also *Stanley Papers*, I. pp. 37-47, where Mr. Heywood has given a very careful account of most of these poetic tributes to Lady Derby.

³ Warton's notes to *Arcades*.

countess is the poetry of her times." But her greatest poetic honour was to come. Eighteen years had elapsed since the last incident noted in the list, and seven-and-twenty since she was the heroine of Marston's masque at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and she had been spending the declining years of her second widowhood in her retirement at Harefield, endowing almshouses there for poor widows and doing other deeds of charity, not unvisited all the while by the joys of new happy incidents in the three families most nearly related to her, nor, alas! by the bitterest and most unnameable sorrows from one of them.¹ And now, ere her silver hairs descended into the grave, she was to cull that one "more meet and memorable evidence of her excellent deserts" which Spenser, in words more prophetic than he himself knew, had predicted for her when he presented her in her blooming youth with his *Teares of the Muses*.

"ARCADES: PART OF AN ENTERTAINMENT PRESENTED TO THE COUNTESS DOWAGER OF DERBY AT HAREFIELD BY SOME NOBLE PERSONS OF HER FAMILY; WHO APPEAR ON THE SCENE IN PASTORAL HABIT, MOVING TOWARDS THE SEAT OF STATE, WITH THIS

¹ In the parish register of Harefield is this entry:—"Married the Earl of Castlehaven and Anne, Lady Chaudos, July 22, 1624." Seven years after this ceremony at Harefield there was the execution of the Earl on Tower Hill (April 25, 1631). I have seen in the State Paper Office several letters of the aged countess, written in 1631 to Viscount Dorchester, as Secretary of State, with reference to the disposal of her daughter, Lady Chandos or Castlehaven, and her young grandchild, Lady Audley, then in the depths of ruin, in consequence of the exposures made at the earl's trial. The letters are full of a stately and venerable grief, and at the same time of wise benevolence. The writer speaks of herself (May 21, 1631) as one "whose heart is almost wounded to death already with thinking of so foul a husiness," and implores Dorchester's good offices with the King, that the best arrangements may be made for the two survivors most wretchedly implicated. She signifies, in that and in a subsequent letter (Aug. 6, 1631), that her daughter, Lady

Chandos, and her grandchild Audley, are left destitute,—"destitute of all other means to maintain either of them, but that myself, out of my poor estate, am willing both to relieve them and all the children of my daughter besides"; that already she has three of these other children (young Lord Chandos, his brother, and one of the sisters) residing under her roof at Harefield; and that she is willing to receive their mother under the same roof, and also the other young sister, should the King so command,—though, as regards the latter, she would rather decline the responsibility that would ensue, "her old age and other infirmities that accompany it not giving her leave to govern youth as formerly she had done." An arrangement, such as the countess desired, was made with his Majesty's consent; and accordingly, as we have assumed in the text, the establishment at Harefield included, in 1634, not only the aged countess, but her twice-widowed daughter, Lady Chandos, and at least three of Lady Chandos's children.

SONG." These are the words with which Milton, in his own editions of his Poems, introduces the little piece we have now to look at.

Some time in 1633, as we conjecture, the "noble persons of her family," including, we may suppose, not only young Lord Chandos and his brother, residing at Harefield, but also young Lord Brackley, Mr. Thomas Egerton, Lady Alice Egerton, Lady Mary, and the rest of the musical sisters of the Ashridge household, have resolved to present the aged Countess with a Masque. They have fixed the day,—the Countess's birthday, let us say, or some other day when a gathering of the relatives at Harefield might be equally fitting. Lawes is in their counsels, and has undertaken the musical part of the entertainment and planned the rest. The entertainment is to consist of various portions duly connected; but one portion is to be a little open-air pastoral of songs and speeches. By some means or other, young Mr. Milton has been requested to furnish the poetry.¹ He has

¹ A subject of some controversy has been the possibility of an acquaintance between Milton and the Egerton family independently of Lawes. There is no *fact* to prove any such acquaintance. There was no necessary connexion from proximity of residence, for Ashridge is about five-and-twenty miles distant from Horton, and Harefield itself, though on the banks of the Colne, is about ten miles higher up the river than Horton. Warton's statement that "the house and lands of Milton's father at Horton were held under the Earl of Bridgewater," is, as I have already stated, unauthorized. Todd, accepting the statement from Warton, and not consulting the map, fortifies the assumed connexion in his own mind by the mistake of making Horton "in the neighbourhood of Ashridge." Then, out of all this have grown still more extended suppositions,—as that the Countess of Derby, hearing of the young poet of Horton, and taking an interest in poetry and poets, appreciated his genius and had him often at Harefield. Mr. Keightley, naturally resenting so ready a substitution of fancy for fact, has a note on *Milton and the Egerton family* (pp. 119-122), the object of which is to show "the utter instability of the structure of adulation and sycophancy" towards the descend-

ants of the Egertons which Warton and Todd had raised. He adopts what is really at present the most natural supposition, that it was Milton's connexion with Lawes that led to his writing *Arcades* and afterwards *Comus*. He is unnecessarily vehement, however, against the other supposition,—on such grounds as that Milton was then "unknown," was of "too noble and independent a spirit," &c., and that the intercourse between the nobility and persons of inferior rank was then too distant and stately to make his supposed acquaintance with the Egerton family possible. On this last point Mr. Keightley is historically wrong. Such an acquaintance between Milton and the Egerton family as is supposed was *possible* enough; we only lack evidence of it. Could Warton's statement respecting the Horton property be verified, that would be something. On the whole, I should not wonder if it were yet discovered that Milton's connexion with the Bridgewater family, if it had any origin apart from Lawes, was through some relative attached in some capacity to the Derby service or that of the Egertons. We are apt to forget that every life has many minute ramifications in addition to the few which biography can trace.

done so, and placed in Lawes's hands a little MS. entitled "ARCADES," or "THE ARCADIANS." Lawes has composed the songs; there have been one or two rehearsals; and on the appointed day, whether in 1633 or early in 1634, the entertainment comes off.¹

The time is apparently evening. Harefield House is lit up; and, not far from it, on a throne of state so arranged as to glitter in the light, the aged Countess is seated, sur-

¹ I have been much exercised by the question of the date of the Arcades. In the first edition of the present volume I gave 1634 as the most probable date, with a reserve in favour of 1633 as the next likeliest. Some observations in Mr. Leigh Sotheby's *Ramblings in the elucidation of the Autograph of Milton* (1861) led me afterwards to modify that opinion; and in the Cambridge Edition of Milton's Poems, published in 1874, I assigned 1631 as perhaps the latest date at which the *Arcades* could have been written, and gave my reasons. On farther study, I am now disposed to revert to my first opinion. The argument adduced by Mr. Leigh Sotheby for an earlier date than 1633 or 1634 was that the preserved draft of the *Arcades* in Milton's own hand is the first of the pieces in the bound volume of his MS. remains now in Trinity College, Cambridge, preceding there the two drafts of that Letter to a Friend, excusing his shrinking from the church and his hesitations about a profession, in which he had incorporated his Sonnet on the completion of his twenty-third year. *Arcades* occupying pp. 1-3 of the MS. and the drafts of the Letter pp. 6, 7, and the arrangement of the pages being such as to make it difficult to suppose that Milton had gone back to p. 1 after having written pp. 6, 7, the conclusion suggested by Mr. Sotheby was that *Arcades* was in Milton's possession, fully drafted, before he wrote the Letter to his Friend. This conclusion, I believe, still holds good; but it was too hasty to fancy that it necessitated so early a date as 1631 for the *Arcades*. Granted that the date must be before that of the Letter, what was the date of the Letter? The Letter incorporates, to be sure, a Sonnet the date of which is fixed positively by its subject to have been in December 1631; but this by no means determines the date of the Letter itself. The Sonnet, as incorporated in the Letter,

is a clean transcript, without correction or erasure, from an earlier original, and is introduced in the letter as containing some of Milton's "nightward thoughts *some while since*, because they come in not altogether unfitly." These words certainly imply no long interval between the Sonnet and the Letter; but they are quite congruous with the notion that the Letter was not written till 1633. Milton, having a birth-day Sonnet by him which he had written in December 1631, and finding it closely relevant to a letter he was writing in 1633, might very naturally enclose a copy. All in all, we are induced to the belief, which I have adopted, that the volume of Milton MSS. at Cambridge contains the drafts of his things in English from some time in 1633 onwards, and that the original drafts of all his earlier things have been lost. But no question ought to be closed while there is the least reason for keeping it open; and I offer only what seems the likeliest and safest judgment at present. The question is not wholly without practical interest. If *Arcades* was written before 1633, it has nothing to do with the excitement over Prynne's *Histriomastix*; but, if it was written in that year or in 1634, it is, no less than *Comus*, a proof that Milton had so little sympathy with Prynne's attack on the Drama as deliberately to throw his weight on the other side by aiding in private theatricals while that attack was fresh. Should 1634 be thought not too late a date for the performance of the *Arcades* at Harefield, one might find no had occasion for it in this extract from Lysons:—"On the 10th of April, 1634. Mr. Hugh Calverley, afterwards Sir Hugh, was married at Harefield to the Lady Elizabeth Hastings, one of the daughters of the Earl and Countess of Huntingdon, and grand-daughter of the Countess of Derby." But all the evidence, I think, points preferably to 1633.

rounded by the seniors of the assembled party.¹ Suddenly torches are seen flickering amid the trees of the park; and up the long avenue of elms, as we fancy,—the identical avenue which had borne the name of “The Queen’s Walk” ever since Elizabeth had passed through it two-and-thirty years before,—there advance the torch-bearers, and with them a band of nymphs and shepherds, clad as Arcadians. When they have approached near enough, they pause, and one voice breaks out from the rest in this song:—

Look, Nymphs and Shepherds, look !
 What sudden blaze of majesty
 Is that which we from hence descry,
 Too divine to be mistook ?
 This, this is she
 To whom our vows and wishes bend :
 Here our solemn search hath end.

Fame, that, her high worth to raise,
 Seemed erst so lavish and profuse,
 We may justly now accuse
 Of detraction from her praise :
 Less than half we find expressed ;
 Envy bid conceal the rest.

Mark what radiant state she spreads,
 In circle round her shining throne
 Shooting her beams like silver threads :
 This, this is she alone,
 Sitting like a goddess bright
 In the centre of her light.

Might she the wise Latona be,
 Or the towered Cybele,
 Mother of a hundred gods ?
 Juno dares not give her odds :
 Who had thought this clime had held
 A deity so unparalleled ?

The Song ends; and, “*as they come forward*, THE GENIUS

¹ The site of the house is still to be identified by two low mounds, an old garden, and a large old cedar of Lebanon, on a fine grassy slope, crowned with trees, close behind Harefield Church,

on the side of the road going from Uxbridge to Rickmansworth. The scenery is charming, the Colne flowing here through ground more hilly than that about Horton, and as richly wooded.

OF THE WOOD *appears, and, turning towards them, speaks.*"
He begins thus :—

Stay, gentle Swains; for, though in this disguise,
I see bright honour sparkle through your eyes :
Of famous Arcady ye are.

This means that, addressing the male masquers, he first tells them that he recognises their rank under their pastoral disguise, and knows them to be noble Arcadians. And so to the nymphs :—

And ye, the breathing roses of the wood,
Fair silver-buskin'd Nymphs, as great and good.

And then to both :—

I know this quest of yours and free intent
Was all in honour and devotion meant
To the great mistress of yon princely shrine.

The Sylvan Genius (perhaps Lawes¹) then goes on to say that he also adores the same goddess, and will do his best to further the ceremony in progress. In his character as the genius of Harefield wood and parks, he describes his daily occupations. He nurses the saplings, curls the grove, saves the plants and boughs from the harms of winds, nightly blasts, worm, and mildew; and, each morn, ere the horn of the huntsmen shakes the thicket, he is abroad to visit his care and number their woody ranks. Amid these occupations he has had opportunities of beholding, nearer than most, the goddess of the place, and has often sat alone amid the shades to wonder at and gaze upon her. But, though his occupations are sylvan, he is not the less a lover of music :²—

But else, in deep of night, when drowsiness
Hath locked up mortal sense, then listen I

¹ Lawes acts a similar part in *Comus*; and the speech itself indicates that the person is not one of the noble persons of the family, but one of inferior rank connected with them (see lines 77-79 and 82, 83). He is also a musician (lines 61-63 and 77-80), and perhaps the manager of the entertainment (lines 38, 39).

² But for the superior probability in favour of Lawes one might really suppose that the part was performed by some steward of the estate to the countess, who was actually "the power of this fair wood," and did tend it in the manner described, but was withal musical.

To the celestial Sirens' harmony,
 That sit upon the nine infolded spheres,
 And sing to those that hold the vital shears,
 And turn the adamantine spindle round
 On which the fate of gods and men is wound.

After a few lines more of this thoroughly Miltonic eulogy on the powers of music, the Genius, protesting that the highest skill in song would alone be fit for the occasion, offers whatever his inferior art with hands and voice can do in leading them up to the lady's presence. There such of them as are "of noble stem" may kiss the hem of her sacred vesture, and he, not so privileged, will have done his duty. And so, with lute or other instrument in hand, he advances before them, singing

O'er the smooth enamelled green,
 Where no print of step hath been,
 Follow me, as I sing
 And touch the warbled string ;
 Under the shady roof
 Of branching elm star-proof
 Follow me.
 I will bring you where she sits,
 Clad in splendour as befits
 Her deity.
 Such a rural Queen
 All Arcadia hath not seen.

The Nymphs and Shepherds follow the Sylvan Genius and do their homage to the lady ; after which there is another Song, ending with the same couplet as the last. This part of the entertainment was then over. Had Milton gone over from Horton to see its success ? If so, the aged eyes that had rested on Spenser may have rested, not unbenignantly, on the youth who had come in his place.¹

¹ The Countess died Jan. 26, 1636-7, and was buried at Harefield on the 28th. In the chancel of Harefield Church is her monument of marble richly sculptured, exhibiting her effigy, in a crimson robe and with a gilt coronet, recumbent under a canopy of pale green and stars, and the effigies of her three daughters in relief on the side, and also painted. The monument exhibits

the arms of Stanley with its quarterings impaling the arms and quarterings of Spencer of Althorpe, without any heraldic recognition of the Countess's second marriage ; also the arms of her three daughters, — Hastings impaling Stanley, Egerton impaling Stanley, and Brydges impaling Stanley. The Countess is represented in the effigy as in youth, very beautiful, with long fair

THREE METRICAL EXPERIMENTS.

We give this name to the three pieces which appear among Milton's Minor Poems under the titles AT A SOLEMN MUSIC, ON TIME, and UPON THE CIRCUMCISION. The first of these may be assigned to 1633, and the other two to the close of that year or the beginning of 1634. They agree in being efforts in a more complex kind of rhymed verse than Milton had before attempted, anticipating in some respects the so-called English Pindarics of a later time. AT A SOLEMN MUSIC, which may be translated AT A CONCERT OF SACRED MUSIC, is a burst of twenty-eight lines of studied sonorous combination of Iambic lines, varying in length from lines of three Iambi only to Alexandrines, in honour of the power and the religious significance of music of the nobler sorts. ON TIME is a burst of twenty-two lines of the same irregular kind of combination, opening with words which suggest that the little piece was motivated by observation of the pendulum of a clock. That this was the fact is proved by the title of the piece in the preserved draft of it in Milton's own hand :

hair; and there is the same cast of features in the representations of her three daughters, and the same long fair hair.—On the Countess's death the mansion and estate of Harefield came to Lady Chandos, then her only surviving daughter; after whose death, in 1647, it descended to her son, Lord Chandos. On his death in 1655, he bequeathed it to his wife, Jane, Lady Chandos, who married as her second husband Sir William Sedley, Bart., and again, after his death, George Pitt, Esq. of Strathfieldsaye in Hampshire. About the year 1660 the mansion was burnt down by the carelessness, it is said, of the witty Sir Charles Sedley, who was on a visit there at the time, and was amusing himself with reading in bed. By a deed dated 1673, Lady Chandos vested all her estates in Mr. Pitt and his heirs; and in 1675, she being still alive, Mr. Pitt sold Harefield to Sir Richard Newdegate, Bart., of Arbury, Warwickshire. By this sale the estate was only conveyed back to the family who had been its original proprietors; for, when Lord Keeper Egerton and Lady Derby acquired the estate in 1601, it had been by purchase from Sir

Edmund Anderson, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who had acquired it in 1585 from John Newdegate, Esq.; and, before 1585, it had been in the possession of the Newdegate family, or of their antecedent kin, the Swanlands and Bacheworths, from time immemorial. Recovered by the Newdegates in 1675, the estate has continued in the possession of that family since; and the chief monuments in Harefield Church, besides that of the Countess of Derby, are of the Newdegates. Attached to the church is a private chapel, containing tombs of another old family, claiming to be of the race of Breakspear, the only Englishman who ever became Pope; and near Harefield is a property still called Breakspears. Altogether, what with old Newdegate and other monuments and relics which Milton may have seen more than once with interest, what with the tomb of the countess whom he helped to make famous, and who was then living in the mansion which occupied the vacant space close by, Harefield Church is worth a visit from any reader of the *Arcades* who chances to be in the neighbourhood.

"ON TIME.—TO BE SET ON A CLOCK-CASE." The piece UPON THE CIRCUMCISION consists of two stanzas, each of fourteen Iambic lines of varying lengths, irregularly rhyming; and, as the Feast of the Circumcision is on Jan. 1, that day of the year 1633-4 may claim it. Of the three pieces AT A SOLEMN MUSIC is the most interesting, and the interest is increased by knowing that no piece of English verse written by Milton can have cost him more trouble. It arrived at its present state in our printed copies through no fewer than three previous drafts in Milton's hand, exhibiting his dissatisfaction with his first wording of the thing, and his fastidiousness in altering, correcting, and enlarging. No piece of his manuscript is more instructive as to his habits in this respect.¹

COMUS.

Milton's ARCADES is but a slight composition compared with another which he furnished to the same noble family in the course of the year 1634. All that we now know about that family has to be remembered in elucidation of the circumstances of the much more important poem to which we now proceed. Some additional particulars, however, have to be premised.

On the 26th of June, 1631, the Earl of Bridgewater had been nominated by the King to the high office of Lord President of the Council in the Principality of Wales and the Marches of the same. This office, involving jurisdiction and military command not only over the properly Welsh counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Carmarthen, Pembroke, Cardigan, Flint, Caernarvon, Anglesea, Merioneth, Radnor, Brecknock, Montgomery, and Denbigh, but also

¹ The three pieces here grouped together have been usually assigned to the University period of Milton's life, and connected there especially with the *Ode on the Nativity* and the fragment on *The Passion*; which last, indeed, they immediately follow in Milton's own edition of his Poems in 1645. I have favoured that dating hitherto, but see ground now for the later dating. All the three pieces are among those of

which we have drafts in Milton's own hand in that Cambridge volume of MSS. which seems, as we have already seen (ante, footnotes 569, 578, 599), not to commence till 1633. The order of the first pieces in that volume is as follows:—*Arcades*, *At a Solemn Music* (various drafts), *The Letter to a Friend*, *On Time*, *Upon the Circumcision*. I have arranged accordingly.

over the four English counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, and Shropshire, had been originally instituted in the reign of Edward IV., for the government of Wales and for the preservation of orderly relations between the Welsh and the English. There had been eminent men in the office. From 1559 to 1586 it had been held most efficiently by Sir Henry Sidney, father of Sir Philip Sidney; he had been succeeded by Henry, second Earl of Pembroke, who held it till 1601; after whom it had been held in succession by Lord Zouch, Lord Eure, Lord Gerard, and William, Lord Compton, Earl of Northampton. Since Charles had discontinued his Parliaments, the importance of having right men for the office, and for the corresponding viceroalties of the North and Ireland, had naturally increased; and, the Viceroyalty of the North having been deemed a post worthy of the energies of a Wentworth, there was some compliment to the Earl of Bridgewater in selecting him for the Viceroyalty of the West.

The official seat of the Lords President of Wales was Ludlow in Shropshire. This town, which is about seven and twenty miles south from Shrewsbury and about four and twenty north from Hereford, is beautifully situated in one of those tracts of rich green scenery, lovely in hill and valley, which admonish one that there England is beginning to pass into Wales. The town itself is mainly on the top and slopes of an eminence near the junction of two streams, the Teme and the Corve, whose united waters meet the Severn in Worcestershire. All round is a wide circle of hills, distanced in some directions by intervening plains, but on one side coming close to the town, so as to form a steep valley between it and some immediately opposite heights. Through this valley flows the river, not without the noise of one or two artificial falls in its course. Occupying the highest ground in the town, and conspicuous from afar over the neighbouring country, is Ludlow Church, an edifice of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, almost disproportionately large for the town, but considered the finest ecclesiastical building in the county of Salop. Historically more

important than the church was Ludlow Castle, now a romantic ruin, but once the residence of the Lords President. It formed, and still, in its ruined state, forms the termination of the town at that angle where the height overhangs the river most steeply. The whole town was walled; but the castle, where not defended by the natural rock on which it was built, was walled in separately from the town, and was approached by a gateway from a considerable open space left at the top of the main street. Entering, by this gateway, the outer court or exercising ground, and crossing it, one came to a moat, spanned at one point by a draw-bridge, which admitted to the castle itself, with its keep, its inner court, and its various masses of building.

A castle in massive ruins, situated on a rocky height which commands a beautiful and extensive prospect, and thus topping a town of clean and somewhat quaint streets descending the gentler slopes of the hill or winding at its base, with a large and lofty parish-church conspicuous near the castle: such is Ludlow now, and such was Ludlow in the year 1634, save that then the castle was not in ruins, that there were barracks for soldiers in the court-yard, and that the town exhibited the bustle attendant on the headquarters of the Presidency of Wales.

The town and castle had their historical associations. The castle, or rather the keep and the older parts attached, had been built, it was believed, by the Conqueror's kinsman, Roger de Montgomery, lord of nearly all Shropshire, who died in 1094; and the rudiments of the town,—originally called Denham or Dinan, but afterwards Ludlow, from the Saxon name of the hill,—had grown up under the wing of the castle. From the Montgomery family the castle had passed, in 1121, into the possession of a famous knight, Joce or Gotso, thence called Joce de Dinan, who made great additions, and built in the inner court a beautiful round chapel with Norman arch and windows. There were romantic legends of the history of the castle during its long possession, in the reigns of Henry I., Stephen, and Henry II., by this Joce de Dinan. It was told how he had taken prisoner

his enemy, Hugh de Mortimer, Lord of Wigmore, and confined him in a tower of the castle, thence called "Mortimer's Tower"; how he had similarly captured and confined another enemy, De Lacy; and how De Lacy had escaped, and there had been wild warfare between them, in which the Welsh were involved, and which ended in the possession of Ludlow for a time by the Lacies. From the Lacies it had passed indirectly to the Mortimers; and so, through various feuds and vicissitudes, it came, in the reign of Henry VI., to be the chief stronghold of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, in whom were vested all the claims to the crown hostile to those of the reigning house. In the Wars of Lancaster and York Ludlow and its neighbourhood were frequent headquarters of the Yorkists, whence they rallied the Welsh to their assistance, and marched eastward at their pleasure; and in 1459 the town was taken and plundered in revenge by the Lancastrians. The decisive battle by which young Edward, Earl of March, the son of the Duke, avenged his father's death, retrieved the fortunes of the Yorkists, and became himself king of England with the title of Edward IV., was fought, in 1461, at Mortimer's Cross, not far from Ludlow. While on the throne, he specially favoured his hereditary town. In 1472, when he created his infant son, Edward, Prince of Wales, he sent him and his younger brother to reside, under guardians, in Ludlow Castle. The purpose was that, by the presence of the Prince of Wales there, and of a council acting in his name, the Welsh might be the better kept in order. The two princes remained at Ludlow during their father's life; and, when they left it, after his death in 1483, it was on the fatal journey which ended in the Tower. The elder prince, it was said, had been proclaimed as Edward V. before leaving the castle. When, after the brief reign of Richard III., Henry VII. succeeded to the throne, he followed the example of Edward IV. by sending his infant son, Arthur, Prince of Wales, to reside, with a court and under guardianship, in the Castle of Ludlow; and, till the death of the Prince in 1502, Henry frequently visited Ludlow himself. On the Prince's death,

the government of Wales and the Marches was settled in a Presidency and Council, as it afterwards continued. Under the successive Presidents appointed by Henry VII. and Henry VIII. Ludlow grew in importance; and final additions had been made to the castle by Sir Henry Sidney during his term of office. Before the time of our history, Wales had been so efficiently annexed to England that the office had lost its warlike character. There were no longer fears of Welsh insurrections; the numerous castles with which Shropshire was studded were useless for their original purpose of defending the Marches; and Ludlow Castle, the chief of them, was kept in repair merely as a palatial residence, in which the Lords President might conveniently hold court, and various portions of which were already regarded with antiquarian interest, under such names as the Keep, the Tilt-Yard, Mortimer's Tower, the Princes' Apartments, and Prince Arthur's Room.¹

Although the Earl of Bridgewater had been nominated to the Presidency in June 1631, he did not go to Ludlow to install himself in office till more than two years after. Of the state of Ludlow at this exact time, when the business of the Presidency was managed by the local councillors and justices acting for the earl, we have a glimpse in an unexpected quarter, the Autobiography of Richard Baxter. In 1631, Baxter, a native of Shropshire, and then a lad of about sixteen, ready to leave Wroxeter school, had been recommended, he says, not to go immediately to College, but to become private attendant for a while to Mr. Thomas Wickstead, chaplain to the Council of Wales, under whom, he was told, he would have every advantage. The circumstances of his parents making the offer eligible, he had accepted it, and for a year and a half he lived in Ludlow Castle. The situation was not to his taste. Mr. Wickstead had nothing to teach him, unless it were to sneer at Puritans; and there was much tippling and other profanity in the castle and the town, crowded as they were with officials and their servants.

¹ The History of Ludlow by the Hon. R. H. Clive, 1841; and Hand-book to Ludlow by the late Mr. Thomas Wright.

All Shropshire was then, he had found, in a grievous condition spiritually; and, had he remained in Ludlow, the bad influences of the place might have obliterated the serious impressions he had received from his good father's teaching and the perusal of Sibbes's *Bruised Reed*. One youth, who was his intimate friend, and most zealously pious when he first knew him, did fall a victim, and became a confirmed drunkard and scoffer.¹ Had Baxter remained a little longer, he might have been present at the curiosity of a stage-play in the castle in rebuke of riot.

In the course of 1633 it was resolved that the Earl should go to his post. On the 12th of May in that year a Royal Letter of Instructions was issued, defining his powers afresh, and regulating the arrangements of the Council, both judicial and executive.² It was to consist of above eighty persons named, many of them bishops and great state-officers of England, while others were knights and gentlemen of Shropshire and other parts of the Welsh border. But, of these eighty, four were nominated as salaried officers, bound to residence and the regular duties of circuit judges,—to wit, Sir John Bridgeman, Chief Justice of Chester, Sir Marmaduke Lloyd, Second Justice of the same, Sir Nicholas Overbury, and Edward Waties, Esq. In all proceedings of the Council three were to be a quorum; of which three, however, the President, the Vice-President, or the Chief Justice of Chester, was always to be one. These instructions the earl forwarded to Ludlow in October 1633, to be read and registered against his arrival; and he appears to have speedily followed them himself. Some members of his family, including the two boys and their elder sister, the Lady Alice, appear to have been left behind for a time at Ashridge or at Harefield; but in the autumn of 1634 there was a gathering of the whole family at Ludlow.

The new Lord President entered upon his official residence in Ludlow Castle with unusual solemnity. "He was

¹ *Reliquie Baxterianæ*: 1696. See also Hunter's Notes on Milton. pages, is given in Rymer, vol. XIX. pp. 449.—465.

² The letter, extending over 16 folio

attended," says Oldys, "by a large concourse of the neighbouring nobility and gentry."¹ At whatever time the hospitalities of his inauguration commenced, they were continued over the greater part of the year 1634. To the younger members of the family it seemed that the hospitalities would not be complete unless they included some poetical and musical entertainments, calculated to give Ludlow and its neighbourhood an idea of true taste in such matters. Accordingly, it was arranged that there should be a masque in Ludlow Castle, not a slight thing of a speech and a song or two, like the *Arcades*, but a real masque of full dramatic dimensions. The earl, who had had experience in masques himself, had no objection to the expense; Lawes, as a matter of course, undertook the music and the general management; Milton, on being applied to, promised to furnish the poetry; and the entertainment was fixed for Michaelmas-night. The manuscript of the poem which we now call *Comus*, but to which Milton himself affixed no such title,² was ready by the time appointed; and, the speeches and songs having been sufficiently rehearsed, and all other preparations made, the performance took place.

The place of performance was the great hall or council-chamber of Ludlow Castle, a noble apartment, sixty feet long, thirty wide, and proportionately lofty, in which, as tradition bore, the elder of the two murdered princes had been proclaimed as King Edward V. before his fatal journey to London, and the form of which, now roofless and floorless, is still traceable among the ruins.³ The time is Michaelmas-night, the 29th of September, 1634. The company are assembled, comprising the Earl himself and Lady Bridgewater, the chief resident councillors and their ladies, and as many more of the rank and fashion of Ludlow and the vicinity

¹ MS. quoted by Warton.

² In Lawes's edition of 1637, in the first edition of Milton's Poems in 1645, and in the second in 1673, the poem is simply entitled "A Masque presented at Ludlow Castle," &c., the word *Comus* forming no part of the title.

³ They call it now "Comus Hall" at Ludlow. As late as 1768 the flooring was pretty entire, and an inscription on the wall from 1 Samuel xii. 13, testifying to the usual purposes of the hall as a Court of Justice, was still legible. See Todd's notes to *Comus*.

as the hall will hold. One end of the hall is fitted up as a stage, with curtains and other furniture; all is brilliant within the hall; and, without, not only the rest of the castle, but all Ludlow, is in commotion. Here is the programme of the Masque:—

THE PERSONS.

The Attendant Spirit, afterwards in the habit of *Thyrsis*.

Comus, with his crew.

The Lady.

1st Brother.

2d Brother.

Sabrina, the Nymph.

To fill these six speaking or singing parts there are six separate persons, in addition to those who do not speak or sing, but only act as the crew to *Comus*. Who acted the parts of *Comus* and the nymph *Sabrina* we are not informed. The part of the *Attendant Spirit*, who transmutes himself into the shepherd *Thyrsis*, was acted by Lawes; the part of *The Lady* was performed by Lady Alice Egerton; and the parts of the two Brothers were performed by Lord Brackley and Mr. Thomas Egerton. Lady Alice, it is to be remembered, was not over fifteen years of age; and her two brothers were young boys.

The Masque begins. "*The first scene discovers a wild wood*," and "*The Attendant Spirit descends or enters*"—*i. e.* makes his appearance either way, as the machinery will allow.¹ It is Lawes, appropriately dressed; and the stage

¹ It is proper to mention here that there are *three* extant versions of *Comus*. There is that of the usual printed copies, which follow the editions by Lawes in 1637 and Milton himself in 1645 and 1673 (these editions agreeing in all except a very few various readings in those by Milton as compared with that by Lawes); and there are two versions in manuscript. One of the manuscript versions is the original MS. draft in Milton's own hand, preserved among the Milton MSS. in Trinity College, Cambridge; the other is a manuscript copy preserved in the Bridgewater Library, with the words "*Author Jo. Milton,*" written on the title-page in

the hand of the second Earl of Bridgewater, who, as Lord Brackley, performed the part of the 1st Brother. This latter copy appears to be in Lawes's handwriting, and may have been the presentation-copy to the Bridgewater family, if not the stage-copy from which the actors learned their parts. The two MS. copies exhibit variations from each other; and both differ from our present printed version in numerous small particulars. Our printed version is, in fact, the *Comus* of 1634 as revised and corrected by Milton for publication in 1637 and 1645; and there is consequently some interest in comparing it with the two MS. versions,—with that

has been darkened, to signify that it is night. He announces himself and his nature, as follows :¹—

Before the starry threshold of Jove's court
 My mansion is, where those immortal shapes
 Of bright aerial spirits live insphered
 In regions mild of calm and serene air,
 Above the smoke and stir of this dim spot
 Which men call Earth, and, with low-thoughted care,
 Confined and pestered in this pin-fold here,
 Strive to keep up a frail and feverish being,
 Unmindful of the crown that Virtue gives,
 After this mortal change, to her true servants
 Amongst the enthronèd gods on sainted seats.

Even on earth, however, there are some that aspire to lay their just hands on the golden key; and to aid such even a heavenly spirit may descend, and soil his ambrosial weeds in the vapours of the sin-worn world. Of this kind is the speaker's errand now :—

Neptune, besides the sway
 Of every salt flood and each ebbing stream,
 Took in, by lot 'twixt high and nether Jove,
 Imperial rule of all the sea-girt isles
 That, like to rich and various gems, inlay
 The unadornèd bosom of the deep;
 Which he, to grace his tributary gods,
 By course commits to several government,
 And gives them leave to wear their sapphire crowns
 And wield their little tridents. But this Isle,

of the Cambridge MS., as the author's original copy, and with that of the Bridgewater MS., as the stage-copy. Todd printed the Bridgewater copy entire at the end of his separate edition of *Comus* in 1798; and he has given lists of the various readings from both the MS. copies in his notes appended to *Comus* in his collective edition of Milton's Poetical Works. In my analysis of *Comus* in the text, I have followed the printed copy, not deeming it necessary to alter back words here and there into those which may actually have been spoken. In describing the action of the masque, however, I have attended to the stage-directions of the Bridgewater copy, as well as to those of the printed copies,—the former, as is natural in a stage-copy, being slightly the more full.

¹ In the Cambridge MS., as in the printed copies, the Spirit begins with the speech "Before the starry threshold," &c.; but in the Bridgewater MS. he begins with a *song* before the speech,—the song consisting of twenty lines taken from the epilogue of the masque as it stands in the printed copies, and altered for use thus:—

"From the heavens now I fly,
 And those happy climes that lie
 Where day never shuts his eye,
 Up in the broad field of the sky," &c.

This (which is the greatest difference between the Bridgewater copy and the others) was probably an alteration by Lawes for stage purposes,—*i. e.* in order to have a song near the beginning of the masque. Poetically the alteration was bad.

The greatest and the best of all the main,
 He quarters to his blue-haired deities ;
 And all this tract that fronts the falling sun
 A noble Peer of mickle trust and power
 Has in his charge, with tempered awe to guide
 An old and haughty nation, proud in arms :
 Where his fair offspring, nursed in princely lore,
 Are coming to attend their father's state
 And new-entrusted sceptre. But their way
 Lies through the perplexed paths of this drear wood,
 The nodding horror of whose shady brows
 Threats the forlorn and wandering passenger ;
 And here their tender age might suffer peril,
 But that, by quick command from sovran Jove,
 I was despatched for their defence and guard :
 And listen why ; for I will tell you now
 What never yet was heard in tale or song,
 From old or modern bard, in hall or bower.

The reason is that the wood is inhabited by Comus and his crew. Comus, the god of riot and sensual delirium, the son of Bacchus and Circe, having long ago betaken himself to these gloomy haunts, fills them now with his nightly revels, and waylays travellers, that he may induce them to drink an enchanted liquor from his crystal glass, and so may change their countenances into the faces of beasts. It is to save the young travellers of that night from the danger that the speaker has been sent down.

But first I must put off
 These my sky-ropes, spun out of Iris' woof,
 And take the weeds and likeness of a swain
 That to the service of this house belongs,
 Who, with his soft pipe and smooth-dittied song,
 Well knows to still the wild woods when they roar,
 And hush the waving woods ; nor of less faith,
 And in this office of his mountain-watch
 Likeliest, and nearest to the present aid
 Of this occasion.¹

At this point the Attendant Spirit, hearing approaching footsteps, makes himself invisible, and "*Comus enters, with a charming-rod in one hand, his glass in the other ; with him*

¹ Note here Milton's compliment to Lawes personally, not only in respect of his musical talent, but also of his integrity.

a rout of monsters, headed like sundry sorts of wild beasts, but otherwise like men and women, their apparel glistering. They come in, making a riotous and unruly noise, with torches in their hands." Comus then recites an ode, calling upon his companions to perform, while the night lasts, their usual revels,

Ere the blabbing eastern scout,
The nice Morn on the Indian steep,
From her cabined loop-hole peep,
And to the tell-tale sun descry
Our concealed solemnity.

Obedient to Comus, the crew knit hands and dance. While they are so engaged, Comus, hearing a light footstep, bids them break off and conceal themselves among the trees. By his art he knows that the approaching step is that of some benighted virgin; and, hurling his magic dust into the air, in order to cheat her vision ("dazzling spells" is the phrase, implying perhaps a blaze of blue light as the actor made the gesture of throwing), he remains alone to meet her. He does not present himself at once, however, but steps aside.

"*The Lady enters,*"—the Lady Alice Egerton, a little timid, doubtless, but wonderfully welcomed by the audience. She speaks a speech explaining how she has come thither. She had been walking through the wood with her two brothers; and, as she had grown weary with the long way, they had resolved to rest for the night under some pine-trees. Her brothers had gone into the neighbouring thicket to bring her berries or such cooling fruit.

They left me then when the grey-hooded Even,
Like a sad votarist in palmer's weed,
Rose from the hindmost wheels of Phoebus' wain.

It is now midnight, and they have not returned. Wandering in search of them, she has been attracted to this particular spot in the wood by the sounds of wassail and merriment. She supposes it to be a company of "loose unlettered hinds" dancing to Pan in honour of harvest, and so "thanking the gods amiss"; and, though loth to meet such revellers, she

has no choice left. And now, having come to the spot whence she heard the revelry, it is all dark and silent. What can it mean? A thousand fancies of shapes, and beckoning shadows, and airy tongues that syllable men's names, crowd on her bewildered sense. These may well startle, but they cannot astound a virtuous mind.

O welcome, pure-eyed Faith, white-handed Hope,
 Thou hovering Angel, girt with golden wings ;
 And thou, unblemished form of Chastity !
 I see ye visibly, and now believe
 That He, the Supreme Good, to whom all things ill
 Are but as slavish officers of vengeance,
 Would send a glistening guardian, if need were,
 To keep my life and honour unassailed. . . .
 Was I deceived, or did a sable cloud
 Turn forth her silver lining on the night ?
 I did not err : there does a sable cloud
 Turn forth her silver lining on the night,
 And casts a gleam over this tufted grove.

Cheered by the gleam, and thinking her brothers may be near, she will gain their ear by a song. Here, therefore, in the masque, is the song beginning "*Sweet Echo*."¹

The song ended, Comus, who has been listening in admiration, steps forth disguised as a shepherd, and hails her as a foreign wonder, or the goddess of the wood, saving it from harm by the spell of her voice. Declining the praise, she explains why she had sung. Comus says he has seen her brothers, and offers to conduct her in the direction in which they had gone, and either find them or lodge her safely in a lowly cottage where she may be safe till morning. She accepts the offer, and Comus and she quit the scene.

They are hardly gone when the Two Brothers enter. Bewildered in the thick darkness themselves, they are most concerned for their sister. The Younger Brother expresses

¹ In the printed copies this song, beginning "*Sweet Echo*," is the *first* song in the masque; but in the performance at Ludlow it was the *second*. (See previous note, p. 612.) I may mention that there is in the British Museum (Add. MS. 11,518) an old copy

of Lawes's original music to five of the songs of Comus, in this order:—1. "*From the heavens*," &c.; 2. "*Sweet Echo*," &c.; 3. "*Sabrina fair*," &c.; 4. "*Back, Shepherds*," &c.; 5. "*Now my task*," &c.

fear for her fate, and the Elder Brother comforts him. If there is no other danger than the darkness, what is there to dread in that ?

He that has light within his own clear breast
May sit i' the centre and enjoy bright day ;
But he that hides a dark soul and foul thoughts
Benighted walks under the mid-day sun ;
Himself is his own dungeon.

Without denying this, the Younger Brother replies that in the case of a young maiden wandering alone there are special dangers. The elder, not professing that he is quite free from all fear on his sister's account, maintains that against even these she is armed and safe. His reasons he expounds in a speech on the miraculous power of Chastity, so eloquent in its force as to win from the other the exclamation,

How charming is divine philosophy !
Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
But musical as is Apollo's lute.

They hear a far-off halloo in the wood, and surmise it to be some benighted traveller like themselves, or some late woodman, but, lest it should be a robber, stand on their defence as they return the cry.¹

There is no need of their swords. The voice they have heard is that of Thyrsis, their father's faithful shepherd ; who now appears, or rather the Attendant Spirit in the guise of Thyrsis. He alarms both the brothers more than before by telling them of the true dangers of the wood. But lately, he says, musing on a bank by himself, he had heard the barbarous roar of Comus and his crew, out on their monstrous revels. Suddenly the roar had ceased, and all was silence as he listened.

At last a soft and solemn-breathing sound
Rose like a steam of rich distilled perfumes,
And stole upon the air, that even Silence
Was took ere she was ware, and wished she might

¹ The speakers who have talked so nobly, be it remembered, and who now draw their swords so manfully, are two young boys. But juvenile acting was

then common, and Lord Brackley and Mr. Thomas Egerton were, doubtless, forward in their parts.

Deny her nature, and be never more,
 Still to be so displaced. I was all ear,
 And took in strains that might create a soul
 Under the ribs of Death.

It was the song of the young lady, and he had recognised her voice. Alive to her peril so near the enchanter and his crew, he had run to the spot; but, ere he had reached it, the enchanter had been there and had lured the lady away. Such being the report, the younger brother loses the confidence the elder one had given him, and tells him so. The elder re-asserts his faith:—

Not a period
 Shall be unsaid for me. Against the threats
 Of malice or of sorcery, or that power
 Which erring men call Chance, this I hold firm :—
 Virtue may be assailed, but never hurt,
 Surprised by unjust force, but not enthralled ;
 Yea, even that which Mischief meant most harm
 Shall in the happy trial prove most glory.
 But evil on itself shall back recoil,
 And mix no more with goodness, when at last,
 Gathered like scum, and settled to itself,
 It shall be in eternal restless change
 Self-fed and self-consumed. If this fail,
 The pillared firmament is rottenness,
 And earth's base built on stubble.

He is for rushing at once to the haunt of the magician and dragging him to death. The seeming Thyrsis interposes; warns him that the sorcerer, by his craft, is safe against ordinary weapons, and can reduce to sudden weakness the boldest assailant; and then, being questioned how in that case he durst himself approach him, explains:—

Care and utmost shifts
 How to secure the lady from surprisal
 Brought to my mind a certain shepherd-lad,
 Of small regard to see to, yet well skilled
 In every virtuous plant and healing herb
 That spreads her verdant leaf to the morning ray.
 He loved me well, and oft would beg me sing ;
 Which when I did, he on the tender grass
 Would sit, and hearken even to ecstasy,
 And in requital ope his leathern scrip,

And show me simples of a thousand names,
Telling their strange and vigorous faculties.

Of one precious plant, called *Hæmony*, the learned lad had given him a portion, instructing him in its power to ward off enchantments. By the power of the plant he had ventured near the sorcerer with impunity; and he now proposes that, with the same help, all three should confront him in his hall of necromancy, break his glass, spill his magic liquor, and seize his wand. The brothers agree and follow Thyrsis.

At this point, according to the stage-directions, "*the scene changes to a stately palace, set out with all manner of deliciousness: soft music, tables spread with all dainties. COMUS appears with his rabble, and THE LADY set in an enchanted chair; to whom he offers his glass; which she puts by and goes about to rise.*" The sorcerer reminds her that she is chained as a statue of alabaster, and presses her to refresh herself from the glass, the liquor in which is more lively than nectar. She refuses in disdain, and upbraids the sorcerer with his falsehood. Then ensues the matchless dialogue between him and her, the Miltonic argument of sensuality against abstinence in the person of Comus, and of temperance in return against sensuality in the person of the Lady. Her pleading ends in the rebuke:—

Thou hast nor ear, nor soul, to apprehend
The sublime notion and high mystery
That must be uttered to unfold the sage
And serious doctrine of Virginitie;
And thou art worthy that thou shouldst not know
More happiness than this thy present lot.

The sorcerer, awed, but not baffled, dissembles his craft more strongly, and prays her but to taste. He has lifted the glass towards her mouth when "*THE BROTHERS rush in with swords drawn, wrest his glass out of his hand, and break it against the ground. His rout make sign of resistance, but are driven in. The Attendant Spirit comes in.*" The brothers have neglected to seize the wizard's wand; and, the wizard having escaped, the Lady is still marble-bound to the chair,

whence the compelled motion of his wand would have released her. But Thyrsis has a device in reserve. This is to invoke the aid of Sabrina, the goddess of the neighbouring river, the far-famed Severn. Did not British legends tell how the virgin Sabrina, daughter of Lochrine, the son of Brutus, fleeing from her enraged step-dame Guendolen, flung herself, to preserve her honour, into the stream which now bore her name? Now that she was goddess of the river, who so ready to succour maidenhood? Only let her presence be adjured by some suitable song. Such a song Thyrsis himself sings:—

Sabrina fair,
 Listen where thou art sitting,
 Under the glassy, cool, translucent wave,
 In twisted braids of lilies knitting
 The loose train of thy amber-dropping hair :
 Listen, for dear honour's sake,
 Goddess of the silver lake ;
 Listen and save !

The lyric prolongs itself in an ode continuing the adjuration ; at the close of which “ *Sabrina rises (i. e. from under the stage), attended by Water-Nymphs, and sings,*”

By the rushy-fringed bank,
 Where grows the willow and the osier dank,
 My sliding chariot stays,
 Thick-set with agate, and the azurn sheen
 Of turkis blue, and emerald green,
 That in the channel strays ;
 Whilst from off the waters fleet
 Thus I set my printless feet
 O'er the cowslip's velvet head,
 That bends not as I tread.
 Gentle swain, at thy request
 I am here !

Thyrsis tells why Sabrina has been summoned ; and she performs the expected office by sprinkling drops of pure water on the Lady, touching thrice her finger's tip and her lips, and placing her hands on the chair. Then “ *SABRINA descends, and THE LADY rises out of her seat.*” Thyrsis then, relapsing in manner into the Attendant Spirit, pronounces an ode

of blessing on the Severn river for this service done by the goddess, and offers to conduct the party to safer ground.

I shall be your faithful guide
Through this gloomy covert wide ;
And not many furlongs thence
Is your Father's residence,
Where this night are met in state
Many a friend to gratulate
His wished presence, and beside
All the swains that there abide
With jigs and rural dance resort.
We shall catch them at their sport,
And our sudden coming there
Will double all their mirth and cheer.
Come, let us haste ; the stars grow high,
But Night sits monarch yet in the mid sky.

Here they go off, and “ *The scene changes, presenting Ludlow Town and the President's Castle. Then come in Country Dancers : after them THE ATTENDANT SPIRIT, with the Two BROTHERS and THE LADY.*” The Attendant Spirit sings a short song, bidding the shepherds cease their dancing ; advances with the lady and her brothers ; and then “ *This second song presents them to their Father and Mother :*”—

Noble Lord and Lady bright,
I have brought ye new delight.
Here behold so goodly grown
Three fair branches of your own.
Heaven hath timely tried their youth,
Their faith, their patience, and their truth,
And sent them here through hard assays
With a crown of deathless praise,
To triumph in victorious dance
O'er sensual folly and intemperance.

There is then more dancing ; and, “ *the dances being ended, the Spirit epiloquizes,*” slowly ascending and swaying to and fro as he sings the final song :—

But now my task is smoothly done :
I can fly, or I can run
Quickly to the green earth's end,
Where the bowed welkin slow doth bend,

And from thence can soar as soon
 To the corners of the moon.
 Mortals that would follow me,
 Love Virtue ; she alone is free.
 She can teach ye how to climb
 Higher than the sphery chime ;
 Or, if Virtue feeble were,
 Heaven itself would stoop to her.

With these sounds left on the ear, and a final glow of angelic light on the eye, the performance ends, and the audience rises and disperses through the castle. The castle is now a crumbling ruin, along the ivy-clad walls and through the dark passages of which the visitor clammers or gropes his way, disturbing the crows and the martlets in their recesses ; but one can stand yet in the doorway through which the parting guests of that night descended into the inner court ; and one can see where the stage was, on which the sister was lost by her brothers, and Comus revelled with his crew, and the lady was fixed as marble by enchantment, and Sabrina arose with her water-nymphs, and the swains danced in welcome of the earl, and the Spirit ascended gloriously to his native heaven. More mystic it is to leave the ruins, and, descending one of the winding streets that lead from the castle into the valley of the Teme, to look upwards to castle and town seen as one picture, and, marking more expressly the three long pointed windows that gracefully slit the chief face of the wall towards the north, to realize that it was from that ruin and from those windows in the ruin that the verse of *Comus* was first shaken into the air of England.

Much as Milton wrote afterwards, he never wrote anything more beautiful or more perfect than *Comus*. Let it be compared with Shirley's masque or Carew's masque of the preceding year, or even with any of Ben Jonson's masques,—the last of which was one acted before the King and Queen at the Earl of Newcastle's seat of Bolsover, July 30, 1634, while *Comus* may have been in rehearsal,—and it will be seen that, if Milton did not intend to prove by this one example, against all preceding or contemporary masque-

writers, what the pure poetry and the pure morality of a masque might be, he had accomplished the feat without intending it. Critics have pointed out that, in writing *Comus*, he must have had analogous pieces by some previous writers before him. They specify more particularly *The Old Wives' Tale* of the dramatist Peele (1595), Fletcher's pastoral of the *Faithful Shepherdess*, which had been revived in 1633-4, Ben Jonson's masque of *Pleasure reconciled to Virtue* (1619), in which *Comus* or the God of Good Cheer is one of the characters, and a Latin extravaganza in prose and verse, entitled *Comus*, by the Dutchman Erycius Puteanus, alias Hendrik van der Putten, originally published at Louvain in 1608, and republished at Oxford in 1634. Coincidences are undoubtedly discernible between *Comus* and these compositions, especially the Latin extravaganza of the Dutch author. Infinitely too much has been made, however, of such coincidences. After any or all of the pieces named, or any others that can be named, the feeling in reading Milton's masque is that it is all his own, and his own only, a thing absolutely and essentially Miltonic, without precedent or approach to precedent in English or in any other language. The peculiarity consists no less in the power and purity of the doctrine than in the exquisite mythological invention and the perfection of the literary finish. Doctrine and poetry together, this one performance ought to have been sufficient, as Hallam remarked, "to convince any one of taste and feeling that a great poet had arisen in England, and one partly formed in a different school from his contemporaries." The words are as just as they are carefully weighed.

There may have been good judges of poetry present at the performance, and we know that rumours of its excellence did gradually travel from Ludlow to other parts, raising curiosity as to the name and the circumstances of the author. Originally, however, the masque was anonymous; and, except to Lawes, and perhaps to the Bridgewater family and a few others, the author remained for the present unknown. This is not unimportant in connexion with a question which

may have occurred to the reader. Was Milton present at the performance of his own masque? Wherever he wrote it, he had certainly conceived with sufficient clearness the exact occasion for which it was intended, and had not failed in the introduction of appropriate local circumstances, such as the proximity of Wales to Ludlow and the love of the people of Shropshire and other western counties for their river Severn. But did he take the journey of 150 miles to be present at the festivity of the Viceroy? If so, we should have, as a fact in Milton's life, a journey into Shropshire in the autumn of 1634, with visits, of course, to places around Ludlow. We should have to imagine a visit to Shrewsbury, whence the Phillipses had come, an excursion perhaps to Cheshire and the banks of the Dee, where his friend Diodati had lived for some time, or even perhaps a ramble in Lancashire and in parts of Wales. This is a region of England, at all events, with which the total life of Milton contains numerous associations.

If Milton did make a journey to the north-west of England at the time of the performance of his masque at Ludlow, he was back again at Horton before the 4th of December, 1634, for on that day we find him writing thence the following Latin letter to the younger Gill. It is in acknowledgment of a copy of some new poetical composition just received from that gentleman:—

TO ALEXANDER GILL.

“If you had presented to me a gift of gold, or of precious embossed vases, or whatever of that sort mortals admire, it were certainly to my shame not to have some time or other made you a remuneration in return, as far as my faculties might serve. Your gift of the day before yesterday, however, having been such a sprightly and elegant set of Hendecasyllabics, you have, just in proportion to the superiority of that gift to anything in the form of gold, made us the more anxious to find some dainty means by which to repay the kindness of so pleasant a favour. We had, indeed, at hand some things of our own of this same kind, but such as I could nowise deem fit to be sent in contest of equality of gift with yours. I send, therefore, what is not exactly mine, but belongs also to the truly divine poet,

this ode of whom, only last week, with no deliberate intention certainly, but from I know not what sudden impulse before daybreak, I adapted, almost in bed, to the rule of Greek heroic verse: with the effect, it seems, that, relying on this coadjutor, who surpasses you no less in his subject than you surpass me in art, I should have something that might have a resemblance of approach to a balancing of accounts. Should anything meet you in it not coming up to your usual opinion of our productions, understand that, since I left your school, this is the first and only thing I have composed in Greek,—employing myself, as you know, more willingly in Latin and English matters; inasmuch as whoever spends study and pains in this age on Greek composition runs a risk of singing mostly to the deaf. Farewell, and expect me on Monday (if God will) in London among the booksellers. Meanwhile, if with such influence of friendship as you have with that Doctor, the annual President of the College, you can anything promote our business, take the trouble, I pray, to go to him as soon as possible in my behalf. Again farewell.

From our suburban residence (*E nostro suburbano*¹), Decemb. 4, 1634."

The composition which accompanied this letter was a translation into Greek hexameters of the 114th Psalm, the very psalm the translation of which into English is the first known composition of Milton's boyhood. The verdict pronounced on the translation by competent critics is that it is superior to the Greek version of the same psalm by James Duport, Milton's contemporary and Professor of Greek at Cambridge, "has more vigour," but "is not wholly free from inaccuracies."² The general conclusion from this, as from one or two other short Greek compositions of Milton, is that, however familiar he was with Greek as a reader of the Greek classics, his Greek scholarship was much less exact and thorough than his Latin. This, however, was almost universally the case in Milton's time.

THE YEAR 1635: MILTON ÆTAT. 27.

The only known incident in Milton's life during this year is his incorporation in the degree of Master of Arts at Oxford. It was then the custom, as we have seen, for men who had been educated at either of the English Universities,

¹ See previous note, p. 561.

² Criticism on Milton's Greek verses

by Dr. Charles Burney (1757—1827),
quoted by Todd.

and who were so situated as to desire to keep up their academic connexions, to apply, after some little lapse of time, for admission into the other University in the same degree as that which they had previously attained in their *Alma Mater*. Every year Cambridge "incorporated" in this manner some thirty, forty, or fifty Oxford men, and every year Oxford returned the compliment by "incorporating" about as many Cambridge men,—both Universities at the same time usually "incorporating" also a few stray Scots from St. Andrews, Edinburgh, Glasgow, or Aberdeen, or foreigners from continental Universities. As Milton, at Horton, was within thirty-six miles of Oxford, while he was more than sixty miles distant from his own University of Cambridge, there may have been peculiar conveniences in an Oxford incorporation in his case. At all events, the necessary steps were taken, and his incorporation took place duly. It is interesting to record that among those who were incorporated along with him was Jeremy Taylor of Caius. Taylor, who had graduated M.A. at Cambridge the year after Milton, was now attracting notice as an eloquent young preacher, and was about to be more intimately connected with Oxford by his nomination in 1636, by Laud's influence, to a fellowship in All Souls' College.¹

Milton's incorporation in the M.A. degree at Oxford in 1635 may have afforded him an opportunity of forming some acquaintance for himself, if such acquaintance still remained to be formed, with Oxford and its neighbourhood. In the University there were men whom it must have pleased him to see or to meet. Among the twenty-five heads of Colleges the most distinguished perhaps were Dr. John Prideaux, Rector of Exeter College, anti-Laudian in his views, and afterwards Bishop of Worcester, Accepted Frewen, D.D., President of Magdalen, and afterwards Bishop of Lichfield and Archbishop of York, and Dr. Brian Duppa, Dean of

¹ The fact of Milton's incorporation at Oxford in 1635 is not learnt from the University books (in which, from the carelessness of the person then acting as Registrar, the incorporations from Cambridge are not entered for

that and adjacent years), but from Wood's *Fasti*. Wood's informant, he tells us, had the fact from Milton's "own mouth." Taylor's incorporation in that year is certain.

Christ Church, afterwards tutor to Prince Charles, and Bishop of two sees. There were, however, many other eminent scholars in Oxford of whom Milton had heard and in whom he may have been interested. Some of these may have been of Trinity College, the college of his friend Gill and also of Charles Diodati. In all probability, however, the most agreeable and useful acquaintance that Milton at this time formed at Oxford was with John Rous, M.A., fellow of Oriel College, and chief librarian of the Bodleian. That Milton knew Rous familiarly afterwards is certain.

Besides the incorporation at Oxford, there was another event of the year 1635 of some collateral interest to Milton. On the 17th of November in that year old Mr. Gill died, in his house in St. Paul's Churchyard, in the seventy-first year of his age, having survived but by a month or two the publication of his folio volume called "*Sacred Philosophie of Holy Scripture, or Commentary on the Creed.*"¹ He was buried in the Mercers' Chapel; and his son was appointed by the Mercers' Company to succeed him as Head-Master of St. Paul's School. This promotion was a considerable rise in the world for Gill; and in the following year he was admitted D.D. at Oxford.²

THE YEAR 1636: MILTON ÆTAT. 28.

Through nearly the whole of this year England was under alarm on account of a return of the Plague. As early as April there was a royal proclamation renewing former sanitary regulations over the kingdom; and during the rest of the year there were additional proclamations, adjourning the law-courts in Westminster, prohibiting fairs in London and elsewhere, appointing days of general fast, and the like. The Plague did not at once spread to the extent that had been anticipated. We hear of it as in London from the month of July onwards, and as still persisting there and in the neighbourhood to the end of the year; but Cambridge and other towns and districts which had suffered so much

¹ The work is registered in the books of the Stationers' Company under date May 29, 1635.

² Wood, *Athenæ*, III. 42.

from the preceding visit of 1630 remained quite free for the present, or escaped with a few stray cases. As Colnbrook and Horton were similarly exempt through the whole of 1636, the Milton family must have been much safer at Horton that year than they would have been in London.¹

A very disagreeable communication from London, hardly less perturbing than a case of the Plague would have been, did reach the retired scrivener at Horton that year and vex him and his household. It came in the form of an action at law. The records of this action, which may be entitled *Cotton versus Milton and Bower*, still exist in the Public Record Office and the British Museum, dispersed among books and papers that belonged to the old Court of Requests at Westminster; and the story, as gathered from these records, begins thus:—In May 1636 Sir Thomas Cotton, of Sawtrey in the County of Huntingdon, baronet, nephew of John Cotton, Esq., deceased, and executor of the will of the said deceased, brought a bill of complaint in the Court of Requests against John Milton and Thomas Bower, on account of certain alleged malpractices of theirs in their dealings as scriveners with the said deceased in his life-time. The said deceased John Cotton, “being an old decrepit weak man of the age of fourscore years and upwards,” had, “about five years sithence,” *i. e.* about the year 1631, said the Bill, put into the hands of John Milton, or of Thomas Bower, “servant” to the said Milton, “divers great sums of money, in trust to be let out at interest after the rate of eight in the hundred.” The moneys so delivered to them in trust, the Bill proceeded, had actually been lent out by them, “by several specialities,” at eight per cent. interest, to a number of different persons. Lord Strange, for example, had borrowed £300; Mr. Welby and Sir William Sandys £200 each; Mr. Lea, Mr. Sherfield, Sir William Norris, Sir Robert Heath, Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir George Horsey, Mr. Bold, Mr. Banister, Sir Richard Molineux, and others, £100 each,

¹ Proclamations in Rushworth of the years 1636 and 1637; Cooper's Annals of Cambridge for the same years; and

Garrard's Letters in the *Strafford Papers*.

or other sums : "all which sums together of principal debt amount to £3,600." For some time, continued the Bill, all had gone right. "The said John Milton and Thomas "Bower," says the complainant, "did bring the said John "Cotton, your subject's said uncle, half-yearly interest after "the rate of eight per cent. for some years, and did often "renew, call in, and put out the said sums, as they thought "best themselves, ever pretending to the said John Cotton "that the parties to whom the money was put out were very "sufficient and able men, and as in truth most of them "were, as your subject hath sithence learnt." Latterly, however, there had been a change in their proceedings. "Shortly after," says the Bill, "the said John Milton and "Thomas Bower, by the privity and directions of one "Thomas Holchar, an attorney-at-law, did forbear to bring "in either the principal or most part of the interest of the "said sums, pretending that the parties to whom the said "sums were let out were not sufficient; by which practice "of detaining the said interest money they did cause the said "Cotton to believe that both principal and interest were "desperate, and that the debtors were persons non-solvent ; "and, having so far wrought upon his conceit, then they, "together with the said Thomas Holchar, persuaded the "said John Cotton that it would be more for his profit and "ease if he took a competent sum of money and delivered "up the bonds." The matter was finally managed, the Bill proceeds, by the intervention of one Thomas Colwell, with whom Cotton was then living, and who, for a bribe of £200, joined Milton, Bower, and Holchar, in working upon the mind of the decrepit old gentleman, informing him and often alleging to him "that the debts were desperate, that "the parties were dead or insolvent, or were resident in the "county palatine of Chester and Lancaster, where writs "could not easily be served." The conclusion, according to the Bill, had been that Cotton had accepted £2000 for his original £3,600, delivering up the bonds, and that Milton and Bower had thus got the £3,600 into their own hands, pocketing a surplus of £1600, *minus* what they had given

to Colwell and Holchar. Old Cotton having at last died, the present complainant, his nephew and executor, had applied, "in a friendly manner," to Milton and Bower, requesting them to accept back their £2000 and reinstate him in the possession of the original £3,600, reimbursing whatever they had meanwhile received on that account, and handing over the new securities. This had been refused, and hence the present action.

Not a pleasant matter of family-conversation this, we may be sure, for the little household at Horton through the summer months of 1636. The least discomposed person in the household over the affair may have been the old scrivener himself, familiar as he was with lawsuits, and with the exaggerations natural to all such initial *ex-parte* statements as Sir Thomas Cotton's Bill of Complaint. His chief trouble, indeed, may have been that the business could not be settled at once, so far as he was concerned, but had to lie over. The Midsummer and Michaelmas terms, at either of which he might have put in his defence in the Westminster Court of Requests, having been adjourned on account of the Plague, the case of *Cotton versus Milton and Bower*, though begun in 1636, had, in fact, to wait till the following year.

THE YEAR 1637, WITH PART OF 1638: MILTON ÆTAT. 29 AND 30.

In January 1636-7, though the Plague was by no means extinct in London and Westminster, the Court of Requests, with other Courts of Law, did meet for the short Hilary term. On the 27th of that month, accordingly, the records of the Court bear that William Witherington, of the City of Westminster, "served John Milton the elder with his "Majesty's process of Privy Seal, issuing forth of this "honourable Court at the suit of Sir Thomas Cotton, baronet, "by leaving the same at his dwelling-house." From the sequel one infers that this was not the house at Horton, but the old Spread-Eagle premises in Bread-Street, which were still in a manner Milton's, though his partner Bower occupied them. A similar process had already been served on Bower himself.

On the 18th of February 1636-7 the Court took up the case rather effectively:—The serving of the process on Milton three weeks before having been duly proved, and Milton not having appeared nor sent in his answer, he was treated, according to the usual form in such cases, as “standing out in contempt,” and it was ordered, on the motion of Mr. Bernard, counsel for the complainant, that an attachment, *i. e.* a writ for seizing certain of his goods in gage, should be forthwith awarded against him, and also that he should forfeit a sum of 20s. to the complainant by way of costs for the delay. The procedure the same day against Bower was more severe. An attachment having already been awarded against him for his contempt, or non-appearance to answer, and he having subsequently appeared personally, but having since “in further contempt of this Court departed away without the leave of this Court and without putting in answer,” the order now was that he should be taken into custody and committed to the Fleet prison, “there to remain until upon his submission further order shall be taken in this Court for his enlargement,” forfeiting, moreover, a sum of money for additional costs of delay.—Very soon, it appears, the Court came to be of opinion that, whatever justice there might be in their severity with Bower, they had been too hasty with Milton. On the 22nd of March 1636-7, it having been represented to the Court “that the said defendant is an old man, about fourscore years of age, and is infirm and unfit for travel, and that he sent up his attorney to appear in due time,” and evidence having been given by one of the attorneys of the Court that he had been, “about the beginning of the last term,” duly retained to appear for the defendant, and had, on affidavit that the defendant was aged and too infirm to come to town, applied for a *dedimus potestatem* for taking his answer in the country, the Court suspended the attachment and the 20s. of costs formerly ordered, and directed the *dedimus potestatem* to issue forth as desired.—In connexion with this stage of the affair one reads with especial interest this entry in the books of the Court ten days later,

i. e. April 1, 1637:—"Whereas JOHN MILTON, gent., hath "been served with his Majesty's process of Privy Seal, "issuing forth of this honourable Court, to answer a Bill of "Complaint against him exhibited by Sir Thomas Cotton, "baronet, plaintiff, CHRISTOPHER MILTON, son of the said "defendant, maketh oath that his said father, being aged "about 74 years, is not, by reason of his said age and "infirmity, able to travel to the City of Westminster, to "make his perfect answer to the said Bill, without much "prejudice to his health, he living at Horton in the County "of Bucks, about 17 miles distant from the City of Westminster." It would seem that this additional affidavit had been required before the issuing of the *dedimus potestatem*, enabling the scrivener's answer to be taken at Horton. Christopher Milton was then twenty-one years of age, still a student of law at the Inner Temple. His affidavit, it will be observed, corrects somewhat the more vague representation of his father's age that had been already made to the Court, substituting "aged about 74 years" for the "about fourscore years of age" of that previous representation. Though not quite so old as had been represented, he was, however, too infirm to come to London from his Horton retirement, if the journey could possibly be avoided.

Alas! the scrivener was not the only one of the Horton household that was then infirm. All through the trouble of those proceedings in and with the Court of Requests between January and April, the scrivener's wife, Milton's mother, nine years younger than her husband perhaps, but a frailer personage, had been either seriously ill from some definite malady, or sinking gradually from completed age. Her state of health, as well as the scrivener's own, may have been among the impediments detaining him at Horton amid the distractions and vexations of the pending lawsuit. Strange to know, at all events, that on the 3rd of April 1637, or exactly two days after Christopher Milton had made the affidavit at Westminster which has just been quoted, and while the *dedimus potestatem* was out that was

to enable the scrivener to give his answer at Horton to the charges against him, the memorable wife and mother was lying dead in the house at Horton, with the old man and his two sons, and such others of the family as had been gathered to be present at her last hours, moving silently round her corpse. All the petty worry of the lawsuit and the *dedimus potestatem* left behind her, if indeed the details had not been withheld from her at the last, this one memorable English life had ended, and the poor that lingered at her gate knew that they had lost a friend. For three days more there was death in the still house, the widower bowed down with the blow, but striving to say, as his sons and his daughter attend him, "Let the will of the Lord be done!" Pitying the old man, his elder son meditates the same thought in his own manner, and with variations that he does not speak. The three days pass; on the third there is the long last look at the face that is no more to be seen; and then, forth from the house, and out at the gate, walk the mourners, on their short way to the church across the road. Past the old yews at the entrance to the churchyard, where groups from the village are gathered to see, moves the sad procession. They enter the little church, up the narrow middle aisle of which the coffin is slowly carried; and there, round the deep-dug grave, they stand while the last service is being read. The coffin is committed to the grave, with the one unutterable look after it as it descends, and the dead and the living are parted for ever. Where Milton then stood, and where the aged widower stood, and others with him, the visitor to Horton Church may now stand also, and may read, on a plain blue stone laid flat in the floor of the chancel, this simple memento of that old funeral:—
"*Here lyeth the body of Sara Milton, the wife of John Milton, who died the 3rd of April 1637.*"

Neither the death nor the burial could interrupt the proceedings in the lawsuit:—On the very day of the death, April 3, we find a certain Henry Perry, who was the law-agent for Sir Thomas Cotton, writing a letter to his princi-

pal, informing him of all that had been done in the suit to that date, and of the exact position in which it then stood. The Warden of the Fleet prison, he informs Sir Thomas, had in his hands the order of the Court for the arrest of Bower, and desired to assure Sir Thomas that he would soon have Bower in his custody, "with the costs and answer, and what else is requisite." The recent order of the Court suspending the attachment and costs upon the other defendant, Milton, and granting him a *dedimus potestatem* to make his answer at Horton, had somewhat altered the state of affairs as regarded *him*; but Mr. Perry had looked after that matter too. "As soon as ever I heard of it, I sent the "name of a gent. that lives thereabouts, to be put into the "*dedimus* for you; who, I hope, will be present when the "answer is taken, at the beginning of next term." Finally, Sir Thomas may rely on the writer's continued diligence in the suit against both defendants.—Mr. Perry was diligent enough; for, on the 8th of April, or two days after the funeral at Horton, the defendant Bower, whether from arrest or of his own accord, was before the Court at Westminster, making his statement on oath. Substantially, it was an excuse for his past delay and apparent contempt. He had, nearly a year ago (in May 1636?), taken out a copy of the bill of Sir Thomas Cotton against himself and Mr. Milton, and carried the same at once to counsel; but, shortly afterwards, the said counsel had gone into the country,—whence, in consequence of the prevalence of the Plague in London, and the adjournment on that account of the Midsummer and Michaelmas terms of the law-courts, he had not returned, so far as the deponent could learn, till last January. He had then lost the copy of the bill, so that deponent had been obliged to take out a new copy, "about Candlemas last" (Feb. 2, 1636-7); "whereunto this deponent, by reason of sickness and his extraordinary occasions in his other business, could not till of late make answer."—An abstract of Bower's answer, as thus before the Court at the time of his personal appearance there, has survived. He admitted that, while he had been servant to Mr. Milton, there had been

such transactions by the office for the late Mr. John Cotton as those described in the Bill of Complaint,—not, however, as the bill represented, all at once and so late as five years ago, but extending over a considerable course of previous years, during which Mr. Milton had managed affairs for Mr. Cotton. The sums so lent out, at different times and to different persons, had been lent out with Mr. Cotton's own consent, and amounted in all to £3,600. At length, from the decline of the estates of many of the borrowers, and from the fact that nearly half of them resided in the county palatine of Lancaster and Chester, where they could not easily be sued, there had been a stoppage of the interest "for two or three years together." Mr. Cotton had then become alarmed, and had voluntarily, "in Easter term 1630," offered "to sell and assign all the said debts unto the said John Milton for £1500." This offer had been refused by Mr. Milton; and it had been after that refusal that Mr. Cotton, and his nephew, the present complainant, Sir Thomas Cotton, had negotiated separately with the present deponent. The complainant, Sir Thomas, having meanwhile, in his uncle's behalf, made inquiry after the debtors and the chances of their solvency, Mr. Cotton, with the complainant's consent, had made the present deponent a word-of-mouth offer, in Michaelmas term 1630, of the whole debt of £3,600, with the interest due thereon, for £2000 in ready money. The deponent had accepted the offer, and, having borrowed £2000 for the purpose, had paid that sum there and then to old Mr. Cotton, receiving the bonds for the £3,600, with powers to sue and recover. Of the £2000 thus paid by Bower one half had been at once given by Mr. Cotton to his nephew, the present complainant. The deponent would certainly not have disbursed the £2000 unless he had hoped to gain by the transaction; and he acknowledged that it had not turned out unprofitable. He had, though "with much travayle," got in the whole of the £3,600, with the exception of several sums, to the amount of about £500 in all, not yet recovered. But the transaction, and all the circumstances of it, had been perfectly legitimate.

There had been no pressure on Mr. Cotton, no representation that the debts were desperate, no such combining with Colwell as the complaint alleged; the offer had come freely from Mr. Cotton's side; and, in fact, the deponent had given old Mr. Cotton £500 more than he would have obtained from any one else for his dubious £3,600 of debt, it having been "offered to many." The present complainant, at all events, had no ground of action, inasmuch as he had "allured" the deponent into the agreement with his uncle, and had never questioned the transaction during the five years of his uncle's subsequent life-time.—From this answer of Bower to Sir Thomas Cotton's Bill of Complaint we have to turn to that which old Mr. Milton roused himself to draw up at Horton, in the first sadness of his widowerhood, in conformity with the Court's *dedimus potestatem* for taking it at that distance. It is dated the 13th of April 1637, ten days after his wife's death and seven after her funeral. The original parchment, a good deal worn and defaced, is still to be seen in the Record Office. It states that the defendant, John Milton, was well acquainted with the John Cotton mentioned in the Bill of Complaint. The said John Cotton was "a man of good years, but certainly what age he was of this defendant knoweth not." He was, however, of "good understanding and memory at the time of the said defendant's knowledge of him, and able to walk abroad, and did so oftentimes to this defendant's shop in London, and was then no-ways decrepit in body or defective in mind, to his the said defendant's knowledge." Milton then goes on, as Bower had done, to rectify the date of the transactions that had been called in question. He denies that "about five years sithence the said John Cotton did put into his hands, or, to this defendant's knowledge, into the hands of the said Thomas Bower, then his the said defendant's partner, and not his servant, as in the Bill is alleged, any such sum or sums as in the Bill is pretended, in trust to be let out at interest." What he owns is that, "before this defendant became partner with the other defendant, Thomas Bower, and after their co-partnership," the said John

Cotton "did dispose of and lend at the shop of this defendant, situate in Bread Street in London," and which had been his "near forty years", divers sums, to the value of about £3,300. He does not now remember all the particulars, "his employment being great that way," and some of the matters being since he "gave over his trade"; but he thinks the particulars stated in Sir Thomas Cotton's Bill of Complaint, as to the sums lent out and the persons to whom they were severally lent, may be true enough. That they had not been put into his hands, however, or into the hands of Thomas Bower, "five years sithence," as the Bill alleged, was manifest from the statements in the Bill itself, whence it appeared that the bonds for the lent moneys had been given to Cotton before that date, and divers of them as long as fifteen years since, *i. e.* as far back as 1621. The interest in the moneys, so far as the defendant had to look after it, had been "paid always by him or his appointment to the said John Cotton, sometimes at the said shop of this defendant, and sometimes it was sent home to the said John Cotton." He *had* represented to Cotton that the borrowing parties were of sufficient means, "as indeed they were at the time"; he had never represented the debts as desperate or advised Cotton to give up the bonds for a competent sum; he had never bribed Colwell to assist in such an arrangement, nor otherwise plotted to influence Cotton. "But this defendant confesseth that the said John Cotton, in his lifetime, out of what reason this defendant knoweth not, but conceiveth it to be out of timorousness and fear that he might lose some of his said debts, did voluntarily make an offer to this defendant of £2000 in lieu of all such moneys as were lent or managed for him at this defendant's shop, being, as this defendant conceiveth, £3,300 or thereabouts, and urged this defendant to agree with him to that purpose; which this defendant did utterly refuse, and was much grieved at the same, and took it very ill of the said John Cotton that he should make such an offer, as well in regard that he would not that the said John Cotton should sustain any loss at all by non-payment

“of the moneys by him so lent, as also that it was a great
 “disparagement to this defendant and his said trade and
 “shop. And this defendant thought himself much injured
 “thereby, and told the said John Cotton that he did very
 “much wrong him, this defendant, and himself thereby, for
 “that the obligators and debtors were very sufficient men in
 “estate and there was no cause why he should do so.” The
 said Cotton, the answer goes on to say, had then departed
 from this defendant; and what he did afterwards this
 defendant knows not. He thinks, however, that he must
 have “persisted in his fear and doubts of loss”; for “this
 “defendant hath heard, but doth not know the same of his
 “own knowledge, that, after this defendant refused the said
 “offer of the said John Cotton, he dealt with the other
 “defendant, Thomas Bower, without the privity or consent
 “of this defendant; but the particulars of what they did
 “agree upon this defendant certainly knoweth not.” He
 knows not, in fact, whether there was any transaction be-
 tween Cotton or Bower, save by report from others, but he
 had heard that there *was* some transaction, in which “one
 Holker, an attorney in the Common Pleas”, had co-operated
 with Bower. Whatever the transaction was, if there was
 any, the present defendant had been no party to it. “All
 “which,” the document concludes, “this defendant is ready
 “to aver and prove as the honourable Court shall award,
 “and humbly prayeth to be dismissed from forth the
 “same, with his reasonable costs and charges in this
 “behalf wrongfully sustained.” To the document is sub-
 scribed the date, “the 13th day of April,” with the names of
 THO. AGAR and JOHN AGAR, as the two witnesses attesting
 the oath of the defendant at Horton to the contents.

The name THOMAS AGAR admits us to a glimpse of the
 family history hitherto wanting. The poet's only sister,
 Anne, it will be remembered, had been left a widow, with two
 infant boys, by the death of her husband, Edward Phillips,
 of the Crown office in Chancery, in the autumn of 1631, after
 they had been seven years married. That she married a
 second time, and that her second husband was a Thomas

Agar, also of the Chancery office, who had been the "intimate friend" of her first husband, and who succeeded him in the post of Deputy Clerk in the office, or chief clerk under the Clerk of the Crown, is known independently; but the date of this second marriage has not yet been ascertained. Does not the attestation "THO. AGAR" to the document of April 1637 make it likely that he had by that time become the scrivener's son-in-law, and was therefore naturally, with his wife, now Mrs. Agar, one of the family gathered round the old man at Horton in his time of distress and mourning? He had had a previous wife, Mary Rugeley, who was alive in 1633, and who had borne him one daughter; but in the interval between that year and 1637 he may have contracted his second marriage, and the first of the children by that marriage may have been born.

The Plague, which had been rather dormant in London through the winter of 1636-7, had broken out afresh in the spring, gradually spreading to Chelsea, Hampton Court, Brentford, "everywhere westward, more or less." Garrard, who reports this in March, saying that in the beginning of that month there had been 100 deaths by the Plague in London, adds, on the 28th of April, "We have had here a "very dry spring, cold easterly winds, but for the most part "very fair weather: though seldom rain, yet wetting mists "every morning. The Plague rises and falls according to "the change of the moon."¹ On the very day when Garrard was writing so in London, or two-and-twenty days after the funeral of Milton's mother in Horton Church, the Plague was at last in Colnbrook and the whole Horton neighbourhood. It continued in Horton parish through May, June, July, and August 1637, with the effect of doubling in that year the usual annual mortality of the parish. Here, by way of the history of the mortality in an old English parish in a Plague year, is a record of the burials at Horton through the entire year 1637, dated from March 25 to the 24th of the March following, as extracted by me from the Parish

¹ Garrard's Letters from London in the *Strafford Papers*.

Register. The entry which stands third in the list will be noted on its own account:—

1. The wife of Thomas Porter, buried March 26th.
2. Susan, ye Daughter of Morris & Martha Fisher, buried April 1st.
3. Sara, uxor Johnis Milton, generosi [Sara, wife of John Milton, gentleman], Aprilis 6^{to}: obiit 3^o [Buried the 6th of April: died the 3rd].
4. An infant sonne of John & Susan Hawkins, buried Aprill ye 9th.
5. Johnes inf. Johnis et Susannæ Hawkins filius [John, infant son of John and Susan Hawkins] Aprilis 24^o.
6. Catherine, wife of John Ballynour, buried April ye 28: of ye Plague: Colebrook (1).
7. Richard Vicar, gent. & inkeep., buried May ye 15, out of ye Talbot, of ye Plague, (2).
8. Fraunces, daughter of Richard Vicar, gent., buried May 15th, of ye Plague (3).
9. John, sonne of Thomas Paine, tapster, May ye 15, out of ye Talbot, of ye Plague (4).
10. John, sonne of John Cooke, gentleman, buried June 13th, out of ye Talbot, of ye Plague (5).
11. John Withers, sadler, buried June ye 26; d. of ye Plague; of Colebrook (6).
12. Mary, ye daughter of Henry Heydon, glover, buried June ye 26; also of Colebrook.
- Alice, wife of Gilbert Brandon, vint^r of London, June ye 28, out of ye Talbot, of ye Plague (7).
14. Susanna, wife of Robt Taylor, coblar, July ye 27, of ye Plague; of Colebrook (8).
- Alice, ye wife of John Withers, lately deceased, July ye 9th, of ye Plague; of Colebrook (9).
16. Jonathan, sonne of Robert Taylor, coblar, July ye 7th, of ye Plague; of Colebrook (10).
- Stephen, sonne of Robert Taylor, coblar, July ye 10th, of ye Plague; of Colebrook (11).
- John, ye sonne of Robert Taylor, coblar, July ye 11th, of ye Plague; of Colebrook (12).
- Henry Heydon, glover, buried July ye 26; died of consumption; of Colebrooke.
20. Thomas Headmayer, buried July ye 30th; surfeitt by drinking; of Colebrooke.
- Bridgida, uxor Thomæ Harris, Aug. 20th; died of a staid (?) pestilentiall (13).
22. William Snowdon, servant to John Haines, husbandman, Aug. ye 29th; ex peste obiit [died of plague] (14).
- William Stanton, carpenter, Sept. ye 29th.
- Martha, wife of Maurice Fisher, Septemb. ye 8th.
- Alice, wife of Thomas Feild, November ye 13th.
26. Peter, sonne of Peter Jenings; an infant; Decemb. ye 23.
- John, sonne of John and Margaret Brown, Jan. ye 4th; of Colebrooke.
- Richard Farmer, gent., aged 92, buried Jan. ye 9th.
- Elizabeth, daughter of Judge Grayhew (?), buried Jan. ye 28th; d. of a consumption; of Colebrooke.

30. Margaret, ye wife of William Michell, buried February ye 4th; of Colebrooke.

Margaret, ye wife of John Browne, buried March ye 13th; of Colebrooke.

(Signed)

Edward Goodall, Rector.
John Hawkins
and
Thomas Bowden } Churchwardens.¹

During the months of May, June, July, and August, 1637, plague-months though they were, Milton probably remained, for the most part, with his father at Horton, though with visits now and then to London as usual. Let us imagine ourselves at once in August 1637.

Nearly three years had elapsed since the masque at Ludlow Castle; and during these the rumour of it had spread so widely that Lawes had found the manuscript a troublesome possession. He had been applied to for copies of it, or of the songs in it, so often that he resolved to have it printed. Accordingly, having obtained the author's consent, and such emendations of the original copy as the author saw fit to make, he did, in his own name, publish the masque, in a small quarto pamphlet of thirty-five pages, with this title:—"A Masque presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634, on Michaelmasse Night, before the right honourable the Earle of Bridgewater, Viscount Brackly, Lord President of Wales, and one of his Majesties most honourable privie Counsell: London, Printed for Humphrey Robinson at the signe of the Three Pidgeons in Pauls Churchyard, 1637." On the title-page, between the title itself and the publisher's name and address, was this motto from Virgil's second Eclogue,—"*Eheu! quid volui misero mihi? Floribus austrum perditus*"; which may be translated "Alas! what have I chosen for my miserable self? Undone, I have let the south-wind in among my flowers!" It was evidently Milton himself that supplied

¹ The signatures of the rector and churchwardens appended to the register of this year signify that the year was one of unusual note in respect of mortality in the parish. The numbers prefixed to the names by Goodall, in reckoning up the deaths, as well as the numbers, in different series, affixed by him afterwards to the plague cases, are

of similar significance. Altogether, it appears that, of the thirty-one deaths of the year, fourteen were notoriously deaths from plague, leaving seventeen deaths from other causes. In ordinary years the deaths in Horton annually averaged from 8 to 13; in the previous Plague year, 1626, they had been 34.

this motto ; and it is as if he had said, “ Alas ! why do I now come out of my privacy and run the rough risks of publication ? ” At the end of the masque is the following note :—
 “ *The principall persons in this maske were the Lord Brackly, Mr. Thomas Egerton, The Lady Alice Egerton.* ” But the most interesting part of the pamphlet, next to the text, is this preliminary dedication by Lawes to Lord Brackley, now in his sixteenth year :—

“ *To the Right Honourable John, Lord Brackly, son and heir-apparent to the Earl of Bridgewater, &c.*

“ My Lord,

“ This Poem, which received its first occasion of birth from yourself and others of your noble family, and much honour from your own person in the performance, now returns again to make a small dedication of itself to you. Although not openly acknowledged by the Author, yet it is a legitimate offspring, so lovely and so much desired that the often copying of it hath tired my pen to give my several friends satisfaction, and brought me to a necessity of producing it to the public view, and now to offer it up, in all rightful devotion, to those fair hopes and rare endowments of your much-promising youth, which give a full assurance, to all that know you, of a future excellence. Live, sweet Lord, to be the honour of your name ; and receive this as your own from the hands of him who hath by many favours been long obliged to your most honoured parents, and, as in this representation your attendant *Thyrsis*, so now in all real expression

“ Your faithful and most humble Servant,

“ H. LAWES.”

In August 1637, when the Plague was everywhere disappearing, there occurred two deaths, the most remarkable perhaps in the British obituary of that year. On the 6th of August Ben Jonson died in his house in Westminster, at the age of sixty-three ; and on the 9th he was buried under the pavement in the north aisle in Westminster Abbey. On the day after his burial (Aug 10), and when the news of his death can hardly have reached the remoter parts of England, a vessel, which had left what was then called Chester Bay, *i. e.* the estuary of the Dee seawards from Chester, and was coasting in calm weather along the northern shores of the Welsh counties of Flint, Denbigh, and Carnarvon, on its voyage across the Irish Sea to Dublin, struck on a rock and foundered, not far from land. With the exception of a few who managed to get into a boat, all on board perished ; and

among them was Edward King of Christ's College. He had left Cambridge after the close of the session ; had visited, it would appear, some of his relatives in England ; and was on his way to spend the rest of the vacation among his other relatives and friends in his native Ireland. The account that reached his friends was that, when the ship struck, and the other passengers were wild with alarm, he behaved with much calmness, and that, after a vain attempt had been made to get him into the boat, he was seen on his knees in prayer, and so went down. His body was never recovered.

The news of King's death must have reached Milton soon ; but we do not find any mention of it in either of two Latin letters of his written to his friend Diodati, one three weeks, the other six weeks, after the occurrence. Diodati was then somewhere in the country, in medical practice, whether in the neighbourhood of Chester, where we found him eleven years ago, or in some other part of the north of England, does not appear. We insert the two letters, as usual, in literal translation, certain Greek phrases and quotations marked by Italics :—

“TO CHARLES DIODATI.

“Now at length I see plainly that what you are driving at is to vanquish me sometimes in the art of obstinate silence ; and, if it is so, bravo ! have that little glory over us, for behold ! we write first. All the same, if ever the question should come into contention why neither has written to the other *for so long*, do not think but that I shall stand by many degrees the more excused of the two,—*manifestly so indeed, as being one by nature slow and lazy to write*, as you well know ; while you, on the other hand, whether by nature or by habit, are wont without difficulty to be drawn into epistolary correspondence of this sort. It makes also for my favour that I know your method of studying to be so arranged that you frequently take breath in the middle, visit your friends, write much, sometimes make a journey, whereas my genius is such that no delay, no rest, no care or thought almost of anything, holds me aside until I reach the end I am making for, and round off, as it were, some great period of my studies. Wholly hence, and not from any other cause, believe me, has it happened that I am slower in approaching the voluntary discharge of good offices ; but in replying to such, O our *Theodotus*, I am not so very dilatory ; nor have I ever been guilty of not meeting any letter of yours by one of mine in due turn. How happens it that,

as I hear, you have sent letters to the bookseller, to your brother too not unfrequently, either of whom could, conveniently enough, on account of their nearness, have caused letters to have been delivered to me, if there had been any? What I complain of, however, is that, whereas you promised that you would take up your quarters with us for a passing visit on your departure from the city, you did not keep your promise, and that, if you had but once thought of this neglect of your promise, there would not have been wanting necessary occasion enough for writing. All this matter of deserved lecture, as I imagine, I have been keeping against you. What you will prepare in answer see for yourself. But, meanwhile, how is it with you, pray? Are you all right in health? Are there in those parts any smallish learned folks with whom you can willingly associate and chat, as we were wont together? When do you return? How long do you intend to remain among those *hyperboreans*? Please to answer me these questions one by one: not that you are to make the mistake of supposing that only now have I your affairs at heart,—for understand that, in the beginning of the autumn, I turned out of my way on a journey to see your brother for the purpose of knowing what you were doing. Lately also, when it had been fallaciously reported to me in London by some one that you were in town, straightway and as if by storm I dashed to your crib; but *'twas the vision of a shadow!* for nowhere did you appear. Wherefore, if you can without inconvenience, fly hither all the sooner, and fix yourself in some place so situated that I may have a more pleasant hope that somehow or other we may be able at least sometimes to exchange visits,—though I would you were as much our neighbour in the country as you are when in town. *But this as it pleases God!* I would say more about myself and my studies, but would rather do so when we meet; and now to-morrow we are to return to that country-residence of ours, and the journey so presses that I have hardly had time to put all this on the paper. Farewell.

“London: Septemb. 2, 1637.”

Diodati must have answered in a bantering medical strain, for Milton again writes to him on the 23rd of the same month, dating again from London. The letter, some parts of which are rather obscure from our not having Diodati's before us to explain them, was as follows:—

“TO CHARLES DIODATI.

“While other friends generally in their letters think it enough to express a single wish for one's health, I see now how it is that you convey the same salutation so many times; for to those mere wishes on the subject which were all that you yourself could in former times

offer, and which are all that others have to offer yet, you would now have me understand, I suppose, that there is the gigantic addition of your art and all the force of your medical practitionership. You bid me be well six hundred times, well as I wish to be, well as I can be, and so forth even more superlatively. Verily you must have lately been made the very steward of the larder, the clerk of the kitchen, to Health, such havoc you make of the whole store of salubrity;¹ or, doubtless, Health ought now to be your parasite, you so act the king over her and command her to be obedient. I therefore congratulate you, and find it consequently necessary to return you thanks on a double account,—your friendship, for one thing, and your excellence in your profession for another. I did indeed, since it had been so agreed, long expect letters from you; but, having never received any, I did not, believe me, on that account suffer my old good-will to you to cool in the least; nay, that very excuse for your delay which you have employed in the beginning of your letter I had anticipated in my own mind you would offer, and that rightly and in accordance with our relations to each other. For I would not have true friendship turn on balanees of letters and salutations, all which may be false, but that it should rest on both sides in the deep roots of the mind and sustain itself there, and that, once begun on sincere and sacred grounds, it should, though mutual good offices should cease, yet be free from suspicion and blame all life long. For fostering such a friendship as this what is wanted is not so much written correspondence as a loving recollection of virtues on both sides. Nor, even should you have persisted in not writing, would there be lack of means with me for supplying that good office. Your probity writes for me in your stead, and inscribes true letters on my inmost consciousness, your frank innocence of character writes to me, and your love of the good; your genius also, by no means an every-day one, writes to me and commends you to me more and more. Don't, therefore, now that you have possessed yourself of that tyrannic citadel of Medicine, wave those terrors before me, as if you meant to draw in bit by bit, and to demand back from me your six hundred healths till only one was left, if by chance (which God forbid) I should become a traitor to friendship. Remove that terrible *battery* which you seem to have planted right at me in your resolution that it shall not be lawful for me to get ill without your good leave. For, lest you should threaten too much, know that it is impossible for me not to love men like you. What besides God has resolved concerning me I know not, but this at least: *He has instilled into me, if into any one, a vehement love of the beautiful.* Not with so much labour, as the fables have it, is Ceres said to have sought her daughter Proserpina as it is my habit day and night to seek for this *idea of the beau-*

¹ There is a recollection here of a phrase of Plautus. Other such scraps

from the classics may be traced in Milton's letters.

tiful, as for a certain image of supreme beauty, through all the forms and faces of things (*for many are the shapes of things divine*) and to follow it as it leads me on by some sure traces which I seem to recognize. Hence it is that, when any one scorns what the vulgar opine in their depraved estimation of things, and dares to feel and speak and be that which the highest wisdom throughout all ages has taught to be best, to that man I attach myself forthwith by a kind of real necessity, wherever I find him. If, whether by nature or by my fate, I am so circumstanced that by no effort and labour of mine can I myself rise to such an honour and elevation, yet that I should always worship and look up to those who have attained that glory, or happily aspire to it, neither gods nor men, I reckon, have bidden nay.

"But now I know you wish to have your curiosity satisfied. You make many anxious inquiries, even as to what I am at present thinking of. Hearken, Theodotus, but let it be in your private ear, lest I blush; and allow me for a little to use big language with you. You ask what I am thinking of? So may the good Deity help me, of immortality! And what am I doing? *Growing my wings* and meditating flight; but as yet our Pegasus raises himself on very tender pinions. Let us be lowly wise!

"I will now tell you seriously what I am thinking of. I am thinking of migrating into some Inn of the Lawyers where I can find a pleasant and shady walking-ground, because there I shall have both a more convenient habitation among a number of companions if I wish to remain at home, and more *suitable headquarters* if I choose to make excursions in any direction. Where I am now, as you know, I live obscurely and in a cramped manner. You shall also have information respecting my studies. I have by continuous reading brought down the affairs of the Greeks as far as to the time when they ceased to be Greeks. I have been long engaged in the obscure business of the state of Italians under the Longobards, the Franks, and the Germans, down to the time when liberty was granted them by Rodolph, King of Germany: from that period it will be better to read separately what each City did by its own wars. But what are *you* doing? How long will you hang over domestic matters as a *filius familias*, forgetting your town companionships? Unless this step-motherly war be very bad indeed, worse than the Dacian or the Sarmatian, you will certainly have to make haste, so as to come to us at least for winter-quarters.¹ Meanwhile, if it can be done without trouble to you, I beg you to send me Justiniani, the historian of the Venetians.² I will, on my word, see that he is well kept against your arrival, or, if you

¹ The allusion seems to be to the fact that Diodati's father, Dr. Theodore, now in his sixty-fifth year, had recently taken to himself a second wife, rather alienating thereby his three children by the first wife, — Charles, his brother

John, and their sister Philadelphia.

² "*Justinianus Bernardus, Patricius Venetus. De origine urbis Venetiarum:*" folio, Venice, 1492. There was an Italian translation, published at Venice in 1608.

prefer it, that he is sent back to you not very long after receipt. Farewell.

“London : Septemb. 23, 1637.”

These letters, written in September 1637, will suggest that, since the death of Milton's mother in the previous April, there had been a disturbance of the routine of the household at Horton, and that, though Horton, as we had independently surmised, had continued to be the abode of Milton's widowed father, there had been a good deal of coming and going on Milton's own part between Horton and London. He had been in London for some time on the 2nd of September, and was then going back to Horton; yet he is again in London on the 23rd of September, and he writes then as if he meditated a permanent settlement in London and was looking out for chambers in one of the Inns of Court likely to suit him. So far as appears, however, the project was never carried out. This was probably because a larger project was forming itself in Milton's mind, to which he hoped to obtain his father's consent,—the project, namely, of a Continental tour, including a residence for some time in Italy. With that idea dawning in his mind, he seems to have abandoned his notion of chambers in London, and to have spent the later autumn of 1637 and the winter of 1637-8 at Horton as before. Horton, therefore, may have the credit of one more of his English poems, perhaps the finest of all that we now call his earlier or minor poems, *Comus* itself not excepted.

LYCIDAS.

The death of Ben Jonson had been the great event of the literary world in the autumn just past, and it was not till more than half a year had elapsed that it ceased to be matter of town talk. In the first place, there was the question who should be Ben's successor in the Laureateship. The question was settled, at last, by the appointment of William Davenant, greatly to the chagrin of Thomas May. Then there was much talk of a magnificent monument to be erected to Ben in Westminster Abbey, to which all the

world would subscribe. The proposal came to nothing; and old Ben lay or rather stood (for he was buried upright) with nothing over him but the flat pavement of the aisle, on one of the squares of which, when the grave was covered up, a clever Oxfordshire squire named Jack Young paid a mason eighteen pence for cutting the famous provisional inscription "O RARE BEN JONSON." The poets and others of the tribe of Ben, however, did raise another monument of a sort over their patriarch. In addition to elegies published by them individually, some thirty or forty of them, including Lord Falkland, May, Habington, Waller, young Cleveland of Cambridge, young Cartwright of Oxford, Owen Feltham, Shakerley Marmion, and John Ford, clubbed together copies of obituary verses, in English, in Latin, and in Greek, to be published conjointly in a special volume under the editorship of Dr. Brian Duppa, Dean of Christ Church. The volume appeared early in 1638, with the title of "*Johnsonus Virbius, or the Memorie of Ben Johnson revived by the Friends of the Muses.*"¹ The gist of all the panegyrics, various as they were in style, was that English poetry had died with Ben. The panegyrics themselves went near to prove it.

What the wits and scholars of England at large were doing for Ben's memory a select number of wits and scholars, chiefly connected with Cambridge, had resolved to do for the memory of poor Edward King. For eleven years he had been one of the ornaments of Cambridge, and from July 1633, as full M.A. and fellow of Christ's College, he had been fulfilling the offices of tutor, prælector, and the like, in his College, and qualifying himself for the active duties of a Church of England clergyman.² All that he had left in confirmation of the high estimate formed of his powers by those who had known him intimately consisted of but a few scraps of Latin verse, scattered through those

¹ Licensed for publication by Tho. Weeks, chaplain to the Bishop of London, Jan. 23, and registered in the Stationers' books Feb. 3, 1637-8.

² He was prælector of his College in 1634-5, and the admissions at Christ's for that year are in his handwriting.

volumes of encomiastic poetry which the University had published during his connexion with it. Here is a complete list of these trifles, so far as I have traced them :—

1. Four copies of Latin verses, signed "*Ed. King, Coll. Christi Socius*," occupying pp. 36-39 of the volume issued from the University Press on the occasion of the birth of the Princess Mary (Nov. 4, 1631), but with retrospective reference to the birth of Prince Charles, afterwards Charles II. (May 29, 1630). The volume is entitled "*Genethliacum illustrissimorum principum, Caroli et Mariæ, a Musis Cantabrigiensibus celebratum: Cantab. 1631.*" It contains verses by some scores of men from all the colleges, *e. g.* Comber of Trinity, Fuller of Sidney College, Duport of Trinity, Whelock of Clare Hall, Randolph of Trinity; and, besides King, one notices among contributors from Christ's Milton's school-fellow Pory. Of King's contributions (he was then in his twentieth year) one is in hexameters, one in Horatian measure, and two are in elegiacs. The piece in hexameters opens thus :—

"Qualis ab Oceano rerum qui semen et auctor
Exsurgit laxis rubicunda Aurora capillis,
Exhilaratque novo perfusum lumine mundum,
Infantemque diem promit, cœlumque serenat,
Nigrantes faciens non sponte rubescere nubes,
Purpureis victas radiis, sic parvula nobis
Princeps, Lucinæ ac cœli dulcissima cura,
Reginæ ex utero prodit," &c.

The premature birth of the princess, thus somewhat bluntly hinted at in the last line, forms the whole subject of one of the pieces in elegiacs. We quote it entire :—

"Miraris quòd te, illustris Regina, levârit
Tam festinanti conjuga Juno manu,
Et præmaturæ compulsam in lumina vitæ
Naturâ sobolem sic properante paris?
Regius hic ortus, verèque heroicus : ipsis
Plebeiis justo mense licet parere.
Dissecto Cæsar Romanus ventre parentis
Prodiit, et vitam de moriente tulit :
Tu viva edûxti prærepto tempore prolem :
Haud potuit nasci nobiliore modo."

2. A copy of Latin iambics, pp. 43, 44 of the volume of Cambridge verses on the King's recovery from the small-pox in the winter of 1632, entitled "*Anthologia in Regis Exanthemata; seu gratulatio Musarum Cantab. de felicissimè asservatâ Regis Caroli valetudine: Cantab. 1633.*" Besides nearly all the old hands at such things, the volume includes contributions from Collins and Pearson of King's, young Crashaw of Pembroke, and young Henry More of Christ's.

3. A copy of Latin iambics in the volume of Cambridge verses congratulating the King on his safe return from Scotland (July 1633), and entitled "*Rex Redux, sive Musa Cantabrigiensis, &c., de incolumitate et felici reditu Regis Caroli post receptam coronam comitiaque peracta in Scotiâ: Cantab. 1633.*" King appears again here (*ætat.* 21)

among some scores of old hands, including Honeywood and Henry More of Christ's.

4. A copy of Latin iambics prefixed to Hausted's "*Senile Odium*," when that play was published at Cambridge in 1633 (see *ante*, p. 253).

5. A copy of Latin elegiacs in the volume of Cambridge verses on the birth of Prince James, Duke of York (Oct. 15, 1633), entitled "*Ducis Eboracensis Fasciæ a Musis Cantabrigiensibus raptim contextæ: Cantab. 1633.*" All the metrical hands of the University are here again; and King, who now signs himself M.A. as well as Fellow of Christ's, reverts to his somewhat blunt physiology in referring to the Queen's fecundity:—

"Mnemosyne Musas peperit fœcunda novenas.
Hæc in te meruit fabula ficta fidem;
De Jovis exsiluit Pallas vix una cerebro;
Ex utero prodit multa Minerva tuo."

6. A copy of Latin stanzas in Horatian metre in the Cambridge volume of verses on the birth of the Princess Elizabeth (Dec. 28, 1635), entitled "*Carmen Natalitium ad cunas illustrissimæ principis Elizabethæ decantatum, intra natiuitatis Domini solemnia, per humiles Cantabrigiæ musas: A.D. 1635.*"

7. A copy of Latin iambics, in the Cambridge volume of verses on the birth of the Princess Anne (March 17, 1636-7), entitled "*Συνοδία, sive Musarum Cantabrigiensium concentus et congratulatio ad serenissimum Britanniarum Regem Carolum de quintâ suâ sobole, clarissimâ Principe sibi nuper felicissime natâ: A.D. 1637.*" This is an unusually rich collection, containing pieces in Latin and Greek by nearly 140 contributors from all the colleges. Among these are Duport of Trinity, Andrew Marvell of Trinity (who contributes both in Latin and in Greek), Beaumont of Peterhouse, Crashaw of Peterhouse, and Abraham Cowley. There are ten contributors from Christ's, including Robert Gell, B.D., and Henry More (who writes almost always in Greek). King (*ætat.* 25) again shows a singular liking for the plain physiological view of his subject:—

"Ineunte vere terra jam pandit sinum,
Glebasque molles solvit; et, solis novi
Refecta radiis roribusque gemmeis
Aurâque Zephyri, blandiora semina
Commissa reddit, atque, fœcundum tumens,
Effundit herbas, succulos, florum comas.
Et tibi, Maria, candidi veris tepor
Laxavit uterum," &c.

On the whole, there is nothing in any of these performances that would impress one now, if one came upon them unawares, with the notion of superior genius in the writer. There is little poetry in the thought; and the obstetric plainness of phrase in each of the birthday pieces, though excusable perhaps in verse made by the dictionary, is what the taste of a true son of the muses would certainly have

avoided. The verses, however, are not below the average of most of those that accompany them, and one can well understand that they do not reveal all the author's ability. In moral respects, King seems to have been the model of academic youth, strict and pious, while gentle and amiable.

It seems to have been after the assembling of the University for the Michaelmas Term of 1637 that the project of a little volume of commemorative verses was agreed upon by King's friends. Milton, as one who had known King well, and who had doubtless corresponded with him, either voluntarily offered a contribution, or was invited to send one. The result was the monody afterwards entitled *Lycidas*, but originally printed without a title. The draft of the poem among the Milton MSS. at Cambridge in Milton's own hand is dated "November 1637"; but the general collection of which it formed a part did not appear till a month or two later, and by that time Milton had made a few verbal changes.

The collection consisted of two parts. The one is a series of twenty-three pieces in Latin and Greek, entitled "*Iusta Edovardo King naufrago ab amicis mærentibus, amoris et μνelas χάρις*" ("Obsequies to Edward King, drowned by shipwreck, in token of love and remembrance, by his sorrowing friends"), and with this motto from Petronius Arbiter on the title-page, "*Si recte calculum ponas, ubique naufragium est*" ("If you rightly cast the reckoning, there is shipwreck everywhere"). The other is a series of thirteen English poems, separately paged, and with this separate title, surrounded by a black border, on the outer leaf:—"Obsequies to the memorie of Mr. Edward King, Anno Dom. 1638." The two parts of the collection were separately paged and titled; but both were printed at the University press, and both bear the date 1638. The existing copies of them are sometimes separate and sometimes bound together. Milton's contribution stands last in the English series, so that, when the two parts were bound together with the English last, it closed the volume.

The *Latin* and *Greek* part consists of 35 small quarto

pages. It opens with a Latin paragraph in conspicuous type, narrating the incident which occasioned the volume. The following is a translation, not more clumsy than the original :—

“P.M.S.—Edward King, son of John (Knight and Privy Councillor for the Kingdom of Ireland to their majesties, Elizabeth, James, and Charles), Fellow of Christ’s College in the University of Cambridge, happy in the consciousness and in the fame of piety and erudition, and one in whom there was nothing immature except his age, was on his voyage to Ireland, drawn by natural affection to visit his country, his relatives and his friends,—chiefly, his brother Sir Robert King, knight, a most distinguished man ; his sisters, most excellent women, Anne, wife of Lord G. Caulfield, Baron Charlemont, and Margaret, wife of Lord G. Loder, Chief Justice of Ireland ; the venerable prelate Edward King, Bishop of Elphin, his godfather ; and the most reverend and learned William Chappell, Dean of Cashel and Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, whose hearer and pupil he had been in the University,—when, the ship in which he was having struck on a rock not far from the British shore and been ruptured by the shock, he, while the other passengers were fruitlessly busy about their mortal lives, having fallen forward upon his knees, and breathing a life which was immortal, in the act of prayer going down with the vessel, rendered up his soul to God, Aug. 10, 1637, aged 25.”

Then follow the poems themselves, in different metres, by the following contributors, all in Latin except those otherwise marked :—1. Anonymous ; 2. “N. Felton” ; 3. “R. Mason,” of Jesus ; 4. “J. Pullen” ; 5. “Gul. Iveson,” B.A., of Christ’s (Greek) ; 6. “Jo. Pearson,” of King’s ; 7. “R. Brown” ; 8. “J. B.” ; 9. “Jo. Pots,” of Christ’s (Greek) ; 10. “Car. Mason,” of King’s ; 11. “—Coke” ; 12. “Steph. Anstie” ; 13. “Jo. Hoper” ; 14. “R. C.” ; 15. Henry More, of Christ’s (Greek) ; 16. “Thom. Farnabius,” the London schoolmaster, who speaks of the deceased as “formerly his most dear pupil” ; 17. “Hen. King,” one of the brothers of the deceased ; 18. “J. Hayward,” Chancellor and Canon-Residentiary of Lichfield ; 19 and 20. “M. Honeywood,” of Christ’s ; 21. “Gul. Brierly,” fellow of Christ’s ; 22. “Christopher Bainbrigge,” fellow of Christ’s, and a relative of the master ; 23. “R. Widdrington,” of Christ’s.

The thirteen pieces which form the *English* part of the volume occupy in all twenty-five pages. Three or four of them are by contributors to the Latin and Greek part.

First is a poem of brotherly affection by Henry King (pp. 1-4), in which, among other things, he says of the deceased :—

“ Religion was but the position
Of his own judgment : Truth to him alone
Stood nak'd ; he strung the Arts' chain and knit the ends ;
And made divine and humane learning friends,—
Of which he was the best edition,
Not stuff with doubts, but all decision.
Conjecture, wonder, probabilitie
Were terms of weakness : nothing bound his eye
With fold or knot : but th' Earth's globe did seem
Full as transparent as the air to him.
He drest the Muses in the brav'st attire
That e'er they wore, and taught them a strain higher
And far beyond their winged horses' flight.
But oh ! the charming tempest and the might
Of eloquence, able to Christianize
India or reconcile antipathies !
He :—but his flight is past my reach, and I
May wrong his worth with too much pietie.”

The next writer (pp. 4-8) is Joseph Beaumont, then fellow of Peterhouse, afterwards more celebrated. When he heard of King's death, he says, he could not believe in the extinction so suddenly of so fair a life :—

“ Why did perfection seek for parts,
Why did his nature grace the arts,
Why strove he both the worlds to know,
Yet always scorn'd the world below ?
Why would his brain the centre be
To learning's circularitie,
Which, though the vastest arts did fill,
Would, like a point, seem little still ?”

There follows an anonymous friend (pp. 8, 9), who says :—

“ While Phœbus shines within our hemisphere,
There are no stars, or at least none appear :
Did not the sun go hence, we should not know
Whether there was a night or stars or no.
Till thou liest down upon thy western bed
Not one poetic star durst show his head ;
Athenian owls feared to come forth in verse
Until thy fall darkened the universe.
Thy death makes poets,” &c.

The next contribution, and naturally a more interesting one, is that of Cleveland (pp. 9, 10). He says :—

“ I am no poet here : my pen’s the spout
 Where the rain-water of my eyes run out,
 In pity of that name whose fate we see
 Thus copied out in grief’s Hydrographie.
 The Muses are not mermaids, though upon
 His death the ocean might turn Helicon.
 The sea’s too rough for verse : who rhymes upon’t
 With Xerxes strives to fetter th’ Hellespont.

The famous Stagirite, who in his life
 Had Nature as familiar as his wife,
 Bequeath’d his widow to survive with thee,
 Queen-dowager of all Philosophie.”

The next contributor, William More (pp. 10, 11), seems to be a little disgusted with the hyperbolic strain of his fellow-contributors. He says :—

“ My grief is great but sober, thought upon
 Long since, and reason now, not passion.
 Nor do I like their piety who, to sound
 His depth of learning, where they feel no ground,
 Strain till they lose their own ; then think to ease
 The loss of both by cursing guiltless seas.
 I never yet could so far dote upon
 His rare prodigious life’s perfection
 As not to think his best philosophie
 Was this,—his skill in knowing how to die.”

No. 6 (pp. 12, 13) is “ W. Hall,” who, after referring to the manner of the sun’s daily disappearance, says :—

“ So did thy light, fair soul, itself withdraw
 To no dark tomb by nature’s common law,
 But set in waves.”

Then (pp. 14, 15) comes Samson Briggs, M.A., fellow of King’s, and a contributor along with King to almost all the Cambridge collections. He writes, as one might expect from his name, in very strong language :—

“ To drown this little world ! Could God forget
 His covenant which in the clouds he set ?
 Where was the bow ?—But back, my Muse, from hence ;
 ’Tis not for thee to question Providence.
 Rather live sober still ; such hot disputes
 Riddle us into Atheism.”

To Briggs succeeds Isaac Olivier (pp. 15, 16), who has this conceit :—

“Since first the waters gave
A blessing to him which the soul did save,
They loved the holy body still too much,
And would regain some virtue from a touch.”

The ninth piece (pp. 16, 17) differs from those preceding it in being addressed “To the deceased’s virtuous sister, the Lady Margaret Loder.” The author gives only his initials, “J. H.”; but he is undoubtedly the J. Hayward, Chancellor and Canon-Residentiary of Lichfield Cathedral, who contributes also to the Latin portion of the obsequies. His chief theme is the lady’s Church zeal, and he explains his allusions by marginal notes:—

<p>* The Cathedral Church in Litchfield.</p>	<p>“The early matins which you daily said, And vespers, when you dwelt next door St. Chad,* And home devotion, when the closet door Was shut, did me this augury afford [<i>sic</i>], That, when such blustering storms as these should start, They should not break the calmness of your heart. With joy I recollect and think upon Your reverent Church-like devotion, Who by your fair example did excite Churchmen and clerks to do their duty right, And, by frequenting that most sacred quire, Taught many how to heaven they should aspire. For our Cathedrals to a beamless eye Are quires of Angels in epitomie, Maugre the blatant beast who cries them down As savouring of superstition. Misguided people ! But for your sweet self, Madame, you never dash’d against that shelf Of stubbornness against the Church ; but you (Paul’s virgin and St. Peter’s matron too), Though I confess you did most rarely paint,* Yet were no hypocrite, but a true saint.”</p>
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The next contributor, “C. B.,” perhaps Christopher Bainbrigge again, also addresses (pp. 17, 18) the sister of the deceased:—

“Who sees would say you are no other
But your sex-transformèd brother.”

“R. Brown” follows with an English piece in addition to his Latin one (pp. 18, 19). He says:—

“Weep forth your tears, then ; pour out all your tide :
All waters are pernicious since King died.”

After him (pp. 19, 20) comes T. Norton, of Christ’s, who

begins rather abruptly and unintelligibly, as if a part of his poem had been lopped off by the editor :—

“Then quit thine own, thou western moor,
And haste thee to the northern shore ;
I’ th’ Irish sea one jewel lies
Which thy whole cabinet outvies.”

Milton’s poem follows Norton’s, beginning on the page on which that poem ends, and occupying the remaining pages of the volume (pp. 20-25). It has not his full name appended to it, but only the initials “J. M.” It almost seems as if it had been placed where it is that one might have to wade through the varied rubbish of the preceding pages before reaching it. After the poetic *canaille* have been heard, listen how a true poet begins on the same theme :—

Yet once more, O ye laurels, and once more,
Ye myrtles brown, with ivy never sere,
I come to pluck your berries harsh and crude,
And with forced fingers rude
Shatter your leaves before the mellowing year.
Bitter constraint and sad occasion dear
Compels me to disturb your season due ;
For Lycidas is dead, dead ere his prime,
Young Lycidas, and hath not left his peer.
Who would not sing for Lycidas ? he knew
Himself to sing and build the lofty rhyme.
He must not float upon his watery bier
Unwept, and welter to the parching wind,
Without the meed of some melodious tear.

The song which opens thus is not, it is to be remembered, the song of Milton speaking in his own person, but of Milton transformed in his imagination, for the time, into a poetic shepherd, bewailing in the season of autumn the untimely death of his fellow-shepherd Lycidas. Hence the whole elegy is an allegoric pastoral. It is a lyric of lamentation rendered more shadowy and impersonal by being distanced into the form of a narrative and descriptive phantasy. The imaginary shepherd, after invoking the Muses to aid his sad office, tells of the friendship between himself and the dead :—

For we were nursed upon the self-same hill,
 Fed the same flock, by fountain, shade, and rill ;
 Together both, ere the high lawns appeared
 Under the opening eyelids of the morn,
 We drove afield, and both together heard
 What time the grey-fly winds her sultry horn,
 Battening our flocks with the fresh dews of night,
 Oft till the star that rose at evening bright
 Towards heaven's descent had sloped his westerling wheel.
 Meanwhile the rural ditties were not mute ;
 Tempered to the oaten flute,
 Rough Satyrs danced, and Fauns with cloven heel
 From the glad sound would not be absent long ;
 And old Damætas loved to hear our song.

The hill here is, of course, Cambridge ; the joint feeding of the flocks is companionship in study ; the rural ditties on the oaten flute are academic iambics and elegiacs ; and old Damætas is either Chappell, whom Milton has long forgiven, or some more kindly fellow of Christ's. But the lamentation is continued. Where were the Nymphs, asks the minstrel, when the deep closed over the head of their beloved child ? Not on the Welsh mountains surely, where the Druidic bards had sung ; not on the shaggy top of Mona or Anglesea ; nor near the wizard stream of the Dee. Had they been there, Lycidas could not have perished in their so near vicinity ! And yet what could they have done ?

Alas ! what boots it with uncessant care
 To tend the homely, slighted shepherd's trade,
 And strictly meditate the thankless Muse ?
 Were it not better done, as others use,
 To sport with Amaryllis in the shade,
 Or with the tangles of Neæra's hair ?
 Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise
 (That last infirmity of noble mind)
 To scorn delights and live laborious days ;
 But, the fair guerdon when we hope to find
 And think to burst out into sudden blaze,
 Comes the blind Fury with the abhorred shears,
 And slits the thin-spun life.

The fancy then changes. After a strain of higher mood, correcting what has just been said, and telling how the

praise of the good outlasts their life, there seems to pass before the shepherd a train of personages, each concerned in the loss which is lamented. First comes the Herald of Neptune, pleading, in his master's name, that *he* had not caused the death. Questioned by him, the winds that blow off the western promontories answer, through Hippotades, as their messenger, that the crime had not been theirs. It was in a calm that the ship went down:—

The air was calm, and on the level brine
Sleek Panope with all her sisters played.
It was that fatal and perfidious bark,
Built in the eelipse, and rigged with curses dark,
That sunk so low that sacred head of thine.

Then comes Camus, reverend sire, clothed in hairy mantle, and with bonnet of sedge dimly embroidered, mourning the loss of his hopeful son.

Last came and last did go
The Pilot of the Galilean lake :
Two massy keys he bore of metals twain
(The golden opes, the iron shuts amain).

Who is this? It is the awful figure of that Apostle to whom Christ had committed the guardianship of his Church.

He shook his mitred locks and stern bespake :—
“How well could I have spared for thee, young swain,
“Enow of such as, for their bellies’ sake,
“Creep, and intrude, and elimb into the fold !
“Of other care they little reckoning make
“Than how to scramble at the shearers’ feast
“And shove away the worthy bidden guest.
“Blind mouths ! that scarce themselves know how to hold
“A sheep-hook, or have learnt aught else the least
“That to the faithful herdman’s art belongs !
“What reeks it them ? What need they ? *They* are sped ;
“And, when they list, their lean and flashy songs
“Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw :
“The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed,
“But, swoln with wind and the rank mist they draw,
“Rot inwardly and foul contagion spread ;
“Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw
“Daily devours apace, and nothing said.
“But that two-handed engine at the door
“Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more !”

As if a strain so stern and polemical had scared away the ordinary pastoral muses, the mourning shepherd calls upon them to come back, that his song may subside once more into the Arcadian melody in which it had begun.

Return, Alpheus ; the dread voice is past
That shrunk thy streams ; return, Sicilian Muse ;
And call the vales, and bid them hither cast
Their bells and flowerets of a thousand hues.
Ye valleys low, where the mild whispers use
Of shades, and wanton winds, and gushing brooks,
On whose fresh lap the swart star sparely looks,
Throw hither all your quaint enamelled eyes,
That on the green turf suck the honeyed showers,
And purple all the ground with vernal flowers.
Bring the rathe primrose that forsaken dies,
The tufted crow-toe, and pale jessamine,
The white pink, and the pansy freaked with jet,
The glowing violet,
The musk-rose, and the well-attired woodbine,
With cowslips wan that hang the pensive head,
And every flower that sad embroidery wears ;
Bid amaranthus all his beauty shed,
And daffadillies fill their cups with tears,
To strew the laureate hearse where Lycid lies.¹

Ah ! while thus the affectionate fancy has the loved body near for a sweet Arcadian burial, that loved body is unrecovered

¹ It may interest the reader to know that there are signs in the autograph draft of *Lycidas*, preserved among the Milton MSS. in Trinity College, Cambridge, that Milton composed this beautiful passage with much care. As originally written, the line "And purple all the ground with vernal flowers" ran on with the line "To strew the laureate hearse where Lycid lies"; and the nine intermediate lines, which gather the separate flowers together by their names, are an exquisite afterthought, progressively elaborated. Perceiving, as it would seem, the opportunity of some such poetic enumeration of flowers at this point of the monody, Milton wrote on a blank space on the opposite page a passage beginning "Bring the rathe primrose," &c., marking where it was to be inserted; but even the passage so written is not exactly what now stands in the printed text (see the

various readings to *Lycidas* in Todd's Milton). In the interval between writing it and the publication of the printed text, Milton had evidently hovered over the passage with fastidious fondness, touching every colour and fitting every word till he brought it to its present perfection of beauty. Generally, I may here mention, these Cambridge MSS. show Milton to have been, at this time of his life, if not a slow writer, at least a most careful one. Passages are frequently erased and re-written,—sometimes re-written twice; rarely are there many consecutive lines without some verbal alteration; and invariably the alteration is for the better. So also, where the printed copy of any poem deviates from the Cambridge MS., whether by omission or by correction, the change is always, so far as I have noted, an improvement.

from the deep, and the sounding seas may be hurling it hither and thither,—hurling it perhaps northwards beyond the stormy Hebrides, or perhaps southwards to that extreme point of the Cornish coast, where, according to old fable, the great vision of St. Michael sits on the mount that bears his name, looking towards far Namancos and the hold of Spanish Bayona. Whithersoever the body may be hurled, what does it matter? Lycidas himself is not dead; but, as the day-star sinks in the ocean only to rise again, so has he sunk also; and, through the dear might of Him who walked the waves, he is now in a region of groves and streams other and more lovely than those of this earthly Arcadia where we are fain to bury him. There he hears the nuptial song; there the glorified saints entertain him; there the tears are wiped for ever from his eyes.

So ends the supposed song of the shepherd, and in the concluding lines it is Milton in person that speaks:—

Thus sang the uncouth swain to the oaks and rills,
While the still morn went out with sandals grey:
He touched the tender stops of various quills,
With eager thought warbling his Doric lay:
And now the sun had stretched out all the hills,
And now was dropt into the western bay.
At last he rose, and twitched his mantle blue:
To-morrow to fresh woods, and pastures new.

This is a voluntary explanation of the peculiar construction of the poem, and a parting intimation that the imaginary shepherd is Milton himself, and that the poem is a tribute to his dead friend rendered passingly in the midst of other occupations.

The publication of *Lycidas* in the Cambridge volume of obituary tributes to Edward King brings us to February or March 1637-8. Ten months had then elapsed since the old ex-scrivener, in the first days of his widowerhood, had sent in his sworn answer to the bill of complaint against him by Sir Thomas Cotton in the Westminster Court of Requests. As the reader will have guessed from the nature of that

answer, it had been practically conclusive. Its manly and straightforward story of the transactions referred to in the bill of complaint, corroborated as that story was by the statements of the co-defendant Bower as to *his* part in the transactions, had convinced Sir Thomas and his lawyers that further procedure against Mr. Milton was useless, and that the action must be fought thenceforth, if fought further at all, against Mr. Bower singly. Accordingly, though there are signs of a continuation of the case against Bower, and of an unflinching perseverance of Bower in his plea that the acquisition of the £3,600 of debt for £2000 paid down had been a perfectly legitimate commercial speculation in the circumstances, to which Sir Thomas himself had been a party, there is no trace of farther trouble or annoyance in the matter to Mr. Milton at Horton after his answer of April 1637. Still, the case *Cotton v. Milton and Bower* stood on the books of the Court, and security against trouble or annoyance was not complete till the name of Milton had been authoritatively taken out of the case. On the 1st of February 1637-8, whether on the application of the ex-scrivener or not, that relief came, in the form of the following order of the Court itself:—" *Primo die Februarii, Anno R. Caroli decimo tertio*: Whereas Sir Thomas Cotton, "Kt., long since exhibited his bill of complaint unto the "King's Majesty before his Highness' Council in his honourable Court of Whitehall at Westminster against John "Milton, defendant; unto which bill the said defendant the "same term answered; with which, as it seemeth, the said "complainant resteth satisfied, for that he hath, by the "space of two whole terms last past and upwards, failed to "reply or otherwise to proceed in the said cause, whereby "to bring the same to hearing, as by the ordinary course of "this Court he ought to have done:—Therefore it is by his "Majesty's said Council of this Court Ordered,—That the "same matter shall be from henceforth out of this Court "clearly and absolutely dismissed for ever (for want of "prosecution); And the said defendant as concerning the "same is discharged of any further attendance in this behalf

“and licensed to depart at his liberty, *sine die*; And that
 “the said complainant, Sir Thomas Cotton, shall presently,
 “upon sight or knowledge hereof, content and pay unto the
 “said defendant Milton, or to his assigns demanding the
 “same, the full sum of twenty shillings of current English
 “money, for his costs herein wrongfully sustained.”—Such
 was the issue of a rather remarkable lawsuit. May not the
 poet have had it in mind when, sixteen years afterwards,
 speaking of his dead father, he selected the words in which
 he has described his father’s character? “*Patre viro in-*
tegerrimo” he was then to write, adding “*matre probatissimâ*
et cleemosynis per viciniam potissimum notâ.” Was there
 not a reminiscence here of the lawsuit of 1636-38 as the
 single attempted scandal against his father’s business-in-
 tegrity, and at the same time of the coincidence of his
 mother’s death with the very crisis of that trouble? ¹

¹ My authorities for the story of the lawsuit *Cotton v. Milton and Bowser*, as narrated in portions, in the order of dates, from p. 627 to the present page, have here to be mentioned collectively and in some detail:—The first printed reference to the case known to me (though I am not sure that it is actually the earliest) was in a contribution to *Notes and Queries* of Nov. 3, 1860, signed “Raymond Delacour.” There were, I believe, subsequent notices of it here and there, more or less general; but the case does not seem to have been made really public in its main features till 1874, when it was brought freshly to light by the examination, by Mr. R. F. Isaacson, of old bundles of papers of the Court of Requests, preserved, in a scattered state, in the Record Office. The main results so far were then given lucidly and succinctly in a communication to the *Standard* newspaper, of date Nov. 12, 1874, by Mr. T. C. Noble, an antiquarian of indefatigable zeal, to whom we are indebted for not a few excellent researches and recoveries of interesting facts, and also in another article by a contributor to the *Academy* of the 21st of the same month. When I desired to explore the story thoroughly for myself, for the purposes of the present volume, by an examination of the relative documents, it was Mr. Noble that kindly furnished me, by letter, with

the necessary references to those in the Record Office. With the help of these references, and aided also by courteous official assistance in the Reading Room, I was able to inspect not only the parchment containing the answer of the scrivener Milton, of April 13, 1637, to Sir Thomas Cotton’s Complaint, but also the Affidavit Book of the Court of Requests and the Draft Order Book of the same Court for the time in question. These two books (especially f. 198, f. 218, and f. 220 of the Affidavit Book, and p. 193 *et seq.* of the Order Book), yielded me a clearer view of the history of the whole case, and several important particulars, not, I think, previously known,—the most important being Christopher Milton’s affidavit as to his father’s age in 1637. With such new information, and with Mr. Noble’s article in the *Standard* and the other article in the *Academy* before me, I had written out what I thought the most complete story of the case possible from the preserved materials, when, in June 1880, I received another welcome communication from Mr. Noble. It was to the effect that he had just found, among the Cottonian Charters in the British Museum,—*Cott. Chart. I.* 5 (5),—a batch of documents relating to the case that had evidently belonged to the complainant, Sir Thomas Cotton, and some of which were purely additional to the preserved papers of the Court,

Just at the time when the last rag of cloud from this trouble was dissipated, certain new domestic arrangements, of which we shall have to take note hereafter, promised to make the house at Horton so comfortable in other respects round the aged widower in future that there was no necessity for detaining his elder son any longer from the continental tour on which he had set his heart. Before the end of March 1638, therefore, that tour had been resolved on, and the preparations for it had been begun. The first copies of the Cambridge volume of verses in memory of Edward King were then, we are to suppose, in circulation, and *Lycidas*, without that title as yet, but merely as the last piece in the volume, was finding its first readers. In that limited academic circle the most rousing passage in the whole poem, as it is now the most interesting biographically and historically, must have been that in which the poet, under the guise of an angry speech from St. Peter, gave vent to his feelings respecting the state of the English Church and Nation at the time he wrote. The outburst, bold though it was,—dangerously bold for the author “J. M.” had it been read in certain quarters and there had been inquiry as to the daring person that owned the initials,—may have passed with the majority as ambiguous or merely imaginative. On republishing the poem, however, with his full name, in 1645, Milton left no doubt as to his intention. “In this Monody,” he then wrote by way of heading, “the Author bewails a “learned Friend, unfortunately drowned in his passage from “Chester on the Irish Seas, 1637; and, *by occasion, foretells*

so far as they have been yet traced in the Record Office. Transcripts of two of these documents accompanied Mr. Noble's letter,—viz. the letter of Henry Perry, Sir Thomas Cotton's agent, of April 3. 1637, and the all-important order of the Court, of Feb. 1, 1637-8, exonerating Milton and dismissing him honourably. This last I had the satisfaction, with Mr. Noble's leave, of publishing in the *Athenæum* of July 3, 1880. Since then Mr. Noble has, at my request, sent me copies of three others of the documents,—viz. the abstract of Bower's answer to the complaint (about April 1637), a paper of Exceptions to

that Answer tendered to the Court on the part of Sir Thomas Cotton, and an imperfect abstract of Milton's answer that had been made for Sir Thomas. The two former, especially the abstract of Bower's answer, have been duly wrought into my account of the history of the case as it stands in these pages; and I hope the account there is now as perfect as need be.—My obligations to Mr. Noble are of no ordinary kind, and impress me the more because they have been conferred, at no small expense of time, and in a spirit of pure literary generosity, on one who is a stranger to him personally.

"the ruin of our corrupted Clergy, then in their height."
Assuming these words as our warrant, and leaving Milton in the mean time busy in his preparations for his foreign journey, let us take a retrospect of the course of public events in the British Islands during the period we have traversed biographically in the present chapter, *i. e.* from July 1632 to April 1638. Such a retrospect is essential for what lies before us in years yet to come.

CHAPTER V.

THE REIGN OF THOROUGH FROM 1632 TO 1638.

THE Government of Great Britain and Ireland from July 1632 to April 1638 was a continuation of that system of rule, by Charles himself and his Councillors and Ministers, without the aid of Parliaments in England, which had been already in force since March 1628-9. This system of rule, however, had naturally been consolidated by experience; and, if we want a name for the matured Absolutism of 1632-38, as distinct from the more tentative Absolutism of the preceding three years, we cannot do better than call it THE REIGN OF THOROUGH. What this name means, and how it originated, will appear as we proceed. Enough to understand, at the outset, that, although the governing body continued nominally to be the King and the whole of the Privy Council, the real power was in the hands of the King and one or two Ministers acting in close understanding with him.

The time at which we find this system of rule arranged definitely into the form in which it continued to be maintained until the country called both King and Ministers to a reckoning was after the King's return from Scotland in July 1633. From that date forward the government of the Three Kingdoms was vested, under the King, in a virtual Triumvirate, as follows:—

In ENGLAND the supreme minister was Laud. He had been, in fact, the most potent minister since 1628, not only ecclesiastically but generally; and the death of Archbishop Abbot, Aug. 3, 1633, completed what was wanting in form by enabling the King to promote him, as had long been determined, to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. "*Friday, July 26,*" writes Laud in his Diary, "I came to my house at

" Fulham from Scotland : *Sunday, August 4*, news came to
 " Court of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's death, and
 " the King resolved presently to give it me, which he did
 " August 6. That very morning (Aug. 4), at Greenwich,
 " there came one to me seriously, that vowed ability to per-
 " form it, and offered me to be a Cardinal : I went presently
 " to the King, and acquainted him both with the thing and
 " person." The offer, he tells us, was renewed within a
 fortnight. " My answer again was that somewhat dwelt
 " within me that would not suffer that till Rome were other
 " than it was." Accordingly, without the Cardinal's hat,
 and with no more of Roman Catholicism in his views than
 there had always been, Laud removed from London House
 at Fulham to Lambeth Palace. He was then exactly sixty
 years of age. To one that wrote to congratulate him, and
 to wish him many and happy days, he replies, " Truly, my
 " Lord, I look for neither,—not for many, for I am in years
 " and have had a troublesome life ; not for happy, because
 " I have no hope to do the good I desire. Besides, I doubt
 " I shall never be able to hold my health there [at Lambeth]
 " for one year ; for, instead of all the jolting I have had over
 " the stones between London House and Whitehall,—which
 " was almost daily,—I shall now have no exercise, but slide
 " over in a barge to the Court and Star-Chamber."¹ The
 difference between the sliding over in a barge from Lambeth
 Palace to the Court and Star-Chamber and the jolting daily
 over the longer journey from Fulham House to the same
 places was precisely the difference between Laud's power
 now that he was Archbishop and his power while he had
 been but Bishop of London. He was nearer the official
 centre, and he did the same things as he had done before,
 but more directly and easily. Weston, though raised to the
 Earldom of Portland, had little power left beyond his own
 department of the finances ; and any impatience in other
 quarters of Laud's predominance showed itself but in little
 outbreaks which led to nothing. Even in small matters,
 Laud's tenacity made him more than a match not only for

¹ Letter to Wentworth in the *Strafford Papers*, dated " Fulham, Sept. 9, 1633."

such a boorish peer as Montgomery, but also for the stately Arundel. Only the cool and Mephistophelic Cottington could venture now and then to nettle his Grace by a jibe at his expense.

While Laud was thus supreme minister for England, and also, ecclesiastically, chief Triumvir for all the three kingdoms, the government of IRELAND had been entrusted to the equally active and far greater genius of Wentworth. For four years his abilities and zeal had been tested in the Presidency of the Northern Counties of England; and, when it was resolved to appoint a more energetic successor to Viscount Falkland in the Viceroyalty of Ireland, he was selected for the post. Accordingly, from 1632, though still retaining the Presidency of the North, he is best known as Lord Deputy of Ireland. He did not proceed to Ireland till July 1633, when the King was returning from Scotland. When he went there he was forty years of age, ripe in all experience, fixed in his opinions and notions of government, and yet full of fire and passion. It is impossible to look at his portrait now, amid the portraits of the other ministers of Charles, without seeing, in its mingled fervour and sternness, that he was the master-mind among them. Charles himself had a stronger perception of this than he cared to acknowledge. From Wentworth's first going to Ireland, there are occasional private letters from the King to him, showing a confidence more creditable to the King's discernment than to his ingenuonsness. Thus, in one letter (Oct. 26, 1633), referring to certain cases in which recommendations in the royal name had been already delivered, or would be delivered, to Wentworth by persons of great rank about the English Court, wanting favours done them in Ireland, "I recommend them all to you," says the King, "heartily and earnestly, but so as may agree with the good of my service and no otherwise,—yet so, too, that I may have thanks howsoever, and that, if there be anything to be denied, you may do it and not I; commanding you to be confident, until I deceive you, that I shall back you in whatsoever concerns the good of my service against

“whomsoever, whensoever there shall be need.” So the paction stood with the King; and between Laud and Wentworth there was also a mutual understanding. Wentworth wrote frequent letters to Laud, and, in all affairs respecting the Irish Church, was willing to regard Laud’s suggestions as instructions. In Laud’s letters to Wentworth, on the other hand, the tone is that of a cheery sexagenarian writing to a younger man whose energy he feels, and whom he regards as on the whole of the right sort, though too self-confident, too much of a merely Pagan or Plutarchian hero in his notions of things, and requiring now and then a little pure ecclesiastical light, and a little wise ecclesiastical banter.

While England and Ireland were thus provided for, there was a separate Triumvir in training for SCOTLAND. This was the young Marquis of Hamilton, the King’s cousin, and, despite the rumours of his ambition after the sovereignty of Scotland, as much in personal favour with the King as ever. He had returned from his ineffective continental expedition in aid of Gustavus Adolphus only a few weeks before the death of Gustavus at the battle of Lützen; he had accompanied the King in his progress to Scotland; and he had figured there as the first nobleman of the land and the King’s trusted kinsman, whom he still always called “James,” in token of cousinship and liking. A direct interest which he possessed by grant in the Scottish revenues, added to his extensive patrimonial connexions, made him the fit medium of communication between the Crown and the Scots; and, accordingly, though he generally resided at Court, he was employed once and again in missions which took him to Scotland. On the whole, however, he preferred exercising his influence as Triumvir Extraordinary, and left Scottish affairs to be conducted, in the main, by the Scottish officials, kept right in ecclesiastical concerns by instructions sent north by Laud.¹

It must not be supposed that the King himself was but a tool in the hands of his ministers. He was a methodical

¹ Rushworth’s Preface to Part II. of his Collections; Burnet’s Lives of the Dukes of Hamilton, edit. 1677, p. 26; and Clarendon.

man of business; he attended meetings of his Council and had private conferences with Laud and others; he read carefully the despatches received, and the drafts of letters about to be sent out by ministers, and made marginal notes and comments on them with his own hand; and, besides giving instructions to Secretaries Coke and Windebank as to messages to be sent in his name to officers at a distance, he wrote frequent brief letters conveying, in his own royal words, his notions of what was fit for his service. There is no proof that he ever really led his ministers or furnished them with ideas for their policy; but whatever they resolved upon had at least to pass under his judgment for approval. On one point his resolution seems to have been more strongly made up than that of any of his ministers,—the necessity and possibility of governing England for the future without Parliaments. “The King hath so rattled my “Lord Keeper Coventry,” writes Cottington to Wentworth, Oct. 29, 1633, “that he is now the most pliable man in “England, and all thoughts of Parliaments are quite out of “his pate.” On this one point the royal will did perhaps give the law to ministers.

The word *Thorough*, as defining the policy of the government from 1633 onwards, appears first in the correspondence between Laud and Wentworth. “As for the State,” says Laud, writing to Wentworth, Sept. 9, 1633, “indeed, my “Lord, I am for *Thorough*, but I see that both thick and “thin stays somebody where I conceive it should not, and “it is impossible for me to go *Thorough* alone.” The word having been once introduced, they play upon it between them in future letters, writing it sometimes in cipher, sometimes openly. Thus Wentworth to Laud, Aug. 23, 1634, “Go as it shall please God with me, believe me, my Lord, “I will be *Thorough* and *Thoroughout*, one and the same”; to which Laud replies, Oct. 20, “As for my marginal note, “I see you deciphered it well, and I see you make use of it “too. Do so still: *Thorough* and *Thorough*: O that I were “where I might go so too!” And so in later letters, as long as the correspondence lasts.

Mr. Hallam was of opinion that under the name *Thorough* Laud had in view a scheme for subjugating the common lawyers, and releasing the Crown, or rather the Church, from those impediments to action which resulted, even in that age of compliant judges and lawyers, from the proceedings of law courts. On the whole, however, though this may have been a part of *Thorough*, it is pretty clear that what Laud and Wentworth meant by the term was a general energy and imperiousness in all respects in Church and State, which should cut through all checks and disdain half-measures. That the system should be represented by the two correspondents as rather an ideal condition of things than one already attained, or even universally possible, is a little surprising when we form an acquaintance with the policy actually pursued, during those years, in each of the three kingdoms.

ENGLAND FROM 1632 TO 1638.

In England the first part of the problem of government without Parliaments was the question of revenue; and no portion of the history of those years has received greater attention than that which consisted in the endeavours made to solve this part of the problem. There was the continuation of tonnage and poundage, and the raising of the rates levied under that name; there was the enforced collection of various excise duties by the same authority; there were grants by the Crown, to individuals and companies, of monopolies in all kinds of trades and manufactures,—in soap-making, in salt-making, in leather-making, in pin-making, and even in the gathering of rags; there were ingenious revivals of old laws, so as to bring in simultaneously large crops of fines or compositions for fines from persons who had infringed them, or whose ancestors had infringed them,—laws against encroachments on the royal forests, against throwing arable land into pasture, against building below high-water mark, and the like; there were indulgences to Roman Catholics to compound for the penalties on the

exercise of their religion ; there were commissions requiring all persons possessed of a stated property in military tenure to compound by fines for their neglect to comply with former proclamations summoning them to be made knights ; and, lastly, there was the famous device of Ship Money, whereby, under pretence of a right of the Crown to charge what towns and districts it chose with contributions of ships, &c., towards the efficient support of the navy, writs were issued, first for the exaction of ships or a pecuniary equivalent from London and certain other port-towns, and then for the exaction of rates, to the amount of £200,000 a-year in all, from the whole kingdom, county by county, the inland counties as well as the maritime. The irritation produced by these methods of money-raising reached all classes ; but Ship Money became the chief grievance among those who viewed affairs politically as well as personally. Among those who refused to pay it was the intrepid London merchant, Richard Chambers, not a whit discouraged by his previous experience of the Star-chamber. At length, resistance having been made by other persons, the attention of the country was concentrated on a single case. It was the famous case of John Hampden, who had refused to pay 20s. for which he had been assessed on part of his Buckinghamshire property, and was resolved to fight out the question to the death, or to the last shilling of his vast means.

Till March 1634-5, the minister chiefly responsible, by reason of his post, for the illegal methods of revenue, was the Lord Treasurer Weston, Earl of Portland ; but under him the most important agent was Attorney-General Noy. The soap-monopoly, the most profitable and unpopular of all the monopolies, was invented by Noy, and was carried by him through all opposition ; his law-learning was tasked to furnish precedents for the other measures of exaction ; and he had the entire credit of the grand device of Ship Money. Both Noy and Weston, however, died before the capabilities of this last device had been fully tested. Noy died on the 6th of August 1634, two months before the first

writs for ship-money were out; and Weston died in the following March.

After Weston's death there was much difficulty and hesitation in the appointment of his successor. Wentworth, to whom opinion at Court pointed as indubitably the fittest man, wrote over from Ireland expressing his "inward and obstinate aversion" to the office, and adjuring his friends to prevent the King from nominating him. Cottington, who was more willing, was thought of, but was set aside; and, in order that the important business of the exchequer should be discharged in the mean time, it was vested (March 14, 1634-5) in a number of commissioners, of whom Laud was one. "I never had so little leisure in my life," writes Laud to Wentworth, "as I have had since I was a Commissioner of the Treasury." At length he was able to disengage himself from this troublesome addition to his labours by procuring the full Treasurership for his old friend Juxon, who had succeeded him in the Bishopric of London. He enters the fact in his Diary thus:—"March 6, 1635-6, *Sunday*: "William Juxon, Lord Bishop of London, made Lord "High Treasurer of England: no Churchman had it since "Henry VIIIth's time: I pray God bless him to carry it so "that the Church may have honour, and the King and the "State service and contentment, by it. And now, if the "Church will not hold up themselves under God, I can do "no more." The appointment of an ecclesiastic to such an office did cause astonishment. But, though it was under Juxon's treasurership that the extension of the writs for ship-money to the whole kingdom was resolved upon, and some of the other most violent acts of the exchequer were put in force, Juxon's upright character saved him from much of the personal unpopularity attaching to those measures. The credit of having suggested the extension of ship-money, and generally of being Noy's successor as the adviser of new exactions from the subject and the defender of all new violations of public liberty, was given to Sir John Finch, now Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

Although so much of the action of government had for

its sole end the bringing in of revenue, there were hundreds of contemporary acts which had their origin in no such motive, but simply in the desire, natural to all governments in those days, to fix each man passively in his proper place, and to maintain in each the sense that he was under the paternal charge of persons who could judge better than himself what he should eat, drink, and avoid. In June 1632 there was a proclamation setting forth the inconvenience of the residence of so many lords, knights, clergymen, and gentlemen in London, away from their proper estates, mansions, and houses in the country, and ordering all of them, except such as were of the Privy Council or otherwise employed about the Court, to return within forty days to such estates and houses, and to remain there, doing the duties and enjoying the pleasures of their several stations, under severe penalties. The more easily to enforce this order and detect defaulters, the taverns, ordinaries, bake-shops, &c., of London were put under new regulations, January 1633-4. All back-doors of taverns towards the Thames were shut up, with the single exception of the Bear Tavern by the Bridge; vintners were restricted in the sales of wine and tobacco; butchers were forbidden to be graziers; and, that wealthy persons might have at least one inducement to remain in the country, no pheasants, partridges, ducks, or game-fowl of any sort were to be dressed or eaten in any inn or ordinary in town. For a time, indeed, inn-keepers and tavern-keepers in London were forbidden to sell any article in addition to liquors, except bread.

Though such arbitrary enactments were dictated in part by the peculiar political spirit of the government, and were in many cases intended as devices for wringing money from the subject, they had some justification in preceding English practice, and in the notions then entertained of political economy. More emphatically characteristic, therefore, of the system of *Thorough* were the prosecutions directed against individuals who had given the government cause of offence, and the remorseless use made of the Star-chamber as a means of depriving such offenders of the benefits of

ordinary law, and bringing them and their acts and opinions under the direct heel of the executive. A few instances of Star-chamber severities between 1632 and 1638, usually selected now by historians as most conspicuous, serve but as specimens of many that are buried in the contemporary records. In May 1634 Prynne, prosecuted by Attorney-General Noy for the alleged libel on the Queen and on Royalty in his *Histriomastix*, was sentenced to pay a fine of £5,000, to be expelled from his profession of barrister and from the University of Oxford, to stand twice in the pillory and there have his books burnt before him and his ears cut off, and to be imprisoned for life. This sentence,—the most cruel that had been passed since that on Leighton in 1630,—was executed in every particular; for the records bear that Prynne had one of his ears cut off in Westminster, and the other in Cheapside, and was nearly suffocated besides by the burning of his books “under his nose.” About the same time one Bowyer, for slandering Laud, was pilloried three times, suffered the loss of his ears, and was sentenced to a fine of £3,000 and perpetual imprisonment, and Sir David Foulis, a member of the Council of the North, for words spoken in Yorkshire against Wentworth’s conduct in that government, was fined £5,000 to the King and £3,000 to Wentworth, and otherwise punished.

Necessarily, however, it was in the Church that Laud’s system was carried out most rigorously and perseveringly. Laud was the prime agent in this department of affairs, but the King went eagerly with him.

The crown-patronage of the Church was exercised with a view to the predominance everywhere of Laud’s men and Laud’s principles. The following list of the changes in the episcopal body, in sequel to our previous list of the Bishops as far as to July 1632 (pp. 388—390) completes the history of the English sees for the present volume:—

I. PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY.

THE ARCHBISHOPRIC.—Promotion of Laud himself, on Abbot’s death, Aug. 1633.

Bishopric of Bangor.—Edmund Griffiths, D.D., an Oxford man,

appointed on the death of Dolben (1633); and William Roberts, D.D., a Cambridge man, on the death of Griffiths (1637).

Bishopric of Bath and Wells.—William Pierce, translated from Peterborough, on the translation of Walter Curle to Winchester (1632).

Bishopric of Bristol.—Dr. Robert Skinner, an Oxford man, and chaplain to the King: distinguished for some years as a Puritan preacher in London, but believed to have been drawn off by Laud and the chaplaincy: appointed on the translation of Coke to Hereford (1636).

Bishopric of Chichester.—Dr. Brian Duppa, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and tutor to the Prince, appointed on the translation of Montague to Norwich (May 1638).

Bishopric of St. David's.—The notorious Roger Mainwaring, promoted to this see on the translation of Dr. Field to Hereford (Dec. 1635).

Bishopric of Ely.—Dr. Matthew Wren, translated hither from Norwich on the death of Francis White (1638), having previously been promoted from the Mastership of Peterhouse, Cambridge, to the Deanery of Windsor, and the Bishoprics of Hereford and Norwich.

Bishopric of Hereford.—Dr. William Juxon succeeded the Church-historian Godwin, but held the see only a few months, when he was transferred to London. He was succeeded, in 1633, by Dr. Augustine Lindsell, translated from Peterborough; and on Lindsell's death in 1634 the see was given to Matthew Wren; on whose translation to Norwich (1635) it was given to Theophilus Field; on whose death (1636) it was given to Coke.

Bishopric of London.—Juxon, appointed on Laud's elevation to the Primacy (1633).

Bishopric of Norwich.—Wren succeeded on Corbet's death (1635) and was succeeded (1638) by Montague.

Bishopric of Peterborough.—Dr. Francis Dee succeeded Lindsell (1634), and was succeeded by Dr. John Towers (1638).

Bishopric of Rochester.—Dr. John Warner, an Oxford divine, appointed on the death of Bowle (1637).

Bishopric of Winchester.—Dr. Walter Curle succeeded Nelle (1632).

II. PROVINCE OF YORK.

Bishopric of Man.—Dr. Wm. Foster succeeded Phillips (1633), and was succeeded by Dr. Richard Parr (1635).

As Primate of all England, Laud had ample means of developing his theory of Anglicanism, and of working even the more reserved portions of it into the practice of the Church, without the trouble and publicity of new enactments. There are but three cases of any importance in which, during the first five years of his Archiepiscopate, he had recourse to actual legislation.

One of these was the *Sabbatarian Controversy*. This controversy, not originally connected with the Reformation,

but of subsequent origin, had been long gaining ground in the Church; and men had divided themselves upon it into the three parties whom Fuller names respectively the Sabbatarians, the Moderates, and the Anti-Sabbatarians. By the operation of affinities both logical and historical, the Puritans as a body had embraced the more rigorous views of the obligation of the Sabbath, while Laud and his school were strongly Anti-Sabbatarian, and regarded the very word "Sabbath," when used instead of "Sunday," as a wrong done to the Church, and a "secret magazine of Judaism." Sabbatarianism, in short, as a form or sign of Puritanism, was worthy, in Laud's view, of compulsory suppression. He found an opportunity for a demonstration on the subject. In Somersetshire, as in other counties, there had long been a custom of revels and merry-makings in all the parishes on Sundays, under the names of wakes, church-ales, clerk-ales, and the like; and, these meetings having become offensive in many cases not only to Sabbatarian feeling, but also to public decency, Chief Justice Richardson and Baron Denham, on their circuit through the county as judges, had been prevailed upon by the county justices and others to issue an order for their abolition. Laud and the Government, hearing of the prohibition, not only caused it to be rescinded, but made it the occasion for expressing his Majesty's displeasure with "those humourists, pufitans, and precise people," and for republishing the Book of Sports issued by King James in 1618 for the express purpose of making bowling, archery, dancing, and other games, a stated Sunday institution in all parishes of the kingdom. All ministers were required to read from their pulpits the King's Declaration accompanying the republication,—an order exceedingly grievous to the Puritans, and which led to the suspension of many ministers, and also to curious scenes of mock-compliance.

Another legislative innovation of Laud consisted of injunctions issued by him in 1635 in his Archiepiscopal capacity, with ratification by the King, having for their effect *the breaking up of the Dutch and Walloon congregations*

throughout England. There were about ten such congregations in all, numbering about 5,000 persons, and consisting of Dutch and French manufacturers and their dependents. To such members of the congregations as had themselves been born abroad and had only settled in England Laud was willing to continue the privilege of their separate worship and liturgy, guaranteed them by former stipulations; but he required that all the English-born children or other descendants of such immigrants should conform to the Church of England and attend the ordinary parish churches. There were vehement reclamations against these orders, both from the congregations and from the localities where they were settled and which they benefited by their wealth and industry; but Laud was inflexible. The result was that many of the immigrants removed from England, and that several flourishing manufacturing colonies in Kent, Norfolk, and other counties, were totally destroyed.¹

It was in the *Altar Controversy*, however, that Laud made his greatest experiment in the possibility of forcing, by orders issuing from himself, a general and simultaneous change in the practice of the Church. Backed by a preliminary decision of the King and Council in one particular case, he issued orders, through his Vicar-General, for fixing the communion-table altarwise at the east end of the chancel, with the ends north and south, in all the churches and chapels of his province, and for railing it in, and otherwise distinguishing it as a true altar. The effect of these orders was a general ferment throughout the kingdom. Among the Bishops themselves the summary decision of what had hitherto been an open question in the Church caused differences of conduct.

While pushing into the system of the Church new items of discipline derived from his own theory of Anglicanism, Laud did not the less avail himself of whatever means he had or could make for enforcing the conformity which he was rendering more difficult.

¹ Rushworth, II. 272-3; Neal's Puritans, III. 257-9; and documents in the State Paper Office.

His first care had been to strengthen his hands and the hands of the other prelates by enlarging the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He had hardly assumed the primacy when (1634) he caused to be addressed to himself, in the King's name, a warrant for fresh zeal, in the shape of a new edition of the royal instructions of 1629, containing, in addition to the former regulations respecting the residence of bishops, their vigilance over the lecturers in their dioceses, &c., certain new articles, enjoining every bishop to give in an annual report of his diocese to his metropolitan, so that the report of the metropolitan to the King might be more exact. The effect of this order, and of Laud's archiepiscopal visitations in stirring up the bishops, is visible in the series of his own reports of his province to the King for the seven years from 1633 to 1639 inclusively. In the report for 1633 he mentions having received accounts, and these rather meagre, from but ten of the twenty-one dioceses of his province; but in his reports for the remaining years not more than three or four bishops are mentioned as defaulters. The laziest in reporting were Goodman of Gloucester and Wright of Lichfield and Coventry; next in order of reluctance seem to have been Thornborough of Worcester and the Calvinistic Davenant of Salisbury; Williams always reports for Lincoln, but in terms which Laud evidently distrusts; and the bishops who co-operate with Laud most heartily are Juxon of London, Wren of Norwich, Curle of Winchester, Pierce of Bath and Wells, White of Ely, and Montague of Chichester.¹ In the province of York Archbishop Neile seems to have been more zealous in imitating Laud than any of his bishops. In both provinces the means by which the more zealous bishops carried out the instructions of their archbishops were somewhat novel. Not only did they hold courts in their own name for the citation, examination, and censure of offenders; but, in order that they might have each parish individually under control, they introduced what was called *Articles of Visitation*, or lists of topics on which they required exact information, and also *Churchwardens' Oaths*, binding the

¹ See the series of Reports in Wharton's Laud.

churchwardens, as the official informers in every parish, to take these articles as the directories of their inquiries. The churchwardens' oath,—a totally illegal imposition, and resisted as such by many churchwardens,—was the same or nearly so in different dioceses; but the several bishops drew up their own Articles of Visitation, and some were more strict than others. The strictest of all was Wren of Norwich, whose articles were 139 in number, involving 897 distinct queries. To these excesses of episcopal jurisdiction add the exemption claimed and accorded from interferences of the civil courts; also a claim advanced by Laud, and at last decided in his favour by the King in Council (June 1636), to the right of visitation of the two Universities in his character of Metropolitan; and, finally, a considerable extension of the powers of the High Commission Court.

A list of the prosecutions and punishments by ecclesiastical authority in England from 1632 to 1638 would be an instructive document. Laud's annual reports and the records in Rushworth give a general view of the subject.

Offenders of the most heinous class were the Separatists, Schismatics, Brownists, Anabaptists, or Fanatics, who had actually broken loose from the Church of England, thrown the institution of an ordained ministry aside, and set up a secret worship of God in conventicles. Besides the ineradicable nests of such Separatists sheltered in the recesses of London,¹ there were little schools and colonies of them in other parts. In Lincoln one Johnson, a baker, was their leader; and at Ashton, Maidstone, and other places in Laud's own diocese of Canterbury, three men, named Brewer, Turner,

¹ As early as June 11, 1631, I find (Original Letter in State Paper Office) Bishop Hall of Exeter writing, rather officiously, to Laud, then Bishop of London, thus:—"Right Rev. and Hon., "with best services,—I was hold the "last week to give your Lordship information of a busy and ignorant "schismatick lurking in London; since "which time, I hear, to my grief, that "there are eleven several congregations "(as they call them) of separatists "about the city, furnished with their "idly-pretended pastors, who meet to-

"gether in brewhouses, and such other "meet places of resort, every Sunday. "I do well know your Lordship's "zealous and careful vigilance over "that populous world of men, so as I "am assured your Lordship finds "enough to move both your sorrow and "holy fervency in the cause of God's "Church; neither do I write this as to "inform your Lordship of what you "know not, but to condole the misery "of the time." Hall then goes on to a matter of private concern to himself.

and Fenner, are heard of as having "planted the infection." The plan of procedure in such cases was to put the leaders in prison and keep them there, and to excommunicate and otherwise punish all who were known to attend the conventicles. Year after year, however, Laud complains that he cannot root them out. "They are all of the poorer sort," he says, "and very simple, so that I am utterly to seek what "to do with them." Their preachers managed to escape from prison, and then, instead of leaving the country, merely went about preaching as before in their old haunts, till they were again caught and put in prison. Brewer, on being recaptured in this manner and brought again before the High Commission, only "stood silent, but in such a jeering, "scornful manner as I scarce ever saw the like." Laud having hinted to the King that, as these offenders were too poor to fear fines and too desperate to care for prison, it might be well to require the civil judges to devise some new mode of dealing with them, the King signified his approbation by this marginal note in his own hand: "Demand their help, and, if they refuse, I shall make them assist you." The Separatists or Sectaries, it is to be remembered, were the extreme theological and ecclesiastical outcasts of that time, almost as little in favour with the main body of the respectable English Puritans as they were with Laud himself.

The majority of the prosecutions, however, were against the ordinary Puritans or Nonconformists themselves. Some were against laymen, and especially against those refractory churchwardens who refused to take the oath of faithful censorship imposed by the bishops, or resisted the removal and railing-in of the communion-table; some were against itinerant lecturers and those who harboured them; but by far the largest proportion were against parish ministers and curates for breaches of one or more of the numerous articles of Church order now included in perfect conformity. Many of these cases were disposed of in the courts of the bishops and archbishops, where offenders were admonished, suspended, or deprived and excommunicated; but the most flagrant cases were referred to the High Commission, where

fine and imprisonment might be added to the sentence. The names of the most conspicuous Puritan ministers thus suspended, deprived, excommunicated, or otherwise censured, between 1633 and 1638, may be gathered, to the number of several scores, from Laud, Rushworth, and Neal; but these scores of conspicuous names only represent an unregistered mass of persecution or threatened persecution which racked and irritated the whole Church of England. Numbers of the persecuted, both ministers and laymen, emigrated to Holland or to America. It was not the fault of Laud or of Charles that even this outlet was left open. In July 1635 there was a proclamation forbidding all persons, not sailors, soldiers, or the like, to leave the realm without licence from the King, or from six of the Privy Council, whereof one should be a Secretary of State; and this was followed, in 1636, 1637, and 1638, by more stringent rules to the same effect, framed expressly to arrest the emigration of "humourists and Puritans." By this policy a band of the very men whom Charles and Laud, had they guessed what was coming, might have been glad to see leave the island,—Viscount Saye and Sele, Lord Brooke, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Hampden, and Cromwell himself,—are believed to have been baulked in a plan they had formed for emigrating to New England, and so detained at home reluctantly to act out their parts. In fact, one or two of the future leaders of the Commonwealth did emigrate in those persecuting years, to return in due time as Anglo-Americans, and all the better qualified in consequence.

Worse, in Laud's eyes, than ordinary nonconformity or schism were public assaults, through the press or otherwise, on the prelatie constitution of the Church or on the English hierarchy and government. In spite of the terrible punishment of Leighton for his *Sion's Plea against Prelacy* in 1630, and of Prynne for his *Histriomastix* in 1634, offences of the kind continued to be committed. Prynne, in his prison, with such shreds of his ears as had survived the hangman's clipping or had been patched on again immediately after that process, had remained as much Prynne as before.

Having access to pen and ink, he had not only written letters to Laud and others of the Privy Council, taxing them with cruelty and injustice to himself, but had also contrived to publish some ten or twelve new treatises and pamphlets in his old strain,—one of them *A Breviate of the Bishops' Intolerable Usurpations*, another a *Looking-glass for all Lordly Prelates*. For these he was again called before the Star-chamber in June 1637; and in his company there were called up two similar offenders, personally known to him,—John Bastwick, a Puritan physician of Colchester, and Henry Burton, the Puritan minister of Friday-street, London. Like Prynne, these two persons, known as Anti-Episcopal pamphleteers since 1624, had at last come within the reach of the law, and been thrown into prison. Like Prynne, they had used their pens in prison in such a manner as to aggravate their previous crimes. It was thought fit that the three should be punished together, one victim from each of the three learned professions. Accordingly, by a sentence of Star-chamber on June 14, 1637, the three were, on the 30th of that month, set in three separate pillories in Palace Yard, Westminster, and there punished successively in the presence of an assembled crowd. Burton was punished first. “His ears were cut off very close, so that, the temporal or head artery being cut, the blood in abundance streamed down upon the scaffold,” the poor man making such wild speeches about Christ all the while, and enduring the torture so manfully, that some thought him inspired and others thought him crazed. Bastwick was next punished in the same manner, showing no less courage. His wife, who stood on the scaffold, received his ears in her lap, and kissed them. Prynne's turn came last. His ears, having suffered the operation of cutting before, were this time sawn rather than cut off,—in addition to which he was branded on both cheeks with the letters *S. L.* for “Seditious Libeller.” He bore all even more stubbornly than the others, saying to the executioner, “Cut me, tear me; I fear thee not; I fear the fire of hell,” and uttering other speeches respecting Bishops and the Law of England, at one of which the people gavo

an ominous shout. Indeed, all over England, even among the most loyal and moderate, the effect of these cruelties was such as to give the government reason to repent of them. This appeared after the three victims had been removed to undergo the remaining parts of their sentences in perpetual and solitary imprisonment. Prynne was confined first in Carnarvon Castle in Wales, and then in Mount Orgueil Castle in Jersey; Bastwick first in Lancaster Castle, and then in the Isle of Scilly; and Burton first at Launceston in Cornwall, and then in the Isle of Guernsey. "We shall hear more of them hereafter," as Fuller says, when dismissing them to those prisons and their meditations there.¹

A prosecution different from any yet mentioned, inasmuch as it was not an ordinary ecclesiastical or civil prosecution, but rather an act of personal vengeance on a great political adversary, was that of Ex-Keeper Williams, Bishop of Lincoln. Since his removal from power in 1625, the Bishop had been a terrible tongue let loose in the nation. Every now and then, such a saying of his as that "the Puritans would carry all things at last," that "no one was wise who permanently opposed himself to the people of England," that "the people were not to be lashed by every man's hand," had been reported at Court as the latest flash from Lincoln. At length, in 1632, for some words of his reported as having been spoken at his own table, he had been prosecuted in the Star-chamber on a charge of having revealed the King's secrets. Williams had raised such a host of preliminary legal objections to this charge, and had fought them so vigorously against Noy and the other Crown-lawyers, that the charge had been abandoned. In 1635, however, there had been instituted a new charge, that of subornation of witnesses in a trial in which he was interested. This charge, too, he defended with all his might. When he saw it going against him, he offered to compound by a voluntary fine and other concessions to the King; but, when these offers were rejected, he stood at bay and dared the worst. While the trial was proceeding, the interest in it

¹ Fuller's Church History (Edit. 1842), III. 383-388.

was complicated by accusations brought against the Bishop from various quarters, to the effect that he had protected the Puritans in his diocese and had himself maintained Puritan opinions. The result was that in July 1637 he was sentenced to pay a fine of £10,000, to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure, and to be suspended by the High Commission from his offices and benefices. That the sentence was no heavier was owing to the comparative moderation of some of the Bishop's old friends among the great nobles; for Laud and Windebank had pressed for his deprivation and deportation, and Finch had even hinted at punishment by the pillory.¹ But, after the Bishop was in the Tower, expecting the remission of at least part of his sentence by the King's clemency, there was to be the blow of a second sentence. The Bishop's residence having been seized, and his library ransacked, there were found two letters which had been written to him, in Jan. 1633-4, by Mr. Lambert Osbaldiston, head-master of Westminster School, in which Laud was characterized as "the little vermin," "the urchin," "the hocus-pocus," &c. For having received these letters, and for a note in his own handwriting in which there was a similar expression, the Bishop was to suffer a second fine of £8,000,—Osbaldiston at the same time to be fined £5,000, deprived, and sentenced to have his ears tacked to the pillory in Dean's Yard, in presence of his scholars. For a man who had already some fourscore grateful pupils in the Doctorate or high in the various professions, besides many younger and rising pupils, such as Cowley, this last indignity was too much; and Osbaldiston was to escape it by a hurried flight, leaving a note in his study that he "had gone beyond Canterbury."² We are here anticipating a little, for this second blow at the Bishop, in connexion with Osbaldiston, was not to come till Feb. 1638-9, after he had been eighteen months in the Tower. He is to be imagined as a state-prisoner there from July 1637, visited by Hacket and other steady friends and admirers, and amusing himself by writing

¹ Hacket's *Life of Williams*, Part II. 125, &c.

² Rushworth, II. 803-817.

Latin verses, but fuming like a caged lion against Laud and his other enemies, defying them and retorting upon them on every opportunity, standing on his privileges as a peer of the realm, and appealing in the last resource, for himself and the nation, to a coming Parliament.

Not merely in a manifest return to parts of the Romish ceremonial in worship, and to Romish tenets in doctrine, was there evidence of the existence of a Romanizing conspiracy in England. Not a few persons were entertaining the idea of a reconciliation between the Anglican Church and the Church of Rome, and were working diplomatically towards that end. It does not appear, indeed, that either Laud or Charles was practically active in this direction; but they were willing to permit activity in others. Bishop Montague of Chichester, as the head of the Romanizing faction among the clergy, and Cottington and Windebank, as lay privy-councillors who were Roman Catholics or all but Roman Catholics already, held communications on the subject with Panzani and Con, who had come to England as agents from the Papal Court on other business, and had been well received by the King. It was reported at Rome, on Montague's representations, that, were a feasible scheme of union propounded, in which all the concession should not be on the side of the Anglican Church, then the two Archbishops, the Bishop of London, several other Bishops, and many of the inferior clergy, would be found quite ready. Only three of the English Bishops, it was said, viz., Davenant of Salisbury, Hall of Exeter, and Morton of Durham, were determined Anti-Romanists.¹

In all likelihood the obstacle to farther and more open attempts at a union was more at Rome than at Lambeth. Any union which Laud may have contemplated was one to be accomplished as between two bodies of co-equal importance,

¹ The movement towards Rome among the English clergy and courtiers under Laud's primacy, and the extent to which Charles and Laud abetted it, might be the subject of a special investigation by the aid of state papers and

letters not formerly accessible. A fair account is that of Hallam, *Constitut. Hist.* (4th edit.) I. 479-481; but see Mr. Gardiner's *Personal Government of Charles I.*, II. 233 *et seq.*

gravitating towards each other and moving over equal distances in order to meet ; and this was not a union which the Papal statesmen could ever really intend. What with a nucleus of many thousands of known Roman Catholics in England to begin with, what with the activity of some hundreds of Roman Catholic priests going about in England, and what with the tendency among the Romanizing English clergy to Rome of their own accord, a union of another kind did not seem ultimately impossible. This, too, was the union which the Queen desired, and which, so far as she had power in the state, she did her best to forward. Her private palace, Denmark House in the Strand, became the centre of consultations and negotiations different from those between the Papal agents and Montague ; and it was with her, as the representative of the true Roman Catholic interest in England, that the Papal Court carried on the closest correspondence.¹

What seemed to give probability to the Romish as against the Laudian notion of a union was the growing frequency of English "perversions" to Rome, and especially of "perversions" in high life. Every year, since the beginning of Laud's rule, there had been such "perversions," whether of English ladies and gentlemen mystified in the course of their foreign travels by those who made it their business to capture the interesting heretics in their unprotected condition, or of others at home who reasoned themselves dialectically over the verge of Laudism. There was Sir Toby Matthews, son of a former archbishop of York, an active Catholic agent since 1620. There was Walter Montague, a younger son of the Earl of Manchester, a much more recent convert. Chillingworth had made his aberration, but had returned ; and he was now a member of that Falkland set of "clear reasoners" in religion whose speculations, finding nothing satisfactory in the retrograde movement into Romanism, were feeling forward, through the ordinary Protestantism that surrounded them, towards some bleaker and more advanced standing-ground. Connected with the

¹ Ranke, Eng. Transl. (1850), II. 290, 291.

Falkland group, however, were some who had not heads like Chillingworth's, to go and come again. Lord Falkland's mother was a Roman Catholic, and was converting her daughters and others about her. Most notorious of all was the case of Sir Kenelm Digby, whose associations with the Falkland set had also been intimate. The son of a Roman Catholic who had been executed for his share in the Gunpowder Plot, this "Mirandula of his age," magnificent in appearance and stature, universally accomplished, one-third knight-errant, one-third philosopher, and one-third charlatan, had, after a year or two of vacillation, abjured the Protestant faith in which he had been educated, and returned to his paternal religion. His "perversion" had taken place privately, in Paris, in 1635, since which time he had lived in that city, a conspicuous figure among the English residents.

In proportion as Laud valued his own peculiar theory of a possible union of the Churches at some time or other by a mutual gravitation of their masses, this shedding away of atoms from the one to the other, without leave given, annoyed and vexed him. There is a letter of his, of date July 20, 1634, in which he represents to the King the mischief that Lord Falkland's mother was doing at Court, and asks leave to bring "the old lady" before the High Commission.¹ His letter to Sir Kenelm Digby in Paris on hearing of his change in religion is one of severe, though friendly, rebuke.² He wrote more than once to the authorities of Oxford University, ordering them to take proceedings against Jesuit missionaries who were at work in the Colleges. Not informed of these measures of Laud, or not thinking them enough, or regarding his general policy as promoting in the main what he was checking feebly in the particular, the Puritans found in the increasing number of perversions to Rome in the years 1636 and 1637 fresh condemnation of him and his adherents. Even moderate men saw in such perversions reason for alarm. Milton, in his *Lycidas*, written in November 1637, when the public excite-

¹ Original in State Paper Office.

² Printed in Wharton's Laud.

ment on the subject was at its height, makes himself distinctly the spokesman of the general feeling. Ill tended by hireling and ignorant shepherds, fed only with wind and rank mist, the sheep of the Church of England, he says, were rotting inwardly, and spreading contagion among themselves :

*" Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw
Daily devours apace, and nothing said."*

IRELAND FROM 1632 TO 1638.

As an exhibition of energy and genius in accomplishing a set task, Wentworth's government of Ireland is hardly paralleled in the annals of proconsulship. Such boldness, such strength of will, such contempt of popularity in pursuit of a purpose, such a combination of a fixed theory of the methods of rule with practical talent in applying them, are hardly to be met with in any other man in the list of British Viceroy's. It is only when we consider the higher question of the worth of the cause which Wentworth served so ably that our admiration of him sustains a check. From first to last, no grander purpose is avowed by him, or is discernible in him, than that of "doing the King's service." He would perform that service, indeed, in his own way, and would differ from the King himself in his notions of the way ; but the reference always was to the exigencies of his "wise and just master," or, in other words, to the exigencies of the personal tyranny he had consented to serve. The good of Ireland, it is true, so far as not incompatible with his main business, did enter into his calculations. "It has never been disputed," says Hallam, "that a more uniform administration of justice in ordinary cases, a stricter coercion of outrage, a more extensive commerce, evidenced by the augmentation of customs, above all, the foundation of the great linen manufacture in Ulster, distinguished the period of his government." But Wentworth had gone to govern Ireland in an interest in which the good of Ireland itself was but an incidental item, and in which also, unfortunately for him, it has not yet been shown that the good of any

considerable part of humanity anywhere out of Ireland was in any degree involved. He was the strongest man of a cause in which it was utterly impossible that a man of the highest kind intrinsically could be found, if only because such a man will never be found where there remains only the right of devising methods and there is lost the higher habit of considering ends. Laud, so far inferior in many respects, was less of a mere instrument and more of a man of purpose than the fervid Wentworth.

During the Deputyship of Wentworth's predecessor, Lord Falkland, from 1625 to 1632, there had been going on, with Irish variations, the same struggle between the royal prerogative and the desires of the subject which had come to such an abrupt close in England. In Ireland also the demand of the Crown had been, above all, for money, while the subject desired, in exchange for the money given, certain "graces" or remissions of grievances. The Roman Catholics naturally wished for a repeal or a modification of the penal laws against the exercise of their religion; the Protestants, wishing for directly the reverse, insisted on ecclesiastical petitions of their own; there were complaints from all quarters of military exactions, monopolies, and maladministration of law; and, above all, and affecting the whole island, there was the grievance of a terrible practice which the Crown had established of inquiring into the titles by which families held their lands, and, where flaws could be found, either resuming the lands or levying fines for their continued possession. At length, in 1628, Charles, then ceding the Petition of Right to his English subjects, had thought it but consistent to come to some similar arrangement with the Irish. It was agreed between him and Irish agents in London that the Irish should voluntarily contribute £120,000, to be paid in three years by quarterly instalments, and that, in return for these, the King should yield certain "graces," including the security of all property in land after sixty years of undisputed tenure. It was an express part of the understanding that these "graces" should be duly confirmed by an Irish Parliament, to be called

for the purpose. By the time, however, that the first instalments of the money had been paid, Charles, having made up his mind against Parliaments in England, had resolved to be off from this part of the bargain. Lord Falkland had issued writs summoning the promised parliament, but the writs had been declared informal and no parliament had been held.

When Wentworth succeeded Falkland the period for which the voluntary contribution had been granted was drawing to a close. The money was all spent; there was no Irish army; and the nation felt that it had been cheated. How, in these circumstances, was more money to be raised? The Irish Lord Chancellor, Lord Ely, and the Irish Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Cork, on whom the administration devolved in the interval between Falkland's departure and Wentworth's arrival, saw no other immediate means of revenue than the vigorous exaction of the statutory fines from the Roman Catholics. Wentworth interposed from England. The question of religious conformity was, he wrote, "a great business, having many a root lying deep and far within ground"; it was a business to be taken up in proper time; but, meanwhile, it was not fit that the payment of the King's army should depend on such a matter as "the casual income of twelvecence a Sunday." There would be no real difficulty, he thought, in continuing the Irish contribution a year longer, during which time it would be his fault if means were not found either to make that contribution permanent or to provide some equivalent. The King and the English Council having adopted his views, a royal letter was sent over to Ireland, threatening that, if the contributions were not "freely and thankfully continued", his Majesty would be obliged to "straiten his former graces" and make use of every right he had. This letter and Wentworth's missives had the intended effect; and, with some faint hope of the "graces" as ultimately possible, the Irish consented to farther payment for them.¹

On arriving in Ireland in July 1633 Wentworth set about his task. His conclusion, after a little while, was one to

¹ Forster's *Life of Strafford: Statesmen of the Commonwealth*.

which he had before inclined, but which it required courage to propound to the King,—to wit, that it would be best and easiest after all to proceed in Ireland “by way of Parliament.” With much hesitation, the King allowed the experiment. In a private letter to Wentworth, dated April 12, 1634, he wrote of the permitted Parliament thus:—“As for that hydra, take good heed, for you know that I have found it as well cunning as malicious. It is true your grounds are well laid, and I assure you that I have a great trust in your care and judgment; yet my opinion is that it will not be the worse for my service though their obstinacy make you break with them, for I fear that they have some ground to demand more than it is fit for me to give.” Within three months after the receipt of this letter, *i. e.* on July 14, 1634, the Parliament met in Dublin.

Wentworth’s plans were, indeed, well laid. He had managed the elections so that the Roman Catholics and the Protestants nearly balanced each other; he had packed the lower house with trustworthy persons; and he had seen that the proxies of absent lords, members of the upper house, were in safe hands. But his grand device was the splitting of the parliament into two sessions,—the first to be devoted entirely to the supply of the King’s wants, the second to be spent, conditionally on the success of the first, in the consideration of the grievances of the subject. This device of the double session was first forced on the Parliament and then turned to the intended account. In the first session subsidies were obtained to the unprecedented amount of £300,000, or six subsidies of £50,000 each, whereas all that had been expected was three subsidies of £30,000 each. Then came the greater difficulty of the second session, which began in October 1634 and was continued till April 1635. During those six months Wentworth’s whole soul was bent on frustrating the expected “graces” and terrifying the very name of them out of the Irish mind. As usual, he took the blame and responsibility on himself. He would not even dare, he said, to transmit to the King such demands as the Parliament made. Infinite was the interest at the Eng-

lish Court in the progress of the struggle between the Irish Parliament and the resolute Deputy. The King himself, writing privately to Wentworth, Jan. 22, 1634-5, and thanking him for his extraordinary services,—to recognise which fully in letters would be to write “panegyrics rather than despatches,”—yet hints that he will be glad when the Parliament is fairly dismissed. “My reasons,” he says, “are grounded upon my experience of them [of Parliaments] here: they are of the nature of cats; they ever grow curst with age, so that, if ye will have good of them, put them off handsomely when they come to any age.” When this one was “put off” in the following April, Wentworth could congratulate the King on having got everything from it and given nothing in return. The exultation of Wentworth in his success breaks out in his letters. To the King he writes, “All the graces prejudicial to the crown are laid so sound asleep as I am confident they are never to be awakened more”; to Laud he writes, “Now I can say the King is as absolute here as any prince in the whole world can be”; and to Cottington, still more confidentially, he writes, “This is the only ripe parliament that hath been gathered in my time; happy it were if we might live to see the like in England.” And yet, when Wentworth, in the interval between the two sessions, had written over, petitioning the King for the honour of an earldom, as a proof to the Irish that he possessed the royal confidence, the reply of Charles had been a refusal. “I desire you not to think,” he wrote, “that I am displeased with the asking, though as yet I grant it not. I acknowledge that noble minds are always accompanied with lawful ambitions.” Wentworth, accordingly, remained only Viscount Wentworth.

The appointment of Laud in September 1633 to the Chancellorship of Trinity College, Dublin, gave him a direct means of co-operating with Wentworth in the affairs of the Irish Church. From that time forward, accordingly, we find them corresponding about appointments in the College and to vacant Irish deaneries and bishoprics. Wentworth reported the condition of the Irish Church as deplorable.

“An unlearned clergy,” he writes on Jan. 31, 1633-4, “with
 “not so much as the outward form of churchmen to cover
 “themselves with; the churches unbuilt; the parsonages
 “and vicar-houses utterly ruined; the people untaught,
 “through the non-residence of the clergy, occasioned by the
 “unlimited shameful numbers of spiritual promotions with
 “cure of souls which they hold by commendams; the rites
 “of the Church run over without all decency of habit, order,
 “or gravity; the possessions of the Church to a great pro-
 “portion in lay hands; bishops alienating their very
 “principal houses and demesnes.” These were matters on
 which it was hardly necessary to invoke Laud’s sympathy.
 In the course of 1634 he was able to write the word “*Done*”
 in his diary opposite two schemes for Ireland which he had
 projected as far back as 1630,—one for the restoration to
 the Irish Church of all the impropriations held by the
 Crown, and the other for a new charter and a new body of
 statutes for Trinity College. On the faith of these and
 other changes, which promised to make Irish ecclesiastical
 appointments better worth having than they had been, he
 was able to find English scholars willing to accept them.
 Between 1633 and 1638 several Oxford and Cambridge men
 of some eminence were sent over by him to Ireland, and
 promoted there according to their merits. Among these
 was Milton’s old Cambridge college-tutor, Chappell. Leaving,
 at Laud’s request, his fellowship in Christ’s, he went to
 Ireland in August 1633, to be Dean of Cashel; from which
 dignity he was promoted in August 1634 to the Provostship
 of Trinity College, Dublin, having been designated by
 Wentworth himself, in a letter to Laud, as expressly “the
 fittest man in the kingdom” for that important post. Retain-
 ing the Provostship, he was in due time to receive an
 Irish Bishopric in conjunction with it,—that of Cloyne and
 Ross, in the province of Munster (Nov. 1638). On Laud’s
 trial, the case of Chappell was to be specially mentioned as
 one of his Arminian promotions. All Chappell’s scholars
 were Arminians, said one witness.¹

¹ Wharton’s Laud, 367.

These measures were but preliminary to a grand stroke upon which both the Archbishop and the Lord Deputy were resolved. This was the abrogation of the Irish Articles of 1616 as the separate basis of the Irish Church, and the substitution of the Thirty-Nine Articles, so as to make Ireland and England ecclesiastically one. It had been no secret that this was Laud's aim; and for several years the only questions with Usher and his Calvinistic brethren in Ireland had been when and in what manner the revolution would be attempted. It was attempted by Wentworth in December 1634, and accomplished by him with a swiftness and a facility that must have surprised Laud himself. The Irish Clergy being then assembled in Convocation contemporaneously with the Irish Parliament, Wentworth had referred the business to them, and had received some reluctant promise from Usher that it would be conducted to his satisfaction. Relying on this promise, he was attending more to the proceedings of the Parliament than to those of the Convocation, when he was startled by the news that, in a Committee of the Lower House of Convocation, they were going over the English Articles one by one, marking "Agreed" to some and "*Deliberandum*" opposite to others. Immediately, sending for the Dean of Limerick, who was acting as Chairman of the Committee, he compelled him to give up the copy of the Articles so noted. "I publicly told them," he says, "how unlike clergymen that owed canonical obedience to their superiors they had proceeded in Committee, how unheard-of a part it was for a few petty clerks to presume to make Articles of Faith without the privity or consent of State or Bishop, what a spirit of Brownism and contradiction I observed in their *Deliberandums*," &c.¹ The issue was as he had calculated. "There were a few hot spirits, sons of thunder, who moved that they should petition me for a free synod; but in fine they could not agree amongst themselves who should put the bell about the cat's neck, and so this likewise vanished." In short, a canon was passed in Convocation, unanimously by the bishops,

¹ Wentworth to Laud, Dec. 16, 1634: *Strafford Letters*.

and with only one dissentient voice among the inferior clergy, "approving and receiving" the Thirty-Nine Articles entire. The Irish Calvinistic clergy flattered themselves that, in passing this canon, they had still saved their own old Articles; but, in effect, the vote abrogated the independence of the Irish Protestant Church.

Having done so much towards the great design of religious uniformity in Ireland, Wentworth was not disposed to go so fast as Laud in working out this uniformity minutely by prosecutions of individuals. "It will be ever far forth of "my heart," he wrote, "to conceive that a conformity of "religion is not above all other things principally to be "intended; for, undoubtedly, till we be brought all under "one form of divine service, the Crown is never safe on this "side." But, as to the time and the methods for bringing about such absolute conformity in all points, he had his own opinions. The subsidies were being paid; why interrupt the payment by fresh dissensions? People were unconsciously coming round to conformity; why rouse revolt by keeping the "conceit of difference" in their memory? Lastly, and most emphatically, "the great work of reformation ought not to be fallen upon till all incidents be fully "provided for,—the army rightly furnished, the forts repaired, money in the coffers," &c. Accordingly, after the dissolution of the Irish Parliament and Convocation early in 1635, all Wentworth's energies were bent upon the accomplishment, by his own power as Deputy, of the various measures still necessary to the perfection of Absolutism in Ireland.

His method was the same that had helped him so far already. It consisted in resolute energy in his own purposes, backed by an unsparing use of rewards and punishments in compelling others to execute them. The very phrase "Rewards and Punishments" ought to be associated with the name of Wentworth. It was his darling formula of the whole art of government,—a formula reached originally by mere instinctive practice, but afterwards played upon by him poetically, and even imparted to others as a political

secret. Thus, to Cottington, "If once it shall please God
"his Majesty begin to apply *Premium* and *Pæna* the right
"way, lustily and roundly, then," &c. Again, to the King
himself, "I know no other rule to govern by but by rewards
"and punishments." Again, to Laud, "The lady Astræa,
"the poet tells us, is long since gone to heaven; but, under
"favour, I can yet find Reward and Punishment on earth."
It was clearly Wentworth's opinion that, with an adequate
power of reward and punishment, one could walk from the
Atlantic to the Black Sea, and compel men everywhere to
do whatever was prescribed to them. He applied the power
lustily enough in Ireland. Whatever man of whatever rank
opposed him, or was even known to mutter a word dis-
respectful of his policy, or of himself personally, that man
he pursued to punishment like a sleuth-hound. To "trounce
a bishop or two" for neglect of duty was nothing to him;
and he caused the Earl of Mountnorris, perhaps the chief
man in Ireland next to himself, to be tried by a commission,
and sentenced to be shot, for no other crime than a sneer
against his government (1635). The sentence was not
executed; but, with his foot on the neck of Mountnorris,
Wentworth could glare defiance among the proudest heads
in Ireland. On the other hand, his application of the prin-
ciple of reward was as faithful. To one Taylor, a corre-
spondent who was assisting him with information in his
schemes for the promotion of a commerce between Ireland
and Spain, he promises his friendship and encouragement,
"and this not for a start and away, but reposedly and con-
"stantly," being "one of those," he says, "that shall be
"the latest and loathest in the world to lose the respects I
"am enabled to do my friends through mutability and
"change, a great error of judgment I have known very
"wise men subject unto." In short, by a rigorous applica-
tion of his principle, Wentworth was able, by the middle of
the year 1636, to report Ireland well prepared for all the
"incidents" of the future.

In June 1636 he came over on a visit to England. He
was received with applause at Court, related the history of

his government before the King and a very full meeting of Council, and then set out for his Presidency of the North on public and private business. He fancied that now the honour of an earldom could hardly be withheld, and again petitioned for it. The King again refused it; and, in November 1636, Wentworth returned to Ireland to resume his labours. Ireland now being under established rule, he had leisure, during the next seventeen months, to look more to what was passing in England, to transmit hints to Laud and others as to what might be accomplished there by a touch of the Irish system rightly applied to the backs of Mr. Hampden and his abettors, and even to anticipate the time when, in case of insurrection, Ireland might be a magazine of military force for the service of the Three Kingdoms. And so, with his brow growing daily more dark and rugged, his eye more fierce, his jaw more firmly set, his brain stronger, his very rhetoric more impetuous and picturesque, his whole being and demeanour so much farther from the common that the rumour went about Court that he was becoming mad, Wentworth waited for the day when he should be recognised as the one man competent to save the Monarchy. As Lord-Deputy he kept up splendid state, and he was particularly fond of great hunting and hawking matches; but otherwise he was of simple habits. It was most pleasant to see him after supper, when he would have a few friends familiarly with him in an inner room, smoking tobacco by the hour and telling stories. He suffered terribly from attacks of gout, and sometimes, in those attacks, he would bewail "the dearth of men," which threw so much work on him, and wonder whether "a time of stillness and repose" would ever be his, when, in retirement on his great Yorkshire estates, and with his children about him, he should plant trees, and "consider other more excellent and needful duties than these momentary trifles below." Such thoughts, however, came but seldom to Wentworth.

SCOTLAND FROM 1632 TO 1638.

The policy of *Thorough*, pursued so resolutely in England and Ireland, was pursued also in Scotland, but with remarkable variations both of manner and of effect, and with this variation as the most remarkable of all, that here first the policy had its edge blunted by impact against the solid bone.

We have seen the condition of Scotland ecclesiastically in 1632. Over the little nation of under a million of souls, four-fifths of them English-speaking Lowlanders who had been Calvinized and Presbyterianized, and the remaining fifth wild Gaelic-speaking Highlanders into whose fastnesses theology had hardly penetrated, there had been screwed down, by successive efforts, a superficial apparatus of Episcopal forms. The kingdom was divided, ecclesiastically, into nearly 1,000 parishes, the ministers of which were nominally governed by eleven bishops and two archbishops, as follows:—

I. PROVINCE OF ST. ANDREWS.

1. ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS AND PRIMATE OF SCOTLAND.—John Spotswood, appointed 1615.
2. *Bishop of Dunkeld*.—Alexander Lindsay, appointed 1607.
3. *Bishop of Aberdeen*.—Patrick Forbes, appointed 1618.
4. *Bishop of Moray*.—John Guthrie, appointed 1623.
5. *Bishop of Brechin*.—David Lindsay, appointed 1619.
6. *Bishop of Dunblane*.—Adam Bellenden, appointed 1614.
7. *Bishop of Ross*.—Patrick Lindsay, appointed 1613; transferred to the Archbishopric of Glasgow in April 1633, and succeeded in the Bishopric of Ross by John Maxwell.
8. *Bishop of Caithness*.—John Abernethy, appointed 1624.
9. *Bishop of Orkney*.—John Graham, appointed 1615.

II. PROVINCE OF GLASGOW.

1. ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW.—James Law, appointed 1615; died Nov. 1632; succeeded in the Archbishopric by Patrick Lindsay, Bishop of Ross.
2. *Bishop of Galloway*.—Andrew Lamb, appointed 1619.
3. *Bishop of Argyle*.—Andrew Boyd, appointed 1613.
4. *Bishop of the Isles*.—John Leslie, appointed 1628.¹

¹ The list is drawn up from Keith's Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops: Edinburgh, 1755.

The system of the Kirk under this seeming episcopal jurisdiction was very different from that of Episcopacy in England. Although, since 1621, kneeling at the sacrament had been introduced, with one or two observances disliked by the English Puritans, the worship was still mainly on the plain Geneva model; the minister in each parish still retained some remnant of that liberty of speech in the pulpit, and popular influence out of it, which had been acquired for his order at the Reformation; and the clergy still retained the power of meeting periodically, with select laymen among them, in presbyteries and provincial synods, where, though bishops and archbishops had official pre-eminence, the collective will could make itself felt. Add a Calvinistic theology not yet disintegrated to the same extent as in England by Arminian tenets imported from abroad, or by Patristic investigations of native scholars, and a more general acceptance also than in England of the Puritan doctrine and practice of the Sabbath. Of these differences the Scottish bishops themselves were aware. Some of them had caught the Anglican notions of their office, and were zealous for a farther suppression of Presbyterianism; and these, it was generally remarked, had also passed over to Arminianism in theology. Others, however, remaining moderately Calvinistic and moderately Sabbatarian, were satisfied with things as they were, and were anxious, by a meek exercise of their office, to atone to their presbyters and their fellow-countrymen for the offence of being bishops.

Here was a field for the activity of Laud. To rectify the Church of Ireland was much; to bring the foreign British Chaplaincies under control was much; to take care that ecclesiastical authority should pursue the English emigrants to America and the West Indies was much; but, out of England, there was not any scene to which his soul turned so wistfully as to poor obstinate Scotland. To extirpate in that country what remained of the spirit of Knox and Melville; to substitute in it a properly prelatie organization for the wretched superficial episcopacy then existing, and the true Anglican beauty of holiness for its meagre, uncomely,

beggarly worship; to let in the light of later Patristic theology upon its dark Calvinistic beliefs, and to break down its hard Sabbatarianism; nay, perhaps, while accomplishing these things, to go a little farther, and use the barbaric region thus reclaimed as an experimental nursery-ground for seeds and notions of a more advanced sacerdotal theory than could yet be tried even in England: all this was in the mind of Laud as often as he looked northward on the British map beyond the province of his brother of York. He had been occupied with the subject even while James was alive, and, in spite of that king's resolution not to be led into farther experiments on the patience of the Scotch, had persuaded him to meditate one more,—a new Scottish Liturgy.¹ Eight years had elapsed since then; and now, under a king far more willing and in circumstances far more favourable, it was proposed to attempt not only the new Liturgy, but all that was desirable besides.

Memorable in the annals of Scotland was Charles's Coronation Visit of 1633. On the 12th of June he swept across the Border with his retinue; on Saturday, the 15th, he made his splendid triumphal entry into Edinburgh, and took up his residence in the Palace of Holyrood; on the 18th he was crowned in Holyrood Abbey; on the 20th he opened a Scottish Parliament, which continued to sit till the 28th; on the 1st of July he left Edinburgh on a journey west and north, in the course of which he visited Linlithgow, Stirling, Dunfermline, Falkland, and Perth; on the 11th of July he was back in Edinburgh, which he left next day for Dalkeith on his way southwards; and on the 16th he recrossed the Border.² During those five weeks much had been done. New Scottish peers had been created and old peers had been raised a step in the peerage; new members, including Laud, had been sworn of the Scotch Privy Council; and about two hundred Acts had been passed in the Scottish Parliament, one of them a substantial vote of subsidies, several others of a general nature, but most of them private

¹ Rushworth, II. 386-387.

² Rushworth, II. 180-184, and Mr. Robert Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, II. 63-69.

bills ratifying the privileges of nobles, land-owners, and burghs. The incidents in the ecclesiastical department were the most important.

On the very first occasion in which religious worship mingled with the ceremonial of the visit care had been taken to give a hint to all concerned that Presbyterianism was to receive no countenance from his Majesty. The arrangements or the coronation ceremony in Holyrood Abbey were made by Laud, who, though a stranger, was "high in his carriage," and took upon him to show the Scottish bishops how such a ceremony ought to be performed. "It was markit that "there was ane four-nuikit table, in manner of ane altar, "having standing thereon twa books, called *blind-books*, with "twa chandlers and twa wax-candles, whilks were unlichtit, "and ane basin, wherein there was naething. At the back "of this altar was ane rich tapestry, whereon the crucifix "was curiously wrought; and, as thir bishops who was in "service passed by this crucifix, they were seen to bow the "knee and beck,—whilk, with their habit [embroidered "robes of blue silk, over which were white rochets with "loops of gold], was noted."¹ The crown was put on the King's head by the Bishop of Brechin; but it was arranged that the two Archbishops should stand beside the King,—St. Andrews on his right hand, and Glasgow on his left. Glasgow, however, being a moderate churchman, had neglected, with one or two others of the bishops, to procure the proper episcopal garb; and Laud, observing this, actually thrust him from his place with these words, "Are you a churchman and want the coat of your order?", substituting the Bishop of Ross. Such things might have passed off as attributable only to Laud's officiousness; but when, on the King's attending public worship next Sunday in St. Giles's church, it was noticed that Mr. John Maxwell, one of the ministers of Edinburgh and Bishop of Ross elect, came down from the king's loft, and caused the minister who was reading in Scottish fashion to remove from his place, and two English chaplains clad in their surplices to

¹ Spalding's Troubles of Scotland.

officiate for him and read the English service, and that thereafter the Bishop of Moray went into the pulpit and preached a sermon also in a surplice,—“a thing whilk had never been seen in St. Giles’s kirk sin the Reformation”,—people were really astounded. Was there to be an “in-bringing of Popery” through the agency of the Scottish bishops themselves?

The fear was confirmed by what occurred in the Parliament. The old Scottish Parliament differed from an English Parliament in consisting but of one House, in which the prelates and the temporal peers, as well as the great officers of state, sat together with the commissioners of the so-called lesser barons or gentry of the shires and the commissioners of the burghs. The Parliament which met while Charles was in Edinburgh was naturally a very full one. There sat in it, *ex officiis*, nine of the chief state officers of the kingdom. There sat in it also the two archbishops and all the bishops, except the Bishop of Aberdeen, who was ill, and the Bishop of Caithness, who sent his proxy. There were present in person forty-seven peers, who, with nineteen absentees represented by proxies, made up nearly the whole existing Scottish peerage. The forty-seven personally present consisted of one duke (Lennox), two marquises (Hamilton and Douglas), nineteen earls, three viscounts, and twenty-two lords. The commissioners of the lesser barons or gentry of the shires were forty-five in number, representing a total body of about one thousand families belonging to the class of lairds or landed gentry over the whole kingdom. The commissioners from burghs were fifty-one, of whom Edinburgh sent two, and other forty-nine burghs one each. Thus, 163 persons sat in the Parliament, making, with the proxies of twenty absentees, 183 votes in all.

By ancient custom, the real business of a Scottish Parliament was vested in an elected committee of the members, called “The Lords of the Articles,” and all that was reserved for the general body was to hold a final meeting in which the acts and ordinances, prepared by these Lords of the Articles, were read over *seriatim*, and either accepted or

rejected. On the present occasion the Lords of the Articles were forty-two in number, as follows:—The Earl of Kin-noull, presiding as High Chancellor of Scotland ; *eight* other state officers, members of the Parliament, nominated by the King ; *eight* of the Prelates present in the Parliament, elected by the Nobles present ; *eight* of the Nobles present, elected by the Prelates ; *eight* of the Lairds or Lesser Barons present, elected by the Prelates and Nobles conjointly ; and *nine* of the Commissioners of Burghs present, elected by the Prelates, the Nobles, and the Lesser Barons conjointly. Elected on the first day on which all the Estates met his Majesty, these Lords of the Articles held meetings daily for about a week, framing the Acts which were to be submitted to Parliament,—pretty well framed, doubtless, among the chiefs beforehand. The rest of the Parliament meanwhile waited “within the town of Edinburgh,” under penalties not to depart, even had the festivities of the King’s visit been insufficient to detain them. On the 28th of June they all reassembled, the King again present, to vote and conclude the Acts which their committee had prepared. These Acts were “read over,” to the number of about two hundred in all,—only the more important, we must suppose, being read at large. Of the 31 Acts of this kind there were only two on which a difference arose. One was Act No. 3, entitled *Anent his Majesty’s Prerogative and the Apparel of Kirkmen* ; and the other was Act No. 4, entitled *Ratification of Acts touching Religion*. By the first not only was the King’s prerogative in all causes asserted in general terms, but there was specified, as a part of this prerogative, his right, in terms of a former Act of the year 1609, to regulate the apparel of all ecclesiastics by a simple letter addressed to the Clerk of the Register, which should then have the force of an Act of Parliament. By the other all former Acts touching Religion were ratified indiscriminately, those passed before the restoration of bishops, as well as those passed subsequently. Whether these two Acts had passed the Lords of the Articles themselves without comment may be doubted. In the general meeting of the Estates, at all

events, they provoked opposition. The leader of the opposition was John Leslie, Earl of Rothes, with whom went twelve or thirteen other peers, and many lesser barons and burgesses. They wanted both the Acts explained, and put it to his Majesty directly whether in the first he "intended the surplice." To this question his Majesty would give no answer; but he took a paper out of his pocket and said, "Gentlemen, I have all your names here, and I'll know who will do me service, and who not, this day." The dissentients then proposed to accept part of the Act only; but, as the King would have no distinction or debate, and insisted on a direct *Ay* or *No* to the Act as it stood, they voted *No*. They then proposed a division of parts in respect to the other Act; but again, being obliged to say *Ay* or *No* to the whole, they said *No* to the whole. Rothes and others claimed that the *Noes* were in the majority in both cases; but, as the Clerk-Register decided otherwise, and as a charge of false counting against that functionary was too dangerous, they were obliged to yield, and to see the two Acts passed as the Acts of the "haill Estates," and ratified by the King with the touch of his sceptre.¹

The experience of this Parliament produced effects through the rest of the royal visit. The dissentients, and all who abetted them, were kept under his Majesty's frown. At Stirling the provost was not allowed to kiss hands on presenting the town's gift of a piece of plate; and in Fife-shire the King went out of his way, in order, it was supposed, to avoid a reception intended for him by a number of the nobility and gentry of that Presbyterian shire. Laud also was most ungracious. "*July 8, Monday*," he writes in his diary, "to Dunblane and Stirling: my dangerous and cruel journey, crossing part of the Highlands by coach, which was a wonder there." Equally astonishing to the natives were some of his sentiments. "When he was in the kirk of Dunblane he affirmed it was a goodly church. 'Yes,

¹ See Rushworth, II. 183; also Balfour's *Annals of Scotland*, sub anno 1633. "The 3rd and 4th Acts of this Parliament," says Balfour, "so much

"displeased the subjects that in effect they were the very ground-stones of all the mischiefs that followed."

“ ‘my Lord,’ said one standing by, ‘this was a brave kirk
 “ ‘before the Reformation.’ ‘What, fellow?’ said the Bishop :
 “ ‘*Deformation*, not *Reformation*!’ ”¹ In short, when the
 King and Laud returned to London, they left an impression,
 which soon became general throughout Scotland, that they
 had gone back with a fully-formed design of extirpating the
 last relics of the national Presbyterianism.

The impression was verified by some of the first acts of
 the King after his return, and of Laud after his elevation to
 the Archbishopric of Canterbury. Thus, in the month of
 October 1633, two official letters came north on Scottish
 ecclesiastical business. One, dated Oct. 8, was a royal letter,
 addressed to Bellenden, Bishop of Dunblane, in his capacity
 as Dean of the Chapel Royal in Holyrood, giving directions
 as to the forms and ceremonies of worship to be used there
 in future. There were to be prayers twice a-day in the
 chapel according to the English Liturgy, until such time as
 a new Liturgy should be framed for Scotland; on all Sundays
 and holidays the Dean, whether preaching or reading prayers,
 was to be “in his whites”; there was to be sacrament once
 a month, which was to be administered to all kneeling; and
 it was to be signified, as the King’s command, that the
 Lords of his Privy Council, the Lords of Session, the Writers
 to the Signet, and all other official persons in Edinburgh,
 should attend the communion in the chapel at least once
 a-year, and receive the sacrament kneeling, as an example
 to the rest of the people. The Dean was to make a yearly
 report to the King of the names of such as offended in the
 last particular.² The other letter, which followed at a week’s
 interval (Oct. 15), was of more general application. It was,
 in fact, the King’s answer to those questions as to the
 apparel of kirkmen which he had refused to answer in the
 Parliament. It contained the following instructions:—That,
 in all public places, the Archbishops and Bishops should
 appear in gowns with standing capes, and all the inferior
 clergy in a dress of similar fashion, though of inferior

¹ Row’s “History of the Kirk,” *Wodrow Society*, 1842; p. 369.

² Rushworth, II. 205.

materials, except that only doctors were to have the addition of tippets; that the Archbishops and Bishops should always, when attending divine service and preaching, "be in whites," *i. e.* "in a rochet and sleeves," such as they had worn at the coronation, and, moreover, that such of them as were members of the Privy Council should always sit there "in their whites" also; that at the consecration of bishops there should be worn "a chymmer" of satin or taffeta "over the whites"; that the inferior clergy should preach in their black gowns, but should in reading service, and at christenings, communions, and other such times, wear their surplices; finally, that the square cap of the English Universities should be the sole head-gear of the Scottish clergy from the Tweed to the Shetlands.¹

These, however, were but preliminaries; and, in order to their success and to the success of more radical measures which were to follow, it had been the King's care, before leaving Scotland, to make certain changes in the local instrumentality through which alone such measures could be carried into effect. A very characteristic act, and one exactly in the line of Laud's general policy, was the introduction into the Scottish Privy Council of no fewer than nine of the Scottish prelates. Hardly less important were some changes made in the episcopal body by reason of vacancies. The Bishopric of the Isles, vacant by the translation of Leslie to an Irish see, was conferred on a Neil Campbell (1633), and that of Galloway, vacant by the death of Lamb, on a Thomas Sydserf (1634). More important still was the creation of a new bishopric for Edinburgh,—which town, singular to say, had not yet been the seat of a separate see. The diocese having been marked out, and St. Giles's church having been altered so as to serve for a cathedral, the bishopric was conferred (Jan. 26, 1634)² on

¹ This is a correct abridgment of the order as it is entered in the Scottish Statute-book, under Act No. 3, of the Parliament of 1633: *Acts of the Scottish Parliaments*, vol. V.

² In Scottish history of that time the double form of dating for days between

Dec. 31 and March 25, is not requisite, as in English. From the beginning of the seventeenth century the Scots had reckoned, as we do now, from the 1st of January, as New-Year's day, though according to the old style.

William Forbes, principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen. Forbes had held the see but a month or two when he died, and his successor, appointed in September 1634, was David Lindsay, transferred from Brechin, and succeeded there by a Walter Whiteford.

With these and other changes, the resident Privy Council of Scotland stood, from 1634 to 1638, as follows :—

PRELATES.

John Spotswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews.
 Patrick Lindsay, Archbishop of Glasgow.
 David Lindsay, Bishop of Edinburgh.
 John Guthrie, Bishop of Moray.
 Walter Whiteford, Bishop of Brechin.
 Adam Bellenden, Bishop of Dunblane, but afterwards of Aberdeen ; translated thither on the death of Patrick Forbes in 1635, and succeeded in Dunblane by James Wedderburn, a Scot who had resided in England, and had there become acquainted with Laud.
 John Maxwell, Bishop of Ross.
 Thomas Sydserf, Bishop of Galloway.

LAY COUNCILLORS WITH OFFICE.

George Hay, Earl of Kinnoull, *High Chancellor*. He died at London, Dec. 16, 1634; and the Chancellorship, the first office in the kingdom, was then conferred on Archbishop Spotswood.
 William Douglas, Earl of Morton, *High Treasurer*; which place, however, he resigned in 1635.
 John Stewart, Earl of Traquair, *Treasurer-Depute* till 1635, and, after that, *High Treasurer*, in succession to Morton.
 Thomas Hamilton, Earl of Haddington, *Lord Privy Seal* till his death in 1637.
 Sir Archibald Acheson of Glencairn, *Resident Secretary of State*, and colleague in the general *Secretaryship of State* with the poetic Earl of Stirling, who was kept by the King mainly in London, to receive and transmit instructions to the Resident Secretary and the whole Council.
 Sir John Hay of Lands, *Clerk of Register*.
 Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, *King's Advocate*.
 Sir James Galloway, *Master of Requests*.
 Sir William Elphinstone, *Justice General*.
 Sir James Carmichael of that Ilk, *Justice Clerk* till 1635, when he succeeded Traquair as *Treasurer-Depute*, and was succeeded as Justice-Clerk by Sir John Hamilton of Orbiston.

LAY COUNCILLORS WITHOUT OFFICE.

Robert Ker, Earl of Roxburgh, born about 1570. He had led an active life hitherto, and he was made *Privy Seal* in 1637, in succession to the Earl of Haddington.

- John Drummond, Earl of Perth.
 George Seton, Earl of Winton.
 John Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale.
 John Fleming, Earl of Wigton.
 William Crichton, Earl of Dumfries.
 John Lyon, Earl of Kinghorn.
 David Carnegie, Earl of Southesk.
 Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus. He was the eldest son of the newly-created Marquis of Douglas, the head of the great Douglas family, and a Roman Catholic.
 Archibald Campbell, Lord Lorne, eldest son of Archibald, seventh Earl of Argyle. He was born in 1598, and was already the representative of the great Argyle family, and the holder of its rights and estates, his father having been recently incapacitated as a Roman Catholic, and usually residing in London.
 James Stewart, Lord Doune, son and heir-apparent of James, Earl of Moray.
 William Alexander, Lord Alexander, eldest son of the poetic Earl of Stirling. He died in March 1638.
 Alexander Elphinstone, Lord Elphinstone.
 James Ogilvy, Lord Deskford.
 Archibald Napier, Lord Napier, eldest son of John Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of Logarithms. He had been in various official situations in the reign of James, and was in high favour.¹

These thirty or more persons formed the resident Scottish Privy Council, governing Scotland for Charles, between 1634 and 1638. The attendance at the council-meetings varied from ten to about three-and-twenty, and the most constant and active members were the prelates and official lay members. Of the prelates the most zealous in their loyalty were Primate Spotswood, Bellenden, and Maxwell. By far the ablest man in the Council, however, and in reality the leading minister, was the Earl of Traquair. As Treasurer-Depute, he had distinguished himself by his energy; he was one of those whom Charles had selected for the honour of earldom during his Coronation visit; and, after his preferment to the Chief-Treasurership, he "guided "our Scots affairs," says Baillie, "with the most absolute "sovereignty that any subject among us this forty years did "kythe." His power or his weakness consisted in a certain

¹ Compiled from notices of proceedings of the Council, letters signed by them, and the like, in the Appendix to *Baillie's Letters*, in *Balfour's Annals*, in

Rushworth, and elsewhere,—Douglas's *Scottish Peerage* and Scot of Scotstarvet's *Staggering States* supplying some of the particulars.

fury of manner. "He carries all down that is in his way," says Baillie, "with such a violent spate (flood), oft of need-
"less passion."¹ Though zealous for the King's service, both in Church and State, he had an antipathy to the Bishops and resented their preponderance in the Council. Hence a feud in the Council between the Traquair party and the party of Chancellor Spotswood.

While the Privy Council managed ordinary Scotch business at their discretion, they received all their more important instructions direct from London, through the medium of the post. On July 31, 1635, Thomas Witherings, Esq., his Majesty's Postmaster in England, was commanded to complete the line of post-houses, and the stabling, &c., at each, so that there might be at least one horse-post running regularly day and night between London and Edinburgh, performing the double journey in six days, and charging sixpence a letter for the whole distance.² Both before this order and after, many a packet on his Majesty's service was conveyed from Whitehall to the northern capital containing letters of fell intent. The letters were sometimes from his Majesty himself, or from the Earl of Stirling, as the Scottish secretary of state in London, to the Privy Council; but not unfrequently there were private letters from the Marquis of Hamilton or from Secretary Stirling to individual Scottish nobles, or from Laud to one or other of the Scottish Bishops. In reality every important order respecting Scottish ecclesiastical affairs emanated from Laud.³

An important act was the establishment, by a royal warrant dated "Hampton Court, Oct. 21, 1634," of a Scottish COURT OF HIGH COMMISSION, on a scale corresponding to that of the similar Court in England, or even more extensive. The establishment of this Court, in lieu of the more restricted agency of the same kind which had existed before,

Baillie's Letters, edited by Laing: Letter of date Jan. 29, 1637, to William Spang.

² Rymer's *Fœdera*, and Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*.

³ Whoever wishes to study Laud's action within a moderate compass, and at the same time to have as favourable

a specimen as can be found of his talent in self-defence, ought to read that part of the *History of his Trials and Troubles* (pp. 87—143) where he replies *seriatim* to the articles presented against him, in 1640, by the Scottish Commissioners appointed to impeach him.

was intended to strengthen the hands of the Scottish Bishops against anticipated opposition to the two final measures which were to complete the ecclesiastical revolution, viz. the promulgation of a BOOK OF CANONS, and the introduction of a NEW LITURGY. Before relating the history of these measures, let us see in what elements in Scottish society the opposition which they did meet with was already garnered up.

There were elements of opposition in the Privy Council itself. Thus, by a curious anomaly, felt to be such at the time, the man who held the important post of King's Advocate, or Attorney-General for Scotland, Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, was an astute veteran whose whole heart was Presbyterian, and who had risen to the top of his profession by his celebrity as "the Presbyterian lawyer." Nor were there wanting others in the Council who were disposed, from one motive or another, to thwart the new policy of governing Scotland by instructions from Lambeth. "That Churchmen have a competency is agreeable to the law of God and man," wrote Lord Napier privately; "but to invest them into great estates and principal offices of the State is neither convenient for the Church, for the King, nor for the State."¹ It was not the opinion of Napier only, or of Napier and Hope and Traquair, but of almost all their lay colleagues.

One needed only to glance over the community at large to see that there was likely to be even a stronger muster both of personal Scottish stubbornness and of vehement Presbyterian conviction than was promised by appearances at the centre. (I.) Among the seventy or more Nobles who formed the high aristocracy of Scotland, and who lived in old castles or in quaint thick-walled houses where their ancestors had lived before them, there was a considerable sprinkling of avowed dissentients; some from real Presbyterian feeling, others from mere hereditary jealousy of that prelatial order by the spoils of which their ancestors had grown richer at the Reformation, and which was now again raising its head, looking after what it had lost, and even

¹ Mr. Mark Napier's *Memoirs of Montrose*, 1856, p. 104.

talking of the recovery of Church lands and the restoration of Abbacies. The most conspicuous of these were the nobles who had formed the Rothes party in the recent Parliament, or had joined it immediately afterwards. Besides Rothes himself, there were John Kennedy, Earl of Cassilis, called "the grave and solemn Earl," Alexander Montgomery, Earl of Eglintoun, afterwards called "Gray Steel," William Ker, Earl of Lothian, John Campbell, Lord Loudoun, Lord Balmerino and his brother Lord Cupar, John Sandilands, Lord Torphichen, John Hay, Lord Yester, and Lords Lindsay, Sinclair, Wemyss, and Cranstoun. Most of these peers were young men, the anti-prelatic spirit being apparently strongest among the younger nobles, while, as if by a law of antagonism, the extreme or Arminian or Laudian form of prelacy was represented rather by the younger than by the older prelates. One young nobleman on whom the Rothes party reckoned as a zealous adherent—John Gordon, Viscount Kenmure—died in 1634; but there was a nobleman still younger whose adherence to this party seemed as likely as it was desirable. This was James Graham, Earl of Montrose, related to the Napiers by marriage, and just returned, at the age of four-and-twenty, from a residence of several years abroad. Coldly received at the Court in London, he had come back to seek in his native country the excitement and occupation which his young mind craved; and, though he was "very hard to be guided," it was to him rather than to any of the yet undeclared peers,—to him, certainly, rather than to his senior, the cautious Lorne,—that hope would have assigned the future leadership of the Scottish popular cause. (II.) It does not seem that among the thousand Lairds or Lesser Barons constituting the landed gentry of Scotland, next in rank to the great Nobles, there was proportionally so much of the anti-prelatic spirit; but in this order too there were men of Presbyterian grain. From among scores of such that could be reckoned up,—Humes, Douglasses, Mures, Agnews, Barclays, Ramsays, Frasers,—one singles out, as pre-eminent in this order from the first, Archibald Johnstone of Warriston. The son of an Annan-

dale laird, and himself possessing a small property, he had been called to the Scottish bar in 1633, and was already in some practice in Edinburgh as a lawyer, and known to his intimate friends as, next to old Sir Thomas Hope, the man most likely to serve the Kirk by his knowledge of Scottish law. Nor was knowledge of Scottish law his sole qualification. Whatever of courage, earnestness, promptitude, prudence, and skill was required in the man who was to be the leading Presbyterian business-agent in the approaching struggle, was to be found, when the crisis called for it, in Johnstone of Warriston. (III.) What of the Scottish Clergy, the 800 or 900 parish ministers, who, with the probationers and students of divinity, formed the actual body over which the Bishops presided. Among these the old breed of Presbyterians, the men of the stamp of Knox and Melville, seemed to have died out, or to be represented only in a few survivors, the most refractory of whom, such as the historian Calderwood, had been driven into exile or deprived; and the majority appeared to acquiesce in Episcopacy as a settled institution. Underneath this seeming acquiescence, however, there lay dormant a strength of Presbyterianism greater than could be estimated. It was still a consolation with hundreds that Prelacy "had never been allowed as a standing office in the Church by any lawful assembly in Scotland." In these circumstances, nothing but the most cautious procedure could have saved Episcopacy as it was from being re-questioned on the first convenient opportunity. With very cautious procedure, there *might* possibly, in time, have been an organic adjustment. Not, however, as affairs were going. Presbyterianism pure and absolute was reappearing among the Clergy from the very force of the contrary pressure. Here and there over Scotland there were ministers watching the course of events, as unappointed and yet recognised deputies for the rest, and day by day coming to a firmer conclusion as to what must be the national duty. Among the Edinburgh clergy there were one or two men, like Mr. Andrew Ramsay and Mr. Henry Rollock, who, hitherto obedient enough to the estab-

lished system, were beginning to repent of their moderation. Calderwood was also in Edinburgh, having returned from exile. It was not in the metropolis, however, but in a few remote country parishes and small country towns over Scotland that the leaders were in training. Over in Fife-shire, and already known as the man of greatest weight and intellectual capacity among the clergy of that energetic county, was Mr. Alexander Henderson, parish minister of Leuchars, now about fifty years of age, and for the last sixteen years an opponent, equally intrepid and skilful, of the prelatie policy. Of the same age as Henderson, and celebrated as the most powerful preacher in the West of Scotland, was Mr. David Dickson, minister of Irvine in Ayrshire, suspended some ten years before for declaring against the Articles of Perth, but soon permitted to return, and to preach as before to the crowds that flocked to hear him on Sundays and market-days. A man considerably younger, of less fervid character, but of strong sense and judgment, was Mr. Robert Baillie, minister of Kilwinning, near Glasgow, of whom we learn from his private letters that he would have been willing at this time to live under a moderate episcopacy, but that the increase of "Arminianism and Papistry" was causing him much anxiety.¹ Farther to the south, in the remote parish of Anwoth in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, was Mr. Samuel Rutherford, now in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and famous for the last seven years as a fair-haired seraphic preacher, of small stature but wondrous force. He was at present writing a Latin treatise against Arminianism, which was to be published at Amsterdam in 1636. Known to Rutherford, as having been chaplain to his patron, Viscount Kenmure, on whose death he became chaplain to the Earl of Cassilis, was Mr. George Gillespie, as yet a mere youth, but engaged, under the Earl's roof, on a work against the English ceremonies. Lastly, that the far north might not want a Presbyterian luminary, there was Mr. Andrew Cant, minister of the parish of Pitsligo in Aberdeenshire, raying out in that shire beams

¹ Mr. Laing's Memoir of Baillie, prefixed to his "Letters," I. xxix. xxx.

of anti-prelatic light. (IV.) There seems little doubt that, in downright opposition to prelacy, the Scottish people at large left the majority of their clergy far behind. Perhaps, with allowance for districts where Roman Catholicism still lingered and where Episcopacy had taken root, it would be a fair calculation to say that nineteen-twentieths of the Lowland Scottish population were, in as far as crowds can be conscious of a creed, Presbyterian Calvinists. There were Presbyterian provosts and town councillors in most of the burghs; the citizens in most towns were Presbyterian; the rabble in most towns would have liked nothing better than to pelt a Bishop through the streets; and the blue-bonneted and plaided peasantry of the western shires,—no man could tell how Presbyterian were they. Nor must it be forgotten that in many places and in many families wives were more zealous than their husbands, daughters than their fathers, mothers than their sons. Over Scotland, it was to be found, there were Presbyterian heroines very many, and Presbyterian termagants not a few.

A ruder nation than England, with little commerce, far more superstitious in the matter of witchcraft, and far more given to witch-burning and other horrible practices of the sort, torn by feuds of which England would have been ashamed, rife in crimes of violence which the laws could not punish, full at the same time of all kinds of laughable humours and eccentricities, there was among the Scotch, whether in natural connexion with these differences or from independent causes, a more violent theological susceptibility than among the English. That rigorous and sombre view of life and of religious practice which the Puritans were inculcating in England, and which was there resisted by the Church, was the normal form of religion in Scotland, taught by the Calvinistic Kirk, and resisted only, but abundantly enough, by the natural carnality and the boundless jocosity of the Kirk's subjects. The doctrine of conversion, of the distinction between the natural man and the man regenerate by grace, known in its milder form to the English Church, and preached in its stronger form by the

English Puritans, was inherent in its strongest form of all in the very substance of Scottish Christianity. The clerical leaders of the Presbyterian movement, or those who were in training to be such, were men whose very peculiarity among their brethren was that they had grasped this doctrine with the uttermost conceivable tenacity, and that, recognising in themselves the subjects of this miraculous change, and able in some cases to tell the very year, or the month, or the day, when the change had been wrought, they viewed it as the sole end of their office to effect the change in others, and convert souls to Christ. Henderson, a man of weight in all respects, able and expert in debate, and fit to cope with statesmen in secular business, could tell how in his younger years he had been personally careless of real religion, how the people of Leuchars, when he was appointed their pastor in 1615, had nailed up their church-doors to keep him out, and he had forced his entrance by the window, and how it was not till several years after that, touched by the words of a more zealous preacher, he felt the force of "saving truth" and became a new man. Of Dickson we are told that "few lived in his day who were more honoured to be instruments of conversion than he," that "his communion services were indeed times of refreshing from the Lord," and that such was his skill in "soul-eases" that people under "soul-concern" crowded the lobbies of his house to see and speak with him. The letters of Rutherford are still read as the remains of one in whom the sensuous genius of a poet was elevated by religion to the pitch of ecstasy. "Woods, trees, meadows, and hills," he writes, "are my witnesses that I drew on a fair match betwixt Christ and Anwoth"; and to this day in that parish they show certain stones in a field, called "the witness-stones of Rutherford," to which, on one occasion, the inspired man pointed with his finger, telling his trembling flock that, if they or their children should ever, after he was dead, admit another gospel than that which he had taught them, then those very stones would witness against their backsliding. Nor was this intensity of religious belief confined to the clergy. The

same sense of supernatural realities, the same habitual use in speech of the images and terms of the Calvinistic theology, were found among the Presbyterian laymen. Moreover the phenomenon of epidemic religious ecstasy was well known in Scotland, while in England there was nothing of the kind, save in some poor localities, the haunts of despised Brownist preachers. The famous communion at the Kirk of Shotts in June 1630, when a large congregation remained two days spell-bound by the preaching of young Mr. Livingstone and five hundred were converted on the second day by one sermon, and that still more extraordinary "outletting of the Spirit" which began the same year at Stewarton in Ayrshire in the preachings of Mr. Dickson, and which overflowed the adjacent country "like a spreading moor-burn," so that the profane called it the Stewarton Sickness, were events fresh in the popular memory.

One remarks that these and similar excitements took place chiefly in the south or south-west of Scotland, and that the portion of Scotland most exempt from such phenomena, and indeed from religious ecstasy in any form, was that where there was the largest cluster of confessedly learned clergymen. The "Aberdeen Doctors," as people had begun to call Dr. John Forbes, Dr. Barron, Dr. William Guild, and some half-dozen more divines clustered round Bishop Forbes, and then round his successor Bishop Bellen-den, at Aberdeen, as occupants of the town-pulpits or of the chairs of grammar and theology in the two Aberdeen colleges, were notoriously the men in the whole Scottish Kirk who were the most moderate in their Calvinism and the coolest in their zeal for Presbytery. They formed a little intellectual colony, in which religion was kept at a moderate heat by other tastes and interests. There was more printing of Latin verse and the like among them than in any other town in Scotland; they had occasional visits from Arthur Johnston, to print a volume at their press and to bring them London literary news; and they had among them, as a resident native of the town, the only Scottish artist then alive, Jamesone the portrait-painter. And so,

the community among whom they preached, and whom their preaching satisfied, being a large-boned and large-headed race, Aberdeen was the city in all Scotland the least fervid in its Presbyterianism.¹ Andrew Cant, in his parish of Pitsligo, was the only anti-prelatic star of any magnitude that twinkled in this northern darkness.

Meanwhile, far away, on the banks of the Thames, sat Laud, as ignorant of Scotland as of Kamtschatka, but trying to govern it ecclesiastically through the sixpenny post. His correspondence with the Scottish bishops now was chiefly respecting the new BOOK OF CANONS and the new SERVICE-BOOK. The arrangement was that the Scottish bishops should prepare both books, and that, after they had been revised and amended by Laud, Juxon of London, Wren of Norwich, and such other English prelates as the King might appoint, they should be imposed on Scotland by royal authority.

The BOOK OF CANONS was ready first. The royal decree establishing it is dated Greenwich, May 23, 1635. The Book, printed at Aberdeen, was received in Scotland with a kind of dumb amazement. The Scottish Bishops, as Laud afterwards pleaded, had been strictly enjoined to take the Scottish Privy Council along with them in framing the Canons, and also to see that none of them were contrary to the laws of the Scottish realm,—an injunction more easily given than obeyed, and which had consequently been disobeyed. The Bishops seem to have fancied that the Canons,

¹ One of the best illustrations that I have seen of the peculiar Aberdonian feeling of the time is a Latin letter (now in the State Paper Office) received by Laud July 5, 1634, and endorsed by him, "Dr. Barron's letter, of Aberdeen, concerning y^e pacifying of y^e 5 articles." Though received only on July 5, the letter is dated "Aberdoniæ, 20 Aprilis, 1634." It begins—"Amplissime et rev^{asime} Præsul, non sum nescius modestiam et verecundiam in me desiderari posse, quod, homo privatus, gente extraneus, et vix apud populares notus, ad Rev^{asimæ} tuæ Amplitudinis amicitiam, qui, non tam honoribus quam virtutibus

celsus, et supra communem hominum sortem evectus es, rudi hac epistolâ mihi viam aditumque munire non erubescam." The writer then goes on at great length to compliment Laud on the wisdom of his Church government, and to assure him of the writer's boundless admiration of his character, and of his published solutions of old controversies,—all this, so far as I can see, to no other end than to make Laud aware that there was one reverend gentleman far north who would be glad to be remembered by his Grace when anything good was going.

when approved by the King, were to be submitted to the Scottish Clergy; for the title prefixed to the book in their original draft was "*Canons agreed on to be proposed to the several Synods of the Kirk of Scotland*,"—which title Laud altered into "*Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical ordained to be observed by the Clergy*."¹ But the matter of the book was the grand objection. The absolute prerogative of the King over the Kirk was asserted; there were to be no General Assemblies of the Kirk except by the King's authority; and private meetings of clergymen for the exposition of Scripture were prohibited. Among the special enactments were these:—that the forthcoming Service-Book should be used, in all its parts, as the only directory of worship; that there should be no prayers except according to the forms there prescribed; that none should receive the communion otherwise than kneeling; that every ecclesiastical person should leave part of his property to the Church; and that no presbyter should reveal anything *told him in confession*, except in a case where by concealment his own life would be forfeited by law. The total impression made was that the Canons imposed a system of doctrine and discipline nearer to the Popish than that of the existing Church of England.

There was an extraordinary delay in the publication of the new SERVICE-BOOK. The Canons, published in May 1635, enjoined the acceptance of it; and yet for a year and a half the book was not to be seen or heard of anywhere. It was still only in progress. Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, and Wedderburn, Bishop of Dunblane, who were the Scottish bishops chiefly entrusted with the work, were sending it, piece by piece, to Laud; he and the other English prelates in his confidence were making their additions and marginal notes; on these again there ensued correspondence; and, even after the printing had been begun by the King's printer in Edinburgh, there was such trouble in sending the proofs backwards and forwards, and in making new alterations, that the work was often at a stand.² At length all seemed

¹ Wharton's Laud, 101.

² Ibid., 110, 111, &c.

to be ready; and in October 1636 the Scottish Privy Council received a "missive letter" from the King, announcing the book, and ordering them to make known his Majesty's command that all his subjects in Scotland should "conform themselves in the practice thereof,—it being the only form which We, having taken the counsel of our Clergy, think fit to be used in God's public worship there."¹ The Privy Council obeyed the order, and made proclamation of the new Service-Book on the 20th of December, 1636.²

Still no Service-Book was to be seen. "The proclamation of our Liturgy," writes Baillie to a friend in Glasgow, Jan. 2, 1637, "is the matter of my greatest affliction. I pray you, if you can command any copy by your money or moyen, let me have one, an it were but two or three days, with this bearer. I am mindit to cast my studies for disposing of my mind to such a course as I may be answerable to God for my carriage." It was not till some months had passed that Baillie and others could obtain copies of the book. The rumour ran that the first edition had been cancelled, and that sheets of it were used in the shops to wrap up spice and tobacco.³ By the beginning of May 1637, however, there were stray copies of the long-expected volume in circulation, and bales of copies lying in Edinburgh warehouses. It was a folio in black and red letters, the black in Gothic type, and was entitled *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Parts of Divine Service for the Use of the Church of Scotland*. *Edinburgh: Printed by Robert Young*. The Bishops had issued letters ordering every parish minister to purchase, at the charge of his parish, two bound copies for use; and, as the printer wanted his money, all the copies were to be sold off by the 1st of June.⁴

Though there was no alacrity among the ministers in buying copies, enough were in circulation to enable the

¹ Letter, dated Newark, Oct. 18, 1636; *Balfour's Annals*.

² Baillie, Appendix to vol. I.; where the Privy Council Order is given, signed by eleven of the Council.

³ Baillie, Letter of date Feb. 27, 1638.

⁴ Letter of Lindsay, Bishop of Edinburgh, of date April 28, 1637, in Appendix to Baillie, vol. I.

whole country to form a judgment of the contents. The book was found by its critics to be "Popish in its frame and forms," to contain "many Popish errors and ceremonies, and the seeds of manifold and gross superstitions and idolatries," and to be in all respects much more objectionable than the English Prayer-Book would have been.¹ "Those which are averse from the ceremonies," writes Baillie, "yea, almost all our nobility and gentry, and both "sexes, count that book little better than the mass." Knowing how general was this feeling, the Privy Council were obliged to be peremptory. On the 13th of July they ordered all parish ministers to procure the two copies of the book, as previously commanded, within 15 days, under pain of "being put to the horn,"—the Scottish formula for being outlawed for disobedience to his Majesty's will, and therefore liable to summary process of seizure of goods and other penalties. It was also resolved that there should be a grand preliminary reading from the book in the churches of Edinburgh and the parts adjacent on Sunday the 23rd of July, in order that the Lords of Session and other officials then assembled in Edinburgh in full term-time might be able to carry the report of the success of the new Liturgy into the country with them when they dispersed for the autumn vacation.²

What occurred in Edinburgh on that memorable Sunday, the 23rd of July, 1637, is known, in a general way, to all the world. As it was the actual beginning, however, of that Revolution in the British Islands which is to occupy us so much in these volumes, some account of the facts may be expected here. The following may pass as strictly authentic:—"Ten o'clock was to be the hour for the great innovation; at all events, that was to be the hour in the High "Kirk of St. Giles, the Cathedral Church of Edinburgh. "By that hour the church was crowded with a large congregation, most of the Council and other officials being "present, with the Chancellor-Archbishop himself, and the "Bishops of Galloway and Brechin, besides the Bishop of

¹ Wharton's *Laud*, 110—125; where the Scottish objections to the book are

given formally and in detail.

² Rushworth, II. 387.

“Edinburgh, and his Dean, Dr. James Hannay, who were
“to perform the service. The Bishop was in the pulpit
“with the service-book, and the Dean was in the reading-
“desk with the service-book, and the Dean had opened the
“book and begun to read, when a moaning ran through the
“church, which swelled into cries of ‘*Woe, woe!*’ ‘*Sorrow,*
“*Sorrow!*’ and at length into a vast hubbub and uproar,
“the women especially conspicuous, and rising from their
“seats, and beginning to toss their arms to help their
“voices. Suddenly, from one woman wilder than the rest,
“—JENNY GEDDES, she will be called to the end of time,
“though some think that was not her real name,—there
“whirled into the air, for lack of any other missile, her
“three-legged stool, aimed at the pulpit. On this signal
“other stools flew in the same direction, till, stronger arms
“beginning to aid, it seemed as if they would tear up the
“pews and benches. Through the uproar the Bishop, the
“other Bishops, the Archbishop and high officials, had been
“gesticulating in vain, and trying to be heard; and many
“had run out of the church in fright. If there were not to
“be absolute fighting and murder within the sacred walls,
“there was no help for it but to stop the attempted reading
“and huddle through the rest of the service anyhow. This
“was what was done; but the tumult meanwhile had com-
“municated itself to the streets, and a mob was waiting
“outside. When the Bishop of Edinburgh came out, he
“was pursued with hootings, and had to take refuge in
“the nearest stair leading to a house; and, had not the
“Dean, who was more unpopular than the Bishop, prudently
“remained in the church, it would have fared worse with
“him. All that afternoon the riot continued; and, on a
“second appearance of the Bishop in the High Street, he
“was again chased with such fury that, had not the Earl of
“Roxburgh, who chanced to pass in his coach, driven
“through the crowd to his rescue, and pulled him in, his
“life would have been in peril. As it was, the Earl and
“the Bishop barely escaped in the shower of stones that
“rattled against the coach at that part of the High Street

“where they were then building the Tron Church and stones
“were conveniently at hand.”¹

Premeditated or not, the JENNY GEDDES RIOT in Edinburgh was understood by the whole Scottish nation. The magistrates of Edinburgh and the Privy Council did their best, by proclamations and the like, to restore order, and to give the new Service-Book a second Sunday's chance; but it was found to be impossible. “Efter that Sunday's wark,” says Spalding, “the haill kirk-doors of Edinburgh were lockit, and no more preaching heard,”—the zealous Presbyterians making up for the want by flocking over “ilk Sunday to hear devotion in Fife.”² Meanwhile “the posts were running thick betwixt the Court in London and the Council.”³ The Bishops wrote, blaming Traquair and the lay lords; Traquair wrote, blaming the Bishops; the magistrates wrote, begging Laud to explain to the King that they were not to blame; and Laud wrote back sharply enough to all parties, conveying the King's extreme dissatisfaction that they had managed “to carry the business so weakly,” but not doubting that it might still be carried through in spite of the “baser multitude.”⁴ Those on the spot began to know better. Not only, at every symptom of farther action in favour of the Service-Book, did the “baser multitude” in Edinburgh resume their rioting; but, from all other parts of Scotland where the Service-Book had been tried or talked of since the 23rd of July, there came the same response. Of the Bishops themselves only three made any serious attempt at a reading of the book in their own cathedrals,—“the Bishop of Ross in the Chanrie, Brechin at the kirk of Brechin, and Dunblane at Dunblane”; and even they were put to shifts.⁵ In Glasgow, where an attempt was made to recommend it to the clergy through a synod-sermon, the preacher, Mr. William Annan, was nearly murdered in the streets that same evening by the Jenny Geddeses of the West.

¹ *Drummond of Hawthornden: The Story of his Life and Writings* (1873), pp. 251, 252.

² Spalding's *Troubles*, edit. 1850, I. 80.

³ Baillie.

⁴ Rushworth, II. 389, &c.

⁵ *Roth's Relation of the Affairs of the Kirk*, quoted by Mr. Chambers, *Annals*, II. 104.

Till the month of September 1637, and while it was supposed that the report of the total failure of the Service-Book would have due effect at Court, the only demonstrations of the Presbyterian leaders were in the shape of petitions and protests addressed to the Privy Council by one or two presbyteries, and by an individual minister here and there, such as Henderson, Dickson, and Andrew Ramsay. But, when it was known that the injunctions from the Court to the Privy Council were still for going through with the business, the Nobles, the Lesser Barons, the Burghs, and the whole body of the Clergy began to bestir themselves. The harvest being nearly over, they poured into Edinburgh, or sent deputies thither, in such extraordinary numbers that they were surprised at their own strength. "Supplices," as the petitions were called, were simultaneously presented to the Council from 20 nobles, a considerable number of barons, 100 ministers, 14 burghs, and 168 parishes; and these were redacted, for grammatical and other reasons, into one general "Supplicate," to be submitted to the King. The twenty supplicating nobles were the Earls of Angus, Rothes, Sutherland, Dalhousie, Cassilis, Wemyss, and Lothian, and Lords Sinclair, Dalkeith, Lindsay, Balmerino, Burley, Hume, Boyd, Yester, Cranstoun, Loudoun, Montgomery, Dalzell, and Fleming. Such an array of nobles, backed by such a constituency throughout the country, could not, it was thought, but make some impression at Court. Accordingly, on the 20th of September, the "supplicants" dispersed from Edinburgh, after a solemn meeting for humiliation and prayer, leaving, however, one or two of their number in Edinburgh, to be upon the watch against false play, and to summon the rest again if necessary.¹

It was not expected that the King's answer would arrive before November. Suddenly, however, all over Scotland south of the Grampians there flew expresses from Edinburgh, with information that a trick was intended, and that it would be as well if Edinburgh were again full of the right

¹ Stevenson's *Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1754), II. 199 et seq.

Presbyterian material before the 18th of October. The summons was obeyed. Nobles from all parts, ministers from all parts, provosts and commissioners of burghs from all parts, lairds and gentry from all parts, especially from the hot Presbyterian shires of the Lothians, Fife, Stirling, Lanark, and Ayr, flocked in great excitement into Edinburgh. For a moment it was supposed that the haste was unnecessary,—that Archibald Johnstone of Warriston, who had sent out the expresses, had blundered. But Johnstone never blundered in a business of this kind. On the 18th of October the Council did meet, and the King's answer came forth in the shape of three proclamations at the Cross of Edinburgh. One of these dissolved the Council "so far as religion was concerned," in order that no more petitions on that subject might be entertained, and commanded all strangers to withdraw from Edinburgh within twenty-four hours on pain of rebellion; a second adjourned the next meeting of the Council for ordinary business to Linlithgow on the 1st of November; and the third condemned young Mr. Gillespie's recent treatise *Against the English-Popish Ceremonies*. The Supplicants were prepared. They had been meeting for consultation, each order in a separate house, when the substance of the proclamations was announced to them; and immediately, despite the order to disperse, they resolve on a bolder stroke than any yet. This was a complaint against the Bishops, as the peccant part of the Council and the causes of all the national evil, with a protest against their farther presence as judges in any court, and their farther participation in any measures of government, until they and their doings should be put on trial according to the laws of the realm. All night Lords Loudoun and Balmerino and Mr. David Dickson were busy drafting the document, which immediately received the signatures of "twenty-four nobles, several hundred gentlemen of the shires, some hundreds of ministers, and most of the burghs." This complaint against the Bishops, which involved a rejection of the Book of Canons, as well as of the New Liturgy, was carried to the Council. The

Councillors were obliged to listen, really if not formally; and, promises having been made of farther communication with London, the Supplicants again dispersed.

The policy now was to keep the Council in a state of permanent siege. In vain it adjourned to Linlithgow, to Stirling, and other places. Wherever it went, a detachment of the besieging force followed it, luring it into negotiations, or battering it with petitions. On the 14th of November, when it again met in Edinburgh, the Supplicants had flocked thither in greater numbers than ever, and with the important accession of young Montrose to their list of chiefs. Traquair, Lorne, Lauderdale, and other lay members of the Council remonstrated with them amicably on the unnecessary danger to the peace by such tumultuous assemblages, and suggested that they should entrust the farther conduct of the business to a few selected commissioners. The suggestion, convenient to the Supplicants themselves, was adopted, and four committees were appointed. There was a Committee for the Nobles, consisting of a few nobles named by the rest; another for the Lairds or Lesser Barons, consisting of two gentlemen from each shire; a third for the Burghs, in which there was a representative commissioner from each burgh; and a fourth for the Clergy, containing a minister from each presbytery. These Committees, called *The Tables*, were to meet in Edinburgh on any emergency; but, still farther to concentrate the business, there was to be one supreme or central *Table*, permanent in Edinburgh, and consisting of four Nobles, three Lairds, three Burgesses, and two ministers, acting under the authority of written commissions from the rest. Plans for swift correspondence were settled, and, for the third time, the Supplicants dispersed.¹

February 1638 was the decisive month. Traquair and messengers from the Bishops had gone to London. The King had hitherto shown his displeasure by leaving the supplicates substantially unanswered. There had been no

¹ Rushworth, II. 400—407; Balfour's Annals and Baillie's Letters *sub anno*

1637; Clarendon, 44, 45; and Stevenson's History, *ut supra*.

sign, however, of any intention to abandon the Service-Book. Moreover, the movement was now so wide and deep that such a concession would have been of no use. The Book of Canons, the High Commission, the Five Articles of Perth, Prelacy itself,—all must go! Virtually the whole nation had pledged itself to that effect: no fewer now than thirty-eight of the nobles; lairds and gentlemen without number; all the clergy, with the exception of the Aberdeen Doctors and a few others here and there; and *all* the towns, except Aberdeen.¹ The Privy Council was but a raft of prelates and lay officials floating on a popular sea,—several of the lay officials in close alliance with the popular chiefs. All depended on the nature of the next missive from London. The missive came at last, the ultimatum of the King and Laud on the Scottish question. Traquair himself brought the document in his pocket. It transpired that a Council had been secretly convened for the 20th at Stirling, and that then some proclamation was to be made. At ten o'clock in the morning of the 20th a proclamation *was* read at the cross of Stirling. It expressed his Majesty's extreme displeasure with the past; it declared those who had assisted at recent "meetings and convocations" to be liable to high censure; it forbade "all such convocations and meetings in time coming under pain of treason"; it commanded "all noblemen, barons, ministers, and burghers, not actually indwellers in the burgh of Stirling," to depart thence within six hours, and not return again thither, or to any other place where the Council might meet; and, for the rest, it advised all faithful subjects to trust to his Majesty's good intentions. No sooner was this proclamation read than Lords Hume and Lindsay, who had ridden post haste from Edinburgh to be in time, caused a protest, which they had brought with them, to be read at the same spot with all legal forms; and, leaving a copy of this protest affixed by the side of the proclamation to the market-cross of Stirling, they posted back to Edinburgh. At Edinburgh a repetition of the same scene occurred on the 22d, Archibald Johnstone

¹ Baillie and Stevenson.

stepping forward on a platform in the High Street at the proper moment and reading the protest in his clearest voice. Meanwhile expresses were out, summoning the Tables to Edinburgh again. And not the Tables only. To Edinburgh, to Edinburgh, now, all Scottish men and sons of mothers that can come! Your chiefs have risked their heads in the common cause: will you surround them like men, or desert them like cowards?

Scotland responded, and the men who had risked their heads were soon ringed round by a sufficient crowd of adherents of all ranks and classes. But what next? Such meeting and dispersing could go on for ever. This aggregate enthusiasm could not, by the laws of things, be maintained long at the same strain. Already it was the understood policy of Traquair to break up the confederacy as much as possible by inducing the different orders of supplicants to renew their petitions separately. What then was to be done? Into the middle of the chiefs consulting together at the Tables the right thought descended as by inspiration.

Several times before in the history of Scotland since the Reformation advantage had been found in the device of a solemn verbal Band, Oath, or Covenant, pledging the entire nation, all ranks and degrees alike, to stand or fall together in the maintenance and defence of the true Religion, or of the Scottish version of it. A famous document of the kind, more especially, was the National Covenant of 1581, called also "The Second Confession of Faith," which had been drafted by Mr. John Craig, formerly the colleague of John Knox in the ministry of Edinburgh, but then living on as the venerable survivor of Knox and the rest of the first generation of Scottish Reformers, and as chaplain to young King James VI. This Covenant, called for by an alarm at that moment of defection in high places back to the Papacy, had been first signed, in January 1580-1, by the young King himself and a number of his councillors and courtiers, and then, through the rest of 1581, in obedience to a Privy Council ordinance and an Act of the General Assembly of

the Kirk, by all persons universally throughout the kingdom. It had been appealed to and in a manner revived in 1588 on the alarm of the expected invasion of Great Britain by the Spanish Armada; and there had been a second universal subscription to it, and to an appended political band, by public order, in 1590, when the recollection of the attempted Armada invasion was recent, and neither Scotland nor England had recovered from the dread of some immense impending peril to their liberties and their religion from Spain and the other powers of the Roman Catholic League. Since then the great document, though not forgotten, and indeed once again nominally renewed, had been practically dormant; but now it was to do service once more. "The Noblemen, with Mr. Alexander Henderson and Mr. David Dickson, resolves upon the renewing of the old Covenant for Religion," is Baillie's first intimation of the important project; and he goes on to tell how the project, thus emanating first from the Table of the Nobles with clerical advice, was ventilated for a day or two quietly among the other Tables, and more publicly in sermons by Dickson, Rollock, and others, till all was complete. The difficulty was not about the old Anti-Papal Covenant, of Mr. Craig's drafting, which it was proposed to renew, but about the Band to be annexed to it applying it to present circumstances; but, that Band having been produced in scroll, and certain verbal modifications having been made in it, to meet objections by Mr. Baillie and others, who were afraid of being too headlong or going too far at once, the agreement was unanimous and enthusiastie. The signing of the document, as finally settled, is said to have begun among the chiefs on the 28th of February; but the grand beginning was on the 1st of March,—on which day, a great congregation having assembled in the Greyfriars church in Edinburgh, the document was read, and, after an address by Henderson, was signed, in the church or in the churchyard, by all who could get near it, to the number of several thousands, "consisting of all the nobles who were then in Scotland, except the Lords of Privy Council and four or

“five others, of commissioners from all the shires within Scotland, and from every burgh, except Aberdeen, St. Andrews, and Crail, and of other gentlemen and ministers whose zeal had brought them up to assist or concur with their commissioners upon that occasion.” Copies were at once multiplied for distribution and circulation throughout the country, each containing the autograph signatures of the chiefs, or of some of them, that people in all parts might have the less hesitation in writing their names on parchments so headed and certified, and that it might be known to posterity *who* had been the original Scottish Covenanters.¹

Posterity needed the information. Though the Scottish Covenant and the Scottish Covenanters have been spoken about and written about abundantly enough, there is no subject on which, even within Scotland itself, there is a greater amount of ignorance and misconception, arising from contentedness with mere phrases, and perverse confusion of dates and things. There was to be a subsequent and totally different Covenant, common to Scotland and England; and the name Covenanters was to be applied in a special manner, and by a kind of historical prolongation, to the humble and vexed residue in Scotland of the persevering adherents to both documents in the reigns of Charles II. and James II.; but this original Covenant of March 1638 was a purely and exclusively Scottish document, and the real Covenanters of that date, the first properly historical Covenanters, were no humble or persecuted fraction of the community, but were simply the whole flower and strength of the Scottish nation; from the highest peerage to the lowest peasantry, banded in defiance to Laud and to the political and ecclesiastical absolutism of Charles the First. The Covenant of March 1638 consisted, in fact, of three parts, as follows:—

I. THE COVENANT OF 1581, OR CRAIG'S COVENANT, RENEWED VERBATIM, THUS:—

“We, all and every one of us underwritten, protest that, after long and due examination of our own consciences in matters of true and

¹ Calderwood, III. 501—506; Baillie, I. 52—54; Stevenson (Edit. 1840), pp. 206—209.

false religion, we are now thoroughly resolved in the truth by the Word and Spirit of God; and therefore we believe with our hearts, confess with our mouths, subscribe with our hands, and constantly affirm before God and the whole world, that this only is the true Christian faith and religion, pleasing to God and bringing salvation to man, which now is, by the mercy of God, revealed to the world by the preaching of the blessed Evangel, and is received, believed, and defended by many and sundry notable Kirks and Realms, but chiefly by the Kirk of Scotland, the King's Majesty, and Three Estates of this Realm, as God's eternal truth and only ground of our Salvation,—as more particularly is expressed in the Confession of our Faith established and publicly confirmed by sundry Acts of Parliaments, and now of a long time hath been openly professed by the King's Majesty and whole body of this Realm both in burgh and land [The reference is to the Confession of Faith drawn up in 1560 as the doctrinal basis of the Scottish Reformation]. To the which Confession and Form of Religion we willingly agree in our conscience in all points, as unto God's undoubted truth and verity, grounded only upon his written Word. And therefore we abhor and detest all contrary religion and doctrine; but chiefly all kind of Papistry, in general and particular heads, even as they are now damned and confuted by the Word of God and the Kirk of Scotland. But in special we detest and refuse the usurped authority of that Roman Antichrist upon the Scriptures of God, upon the Kirk, the Civil Magistrate, and consciences of men; all his tyrannous laws made upon indifferent things against our Christian liberty; his erroneous doctrine against the sufficiency of the written Word, the perfection of the Law, the office of Christ, and his blessed Evangel; his corrupted doctrine concerning original sin, our natural inability and rebellion to God's law, our justification by faith only, our imperfect sanctification and obedience to the law, the nature, number, and use of the holy sacraments; his five bastard sacraments, with all his rites, ceremonies, and false doctrine, added to the ministration of the true sacraments, without the Word of God; his cruel judgment against infants departed without the sacrament; his absolute necessity of baptism; his blasphemous opinion of transubstantiation or real presence of Christ's body in the elements, and receiving of the same by the wicked, or bodies of men; his dispensations with solemn oaths, perjuries, and degrees of marriage forbidden in the Word; his cruelty against the innocent divorced; his devilish mass; his blasphemous priesthood; his profane sacrifice for sins of the dead and the quick; his canonization of men, calling upon angels or saints departed, worshipping of imagery, relics, and crosses, dedicating of kirks, altars, days, vows to creatures; his purgatory, prayers for the dead, praying or speaking in a strange language, with his processions, and blasphemous litany, and multitude of advocates or mediates; his manifold orders, auricular confession; his desperate and uncertain repentance; his general and doubtful faith; his satisfactions of men for their sins; his justification by works, *opus operatum*, works of supererogation, merits, pardons, peregrinations, and stations; his holy water, baptizing of bells, conjuring of spirits, crossing, saining, anointing, conjuring, hallowing of God's good creatures, with the superstitious opinion joined therewith; his worldly monarchy and wicked hierarchy; his three solemn vows, with all his shavelings of sundry sorts; his erroneous and bloody decrees made at Trent, with all the subscribers or approvers of that cruel and bloody band, conjured against the Kirk of God. And, finally, We detest all his vain

allegories, rites, signs, and traditions, brought in the Kirk without or against the Word of God and doctrine of this true Reformed Kirk; to the which we join ourselves willingly, in doctrine, faith, religion, discipline, and use of the holy sacraments, as lively members of the same in Christ our Head: promising and swearing, by the great name of the Lord our God, that we shall continue in the obedience of the doctrine and discipline of this Kirk, and shall defend the same, according to our vocation and power, all the days of our lives, under the pains contained in the law, and danger both of body and soul in the day of God's fearful judgment.—And, seeing that many are stirred up by Satan, and that Roman Antichrist, to promise, swear, subscribe, and for a time use the holy sacraments in the Kirk deceitfully against their own conscience, minding hereby first, under the external cloak of religion, to corrupt and subvert secretly God's true religion within the Kirk, and afterward, when time may serve, to become open enemies and persecutors of the same, under vain hope of the Pope's dispensation, devised against the Word of God, to his greater confusion and their double condemnation in the day of the Lord Jesus, We therefore, willing to take away all suspicion of hypocrisy, and of such double dealing with God and his Kirk, protest, and call the Searcher of all hearts for witness, that our minds and hearts do fully agree with this our Confession, promise, oath, and subscription, so that we are not moved with any worldly respect, but are persuaded only in our conscience, through the knowledge and love of God's true religion imprinted in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, as we shall answer to Him in the great day when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed.—And, because we perceive that the quietness and stability of our Religion and Kirk doth depend upon the safety and good behaviour of the King's Majesty, as upon a comfortable instrument of God's mercy granted to this country for the maintaining of his Kirk and ministration of justice amongst us, We protest and promise with our hearts, under the same oath, hand-writ, and pains, that we shall defend his person and authority with our goods, bodies, and lives, in the defence of Christ, his Evangel, liberties of our country, ministration of justice, and punishment of iniquity, against all enemies within this realm or without, as we desire our God to be a strong and merciful defender to us in the day of our death and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ; to whom, with the Father, and the Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory eternally. *Amen.*"

II. RECITATION, BY YEAR AND CHAPTER, OF A NUMBER OF STATUTES AND ACTS OF PARLIAMENT, CHIEFLY OF THE REIGN OF JAMES VI., BEARING ON THE SUBJECT OF RELIGION AND THE KIRK.

III. THE BAND FOR THE PRESENT OCCASION, ADOPTING CRAIG'S COVENANT OF 1581, AND DEFINING IT AS APPLICABLE TO THE LATE ANTI-PRESBYTERIAN INNOVATIONS.¹ This Band ran as follows:

"In obedience to the commandment of God, conform to the practice of the godly in former times, and according to the laudable example of our worthy and religious progenitors, and of many yet living amongst us . . . and, finally, being convinced in our minds, and confessing with our mouths, that the present and succeeding generations in this land are bound to keep the foresaid National Oath and

¹ From Baillie's account (I. 52-54) one infers that those chiefly concerned with the preparation of this Band were the Earl of Rothes, Lord Loudoun, and

Messrs. Alexander Henderson and David Dickson. I should fancy that Dickson was the main draftsman.

Subscription inviolable, We, Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgesses, Ministers, and Commons, undersubscribing, considering divers times before, and especially at this time, the danger of the true Reformed Religion, of the King's honour, and of the public peace of the kingdom, by the manifold innovations and evils generally contained and particularly mentioned in our late Supplications, Complaints, and Protestations, do hereby profess, and before God, and his angels, and the world, solemnly declare, that with our whole heart we agree and resolve all the days of our life constantly to adhere unto and to defend the foresaid true religion, and,—forbearing the practice of all innovations already introduced in the matters of the worship of God, or approbation of the corruptions of the public government of the Kirk, or civil places and power of Kirkmen, till they be tried and allowed in free Assemblies and in Parliament,—to labour by all means lawful to recover the purity and liberty of the Gospel as it was established and professed before the foresaid novations. And, because, after due examination, we plainly perceive, and undoubtedly believe, that the innovations and evils contained in our Supplications, Complaints, and Protestations, have no warrant of the Word of God, are contrary to the Articles of the foresaid Confession, to the intention and meaning of the blessed Reformers of Religion in this land, to the above-written Acts of Parliament, and do sensibly tend to the re-establishing of the Popish religion and tyranny, and to the subversion and ruin of the true Reformed Religion, and of our liberties, laws, and estates, we also declare that the foresaid Confessions [of 1560 and 1581] are to be interpreted and ought to be understood of the foresaid novations and evils no less than if every one of them had been expressed in the foresaid Confessions, and that we are obliged to detest and abhor them amongst other particular heads of Papistry abjured therein. And therefore, from the knowledge and conscience of our duty to God, to our King and Country, without any worldly respect or inducement, so far as human infirmity will suffer, wishing a further measure of the grace of God for this effect, We promise and swear, by the great name of the Lord our God, to continue in the profession and obedience of the foresaid religion, and that we shall defend the same, and resist all these contrary errors and corruptions, according to our vocation, and to the uttermost of that power that God hath put in our hands, all the days of our life.—And, in like manner, with the same heart, We declare, before God and men, that We have no intention nor desire to attempt anything that may turn to the dishonour of God, or to the diminution of the King's greatness and authority ; but, on the contrary, we profess and swear that we shall, to the uttermost of our power, with our means and lives, stand to the defence of our dread sovereign the King's Majesty, his person and authority, in the defence and preservation of the foresaid true religion, liberties, and laws of the kingdom, as also to the mutual defence and assistance every one of us of another, in the same cause of maintaining the true religion and his Majesty's authority, with our best counsel, our bodies, means, and whole power, against all sorts of persons whatsoever, so that whatsoever shall be done to the least of us for that cause shall be taken as done to us all in general and to every one of us in particular, and that we shall neither directly nor indirectly suffer ourselves to be divided or withdrawn, by whatsoever suggestion, combination, allurements, or terror, from this blessed and loyal conjunction, nor shall cast in any let or impediment that may stay or hinder any such resolution as by common consent shall be

found to conduce for so good ends, but, on the contrary, shall by all lawful means labour to further and promote the same. And, if any such dangerous and divisive motion be made to us by word or writ, We, and every one of us, shall either suppress it ; or, if need be, shall incontinent make the same known, that it may be timeously obviated. Neither do we fear the foul aspersions of rebellion, combination, or what else our adversaries, from their craft and malice, would put upon us, seeing what we do is so well warranted, and ariseth from an unfeigned desire to maintain the true worship of God, the majesty of our King, and the peace of the kingdom, for the common happiness of ourselves and our posterity. . . . And, that this our union and conjunction may be observed without violation, We call the Living God, the Searcher of our hearts, to witness, who knoweth this to be our sincere desire and unfeigned resolution, as we shall answer to Jesus Christ in the great day, and under the pain of God's everlasting wrath, and of infamy and loss of all honour and respect in this world, —most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his Holy Spirit for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with a happy success, that Religion and Righteousness may flourish in the land, to the glory of God, the honour of our King, and peace and comfort of us all.—In witness whereof, We have subscribed with our hands all the premisses.”

The signing of this Covenant, begun in Greyfriars' church in Edinburgh on the 1st of March 1638, was continued in Edinburgh and over all Scotland for many weeks. Copies were going about everywhere ; the Covenant was the text in all the pulpits, the topic in all households ; men walked for miles to see a copy and to sign it ; nay, the swearing came, in many places, to be *en masse*,—whole congregations standing up, men, women, and children together, after the forenoon sermon on Sundays, and raising their hands in affirmation while the minister read out the Covenant. Only in Aberdeen was there manifest lukewarmness or opposition. A deputation of the Covenanting leaders, consisting of the young Earl of Montrose, the Lairds of Morphie and Dun, and Messrs. Henderson, Dickson, and Cant, visited this northern fastness of Prelacy, to see what could be done. They were received civilly, with cake and wine, by the Magistrates and the Aberdeen Doctors ; Henderson, Dickson, and Cant preached in public ; but the native granite of the place was too hard, and little impression was made.

BOOK IV.

APRIL 1638—JULY 1639.

MILTON'S CONTINENTAL JOURNEY.

MILTON'S CONTINENTAL JOURNEY.

APRIL 1638—JULY 1639.

IN April 1638, while the Scots were still signing their Covenant, and the words *Covenant* and *Covenanters* were just beginning to circulate in England as implying something strange that was happening in the northern part of the Island, and when the last piece of properly English news was the termination of the famous ship-money lawsuit of Hampden by a decision against him, our poet, whom we left at Horton, was preparing to depart from England. A tour on the Continent, and above all a residence in Italy, had long been his wish; and he had at length obtained his father's somewhat unwilling consent.

One does not like to imagine that the old gentleman, a widower now for a year, was to be left alone at Horton during his eldest son's absence. The fact, I believe, accords with what one would wish. Milton's younger brother, Christopher, whom we saw, about a year ago, making an affidavit in Westminster as to his father's age and infirmity (ante p. 631), had by this time nearly finished his law-studies at the Inner Temple, and, at the age of two-and-twenty, was about to be called to the bar. More precocious in love matters than his elder brother, he had already got married. His wife was Thomasine Webber, the daughter of a London citizen; and there is all but perfect evidence in the registers of Horton parish that it had been arranged that the young couple should reside with the old scrivener at Horton and keep him company while the poet was abroad.¹

¹ It is not the marriage-entry of Christopher Milton that I have found in the Horton Register, but the burial-entry of what I take to have been his first child, and the baptism-entry of what I take to have been his second.

The first stands thus:—"1639: An infant sonne of Christopher Milton, gent., buried March y^e 26th." It is a fair calculation that the marriage took place a year previously, which would be a month and a half before Milton's

They were to reside with him, I fear, at his expense; and it says much for the excellent man's love of his children, and something also for the extent of his means, that, while consenting to this arrangement on behalf of his younger son, he cheerfully incurred also the additional expense of sending the elder son on his travels. The poet was to take a man-servant with him, and intended to be absent a year or two, and the expense to the ex-scrivener cannot have been less than about £250 a year of the money of that day.¹ Till Milton was over thirty-two years of age, he did not, so far as I know, earn a penny for himself.

For a young Englishman going abroad at that time the first requisite was a passport. The rule was that this could be obtained only by his waiting personally on one of the Secretaries of State, answering any questions that might be asked respecting his purposes in travelling, and giving satisfaction as to his religion. In Milton's case the matter seems to have been managed more easily. There is extant the faded and disfigured original of the following letter addressed to him, without date, but certainly in or just before April 1638, by his friend Henry Lawes, the musician:—

“Sir,

“I have sent you with this a letter from my Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports under his hand and seal, which will be a sufficient warrant to justify your going out of the King's dominions. If you intend to write (?) yourself, you cannot have a safer convoy for both than from Suffolk House; but that I leave to your own consideration, and remain your

“faithful friend and servant,

“HENRY LAWES.”²

“ . . . any ways approved,

“Mr. John Milton,

“Haste these.”

departure. The second entry stands thus:—“1640: Sarah, y^e daughter of Christopher and Thomasin Milton, baptized Aug. 11th.” The poet had by that time returned to England.

¹ In *Instructions for Forreine Travel*, published in 1642 by James Howell, he calculates the expenses of a young nobleman or rich young squire travelling abroad, as follows:—“As for expenses, he must make account that every servant he hath will stand him “£50 a-piece per annum; and for his “own expenses he cannot allow himself

“less than £300. I include herein all “sorts of exercises,—his riding, dancing, “fencing, the racket, coaching-hire, “with other casnal charges, together “with his apparel, which, if it be “fashionable, it matters not how plain “it is.” This is calculated more particularly for France. At Paris, Howell adds, there were divers “academies,” where one could board and learn the fashionable exercises for about £110 sterling per annum.

² The original of this letter, in Lawes's hand, was recently found lying as a

The Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports at that time was Theophilus Howard, Earl of Suffolk, whose town-residence was Suffolk House, at Charing Cross corner, afterwards Northumberland House. Whether Milton had to call there, to present himself to the Earl, or to have the passport completed by any additional formality, one does not know.

Milton was also able to provide himself, it seems, with unusually good letters of introduction. One of these was from no less a person than the celebrated Sir Henry Wotton, Provost of Eton, whose long residence abroad, as English envoy or ambassador at various Courts, qualified him admirably for giving advice to any young English scholar setting out on his travels (ante pp. 528—531). Milton, it seems, though Horton is not more than four or five miles distant from Eton, had only very recently made acquaintance with the venerable Provost and partaken of the classic hospitality of his elegant college rooms; but he had been so pleased with his reception that he had ventured to send the Provost, by way of parting-gift before going abroad, a copy of his *Comus*, in the anonymous little edition published the preceding year by Henry Lawes. To this gift, sent to Sir Henry with a letter on the 6th of April 1638, Milton received the following most courteous and most interesting reply. It has an interest independent of its immediate connexion with the intended foreign tour:—

“From the College, this 13th of April 1638.

“Sir,

“It was a special favour when you lately bestowed upon me here the first taste of your acquaintance, though no longer than to make me know that I wanted more time to value it, and to enjoy it rightly;

loose piece of paper in the middle of the interesting Common Place Book of Milton discovered by Mr. Alfred J. Horwood at Netherby (see ante, p. 303); and Mr. Horwood gave it to the public in the Introduction to his Edition of that Common Place Book for the Camden Society in 1877. I have queried the words “*write yourself*,”—given by Mr. Horwood as spelt in the original “*wryte yourselfe*,”—because they do not seem to make sense. Evidently what Lawes meant was “*if you intend to take a companion with you*.”

The original is much blurred, and perhaps the word given as “*wryte*” has been wrongly deciphered.—Mr. Horwood adds an interesting piece of information. “On the back of the letter,” he says, “are the following lines by Milton’s hand:

Fixe heere yee overdaled sphears
That wing the restless foote of time.”

The lines are very Miltonic; but I can make nothing of the word “*overdaled*.” Perhaps that word also has been misdeciphered.

and, in truth, if I could then have imagined your farther stay in these parts [*i. e.* at Horton, so near Eton], which I understood afterwards by Mr. H. [doubtless Mr. John Hales: see ante p. 536], I would have been bold, in our vulgar phrase, to mend my draught (for you left me with an extreme thirst), and to have begged your conversation again, jointly with your said learned friend, over a poor meal or two, that we might have banded together some good authors of the ancient time,—among which I observed you to have been familiar.

“Since your going, you have charged me with new obligations, both for a very kind letter from you dated the 6th of this month, and for a dainty piece of entertainment which came therewith. Wherein I should much commend the tragical part [*i. e.* the dialogue of *Comus*], if the lyrical did not ravish me with a certain Doric delicacy in your songs and odes; whereunto I must plainly confess to have seen yet nothing parallel in our language. *Ipsa mollities!* But I must not omit to tell you that I now only owe you thanks for intimating unto me (how modestly soever) the true artificer. For the work itself I had viewed some good while before with singular delight, having received it from our common friend Mr. R., in the very close of the late R.’s *Poems*, printed at Oxford; whereunto it was added, as I now suppose, that the accessory might help out the principal, according to the art of stationers, and to leave the reader *con la bocca dolce*.¹

“Now, Sir, concerning your travels, wherein I may challenge a little more privilege of discourse with you. I suppose you will not blanch Paris in your way: therefore I have been bold to trouble you with a few lines to Mr. M. B., whom you shall easily find attending the young Lord S. as his governor;² and you may surely receive from him good directions for the shaping of your farther journey into Italy, where he did reside, by my choice, some time for the King, after mine own recess from Venice.

“I should think that your best line will be through the whole length of France to Marseilles, and thence by sea to Genoa, whence the passage into Tuscanly is as diurnal as a Gravesend barge. I hasten, as you do, to Florence or Siena,—the rather to tell you a short story, from the interest you have given me in your safety.

“At Siena I was tabled in the house of one Alberto Scipioni, an old Roman courtier in dangerous times,—having been steward to the Duca di Pagliano, who with all his family were strangled, save this

¹ The most probable explanation of this passage is that “our common friend Mr. R.,” who had sent Wotton a copy of *Comus*, in its anonymous condition, some time before Milton and Wotton had met, was John Rous the Oxford Librarian, and that “the late R.’s *Poems*,” to which this copy of *Comus* had been somewhat incongruously appended, either by Rous himself or by the stationer who had sold it, were the *Poems* of the late Thomas Randolph, of Cambridge, edited by his brother, and printed, in 1638, at Oxford, “by L. Litchfield, printer to the University, for Fr. Bowman.” As Lawes’s edition of *Comus* came out nearly at the same time with the posthumous edition of Randolph’s poems, and as both publications were in small

quarto, but Milton’s too thin for separate binding, the conjunction might not be unnatural. Wotton, however, soon distinguishes between the bulkier beginning and the sweet morsel at the end; and it is an agreeable surprise to him to learn that his young neighbour, Mr. Milton, with whom he has just formed an acquaintance, is the author of the piece he has been admiring.

² The “young Lord S.” has been supposed to be Lord Scudamore, son of the ambassador at Paris,—of which, however, I am not sure; and, “Mr. M. B.,” his governor, is Michael Branthwait, mentioned elsewhere by Wotton as “heretofore his Majesty’s agent in Venice, a gentleman of approved confidence and sincerity.”—See Todd’s Milton, VI. 183.

only man that escaped by foresight of the tempest. With him I had often much chat of those affairs, into which he took pleasure to look back from his native harbour; and, at my departure toward Rome (which had been the centre of his experience), I had won his confidence enough to beg his advice how I might carry myself securely there, without offence of others or of mine own conscience. '*Signor Arrigo mio* [*My friend Mr. Harry*]', says he, '*I pensieri stretti ed il viso sciolto* [*Thoughts close and visage free*] will go safely over the whole world.' Of which Delphian oracle (for so I have found it) your judgment doth need no commentary; and therefore, Sir, I will commit you with it to the best of all securities, God's dear love, remaining

"Your friend, as much at command
"as any of longer date,
"HENRY WOTTON."

POSTSCRIPT.

"Sir,

"I have expressly sent this my footboy to prevent your departure without some acknowledgment from me of the receipt of your obliging letter,—having myself, through some business, I know not how, neglected the ordinary conveyance [between Eton and Horton]. In any part where I shall understand you fixed I shall be glad and diligent to entertain you with home-novelties, even for some fomentation of our friendship, too soon interrupted in the cradle."²

A day or two after Sir Henry's footboy had delivered this gratifying letter and its enclosure at Horton, Milton was on his way across the Channel.

THE CONTINENT GENERALLY IN 1638.

SINCE the year 1618, when Milton was in his early boyhood, there had been moving on in slow progression, in various parts of the continent, that complex and yet continuous course of events to which subsequent historians, viewing it in its totality from 1618 to 1648, have given the name of THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR. That desolating war of the Thirty Years, say our more instructed historians, was the last war of religion in Europe. The statement may be too positive. Is there not yet to come the prophetic Armageddon? But, if the Thirty Years' War was not the last war of religion in Europe, it was the last for a long time, at once the consummation politically and the attenuation

¹ The story of Scipioni and his maxim was a favourite one with Wotton,—always told by him to young friends and pupils going abroad. See it in another letter of his, *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, edit. 1872, p. 356.

² Prefixed by Milton himself to *Comus* in the first edition of his *Minor Poems*, in 1645; and printed also by Izaak Walton, in his *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*.

spiritually of the movement begun in Europe by the Lutheran Reformation.

In its origin the War was an insurrection of the Protestants of Bohemia and of other Slavonian possessions of Austria against the persecuting Roman Catholic policy of their Austrian sovereigns. These Austrian sovereigns being also Emperors of Germany, the war had instantly extended itself into the German Confederacy, and the Treaty of Passau, which had defined since 1552 the mutual rights and relations of German Catholicism and German Protestantism, had become a dead letter. The representative of the Protestant side of the struggle, whether in Bohemia or in Germany, being that Frederick, Elector Palatine, whom the Bohemians had made their king, and who lost both electorate and kingdom in the sequel, it is usual to distinguish this first stage of the war, extending from 1618 to 1625, by the special name of the *Palatine War* or *War of the Palatinate*. Already, however, before this stage was over, the powers surrounding and adjacent had associated themselves with the Germano-Bohemian conflict, and woven it wider into its continental complications.

To the support of Austrian imperialism there had come forward the fraternal power of Spain. Severed from Germany since the closing years of Charles V., when the western or Spanish portion of his vast empire passed to his son Philip II., and the eastern or Germanic portion to his brother Ferdinand I., Spain had, in the interval, with all the less impediment, exercised her adopted function as the pre-eminently Catholic power of Europe and the champion of the European reaction. As the power that had most effectively crushed the Protestant heresy within itself, and that had given birth to Jesuitism as a specific for the renovation of Catholicism everywhere, she had claimed the function by every right of fitness. In exercising it, indeed, she had gradually and necessarily sunk from her former greatness, losing portions of her dominions, and retaining what remained only by a tyranny as mean as it was sombre. Still, as mistress of Naples, Sicily, and Milan, she drew in her train the whole

Italian peninsula; nor was it in the power of the Pope himself, whose servant she professed to be, to set up successfully, in opposition to dictation from Madrid, any definition of Catholicism, or any rule of papal policy, that might have seemed truly pontifical or truly Italian. When, therefore, Spain associated herself with Austrian Imperialism in the Thirty Years' War, it was virtually a movement of the two Latin peninsulas together to aid in the suppression of German and Slavonian Protestantism. Moreover, as Spain had taken the opportunity to renew in 1621 her private contest with the United Dutch Provinces, to which there had been a truce since 1609, those Provinces were added to the area of the struggle, and the entire Protestantism of the Continent was in peril from the Austro-Spanish alliance.

Whence could the opposite muster come? Whence but from those States, lying out of the area of the struggle, where Protestantism was already assured internally, and therefore bound to assert itself internationally,—to wit, Great Britain and the Scandinavian Kingdoms. Great Britain had done a little, but not very much. Since the accession of the Scottish James, the “right Elizabeth way” had been forgotten, no less in the foreign politics of England than in her domestic administration. One of his first acts had been to make peace with Spain; the Spanish alliance had always been dear to him; and, at the very time when it was thought he should be drawing the sword for his son-in-law, he was negotiating the Spanish match. The little that Parliament compelled him to do he had done reluctantly. Far different had been the behaviour of the two Scandinavian kingdoms. First, the Danish King Christian IV. had thrown himself and his kingdom into the conflict in behalf of continental Protestantism, and had led what is known as the *Danish Stage* of the general war, extending from 1625 to 1629. He had been defeated and driven back, leaving the German Protestants at the mercy of the Emperor. Then had come the turn of the Swede. Accepting the cause when it seemed most desperate, the great Gustavus had retrieved it by his victories, had

consecrated it by his heroic death, and had bequeathed it to Sweden, to be carried on by the wisdom of Oxenstiern and the valour of Swedish generals. This formed the *Swedish Stage* of the war, extending from 1629 to 1634.

The defeat of the Swedes at Nordlingen in September 1634 had proved the insufficiency of Swedish generalship for the cause, and perhaps also of all the resources of Scandinavia, aided by volunteers from England and Scotland, when, to the confusion of ordinary calculations, a Catholic power appeared to the rescue. Although France, as if by the law of her constitution as a nation mainly Latin, had ranged herself among the Roman Catholic states,—although her Huguenots had never been more than a considerable minority of her population, and, despite their energy, the political centre of gravity had been established irremovably within the body of the Roman Catholic majority,—yet the result of so much Protestant effort expended in the recent course of her history had been a Catholicism of a very different grain from the Spanish, and capable, when the case required it, of splendid inconsistencies. Henry IV. had left the Edict of Nantes as the charter of French Protestant liberties; even under the government of Mary de' Medici, as Regent for her son Louis XIII., Henry's policy of toleration had remained in partial effect; and, when Richelieu attained the office of supreme minister in 1624, France had found a new master, inheriting Henry's spirit, with competent variations. In name a Cardinal of the Roman Church, he was, in fact, a great secular statesman. Even while meeting the insurgent French Protestants with inflexible war, besieging them in their last stronghold, and breaking up, on a systematic plan, their separate political organization, he had foreseen for France, as her only suitable course in the affairs of Europe, a policy of opposition to the retrograde Catholicism of Austria and of Spain. He had meditated a French definition of Catholicism, to be flung forth into Europe in competition with the Spanish, and to which the Pope himself might be brought over by circumstances, and by French arms and diplomacy. From the beginning of the Thirty

Years' War, accordingly, he had been watching its progress and working France into connexion with it. It was his boast that *he* had brought the Snow-King from his Scandinavian home to oppose by his Protestant enthusiasm and his military genius the alliance of the Spaniard and the Austrian; and, during the whole of the Swedish stage of the war, but more especially after the death of Gustavus, France had been concerned in it, through subsidies and diplomatic services in Germany, to the extent of actual partnership. And so, a time having come when France must either accept the place of principal in lieu of that of partner, or see the war abandoned and the Austrian and the Spaniard linking Europe in a common dominion over the body of that French monarchy which had hitherto kept them apart, Richelieu had not hesitated. Persuading Louis XIII. that the greatness, if not the existence, of France depended on her now undertaking openly, on her own account, and in her own way, though with Protestants as her allies, the enterprise which had passed through so many hands, he had signalised the year 1635 by a crackle of simultaneous strategy all over Europe. War had been declared against Spain as well as against the Emperor; new relations had been established with Oxenstiern and Sweden; the wreck of the Swedish forces in Germany had been taken into French pay; an alliance had been concluded with the States-General of Holland; and French armies had invaded Italy, Germany, Spain, and the Netherlands. Thus had begun the final or *French Period* of the war, to which there was to be no end till the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

In 1638, when Milton began his Continental Journey, three years of the French period of the war had already accomplished themselves. The marchings and counter-marchings of the opposed armies were the subjects of talk everywhere; Bernhard of Weimar, Guébriant, Turenne, Baner, Torstenson and others were blazing as military celebrities; and all along the tracks of those generals there were creeping negotiators, as famous in their diplomatic

craft, breaking Richelieu's threads, or knitting them together. At this point, a bird's-eye view of the Continental States collectively may make their relations to each other and to England more intelligible henceforward:—

FRANCE.—Louis XIII. was in the thirty-eighth year of his age and the twenty-eighth of his reign (1610-1643). He had been twenty-two years married to his queen, Anne of Austria, the daughter of Philip III. of Spain; but the marriage was yet childless. When not in the camp, the court was usually at St. Germain, near Paris. The king was a person of the least possible consequence,—impassive, parsimonious, and fond chiefly of farming and of exercising his skill as an amateur barber on all his household, but with the conspicuous merit that he believed in Richelieu, and let him do as he chose. The queen-mother, Mary de' Medici, was in exile in Brussels, plotting restlessly for the destruction of the Cardinal's influence and her own return to her son's side, but with no effect. The all-absorbing subject of Richelieu's care and of the national interest was the progress of the war in its different seats, and of the negotiations connected with it. There were, however, subordinate or tributary topics of interest. A special negotiation was on foot with Pope Urban, both through the Papal nuncio at Paris and through D'Estrées, the French ambassador at Rome, relative to certain differences between Richelieu and his Holiness in matters affecting the French Church. There were differences also between Richelieu and some of the Courts of Law, leading to arrests of judges, &c. Moreover, throughout the country there were complaints of impoverishment, of "excess of taxes and loans and the marches and swarming of the soldiery." In the midst of all this the gay nation was the gay nation still, and Paris was flourishing more and more under Richelieu's liberal care of industry, art, and science. The Palace of the Luxembourg, the Church of the Sorbonne, and the Palais Royal had been recently built or re-edified; the *Jardin de Plantes* had been added to the attractions of the city; and the famous *Académie Française* had just been founded (1635). Corneille had produced at the *Théâtre Français* his tragedy of the *Cid* (1637); and there were French names of note in other departments, marking the progress from the literary era of Malherbe towards the richer age of French art and letters under Louis XIV. There was the poet Racan; there was the mathematician Fermat; there was the philosopher Gassendi; there were the two Poussins, the painters. The greatest French thinker of the age, René Descartes, was not at this time in his native country, but was residing in Holland, where his *Discours sur la Méthode* had just been published (1637).

SPAIN.—Philip IV. was ruling (1621-1665), with Olivarez for minister; and the chief activity of the nation was in the war against the French and the Dutch. In the imagination of strangers, and especially of Englishmen, all was sombre and gloomy within this most Catholic peninsula,—a swarthy peasantry sleek with oil and garlic; cloaked hidalgos moving moodily in the streets of cities; no sign of life save in continual processions of monks and priests towards splendid churches. And yet, in this age of Spain's political decline, had not Cervantes arisen (1547-1616) to contradict such notions, to add to Spain's past glory in action the further glory of having produced one of the recognised masters of the world's collec-

tive literature, and to show how amid the wrecks of Catholicism there might survive a rich human life, grave with the wisdom of the past, and joyous in the southern sunshine? To Cervantes, as the literary luminary of Spain, had succeeded Lope de Vega the prolific, with his 2,000 dramas (1568-1635); and the Spanish Drama was still of matchless fame in its kind through the younger and greater genius of Calderon (1601-1687). The contemporary representatives of Spanish Art were the Sevilian painters Zurbaran and Velasquez, the immediate predecessors of Murillo.—Meanwhile *Portugal*, though with characteristics and traditions of her own, was politically a part of Spain; preparing, however, for the revolt which was to give her a separate dynasty in the house of Braganza.

ITALY.—The most obvious fact then, as till very recently, respecting this noble peninsula,—too long for its breadth, as Napoleon used to say of it,—was its disastrous subdivision into many distinct states. Here is a list of them:—

- I. THE SPANISH PROVINCES,—to wit, *Naples* and *Sicily* in the south, and the *Milanese Territory* in the north, governed by Spanish Viceroys from Madrid.
- II. THE THREE REPUBLICS: *Venice*, *Genoa*, and *Lucca*; the last insignificant.
- III. THE NATIVE SOVEREIGNTIES:—
 1. *Savoy and Piedmont*: Reigning Duke, Carlo Emanuele II. (1638-1675), at present an infant under the guardianship of his mother, the Duchess Christina, sister of Louis XIII.
 2. *Parma and Piacenza*: Reigning Duke, Odoardo (1622-1646), of the Farnese family.
 3. *Modena*: Reigning Duke, Francesco I. (1625-1658), of the Este family.
 4. *Mantua*: Reigning Duke, Carlo II. (1630-1665), of the Gonzaga family.
 5. *Tuscany*: Reigning Grand Duke, Ferdinando II. (1621-1670), of the house of the Medici.
 6. *The States of the Church*: Reigning Pontiff, Urban VIII. (1623-1644), of the Florentine house of the Barberini.

Holding so large a portion of the Italian peninsula, Spain had extended in great measure over the whole the same methods of intellectual tyranny, by means of the Inquisition, &c., which she practised within her own limits. None of the native states, at least, with the exception of the powerful republic of Venice and perhaps also Savoy, dared to have a policy which contradicted the Spanish, or to give refuge to men whose expulsion Spain demanded. There was, indeed, in the character of the ruling Pope a certain capricious passion for self-assertion which made him far from the ideal of a Spanish Pope; but, on the whole, he was too fast bound to do more than flutter.

SWITZERLAND.—Though not definitively recognised as a European state till the Peace of Westphalia, the Helvetian Republic, with its mixed Germanic, Gallic, and Italian population, divided into cantons, &c., some Catholic and others Protestant, but having also a federal constitution binding its parts together, was already a fact in the European system. Geneva, as a seat of Protestant theology, retained the celebrity which had been acquired by her in that character in the days of Calvin.

THE UNITED PROVINCES.—The Dutch Republic, though also waiting for its formal recognition till the Thirty Years' War should be

concluded, was, and had been for more than fifty years, a stronger fact in Europe than Switzerland. The present Stadtholder was Frederick Henry of Orange (1625-1647), by whom and by the States-General the war against Spain was vigorously conducted, in alliance with France. Meanwhile, under its singularly free institutions, the republic was extending its commerce with all parts of the world, and was not only producing a school of native painters in Mirevelt, Rembrandt, and their disciples, and supporting universities and breeding scholars renowned over the world, but was sheltering learned refugees from all other nations. And yet at this time Holland's own most learned son was in exile. This was the famous Hugo Grotius, formerly Pensionary of Rotterdam, and known since 1599 as a jurist, a poet, a philologist, a historian, and a theologian. A leader of the Arminian party, and mixed up with the politics of Holland, at the time of the great contest between the Arminians and the Calvinists during the preceding Stadtholderate (1618), he had fallen along with his party, and, when his friend Barneveldt was beheaded, he had been condemned to perpetual imprisonment. He had escaped from prison in 1621 by the contrivance of his wife ; and since then he had resided chiefly in Paris, where in 1625 he added his treatise *De Jure Belli et Pacis* to his already numerous works. Since the death of the preceding Stadtholder he had ventured back to Holland on trial ; but, as the sentence against him had not been repealed, he had not found it safe to remain. He was now in his fifty-sixth year.

THE SPANISH NETHERLANDS.—Under a nominally separate government in the mean time, though in reality subject to Spain and about to revert to Spain in form, these provinces, in the midst of the battles and military movements of which, from their position, they were so peculiarly the theatre, were earning a special distinction in history through the fame of their painters. It was the age of Rubens (1577-1640), Jacob Jordaens (1594-1678), and Vandyck (1599-1641), and of others of the Antwerp school. Both Rubens and Vandyck had relations with England ; where, indeed, Van Dyck was residing.

GERMANY AND THE AUSTRIAN DOMINIONS.—Distracted by the Thirty Years' War, the various electorates and minor states of the German Empire, with their Austrian appendages, were less rich in products purely intellectual than they had been at any former time since the Reformation. Kepler (1571-1630) and Jacob Boehme (1575-1624) were the last German names of European note, except in the walk of scholarship ; and the age of vernacular German literature had hardly begun. In *Bohemia*, where there had been a vernacular Slavonian literature, as well as much Latin learning, both had been arrested by the persecution of Protestantism.

POLAND.—This Slavonian country, interesting to Europe for nearly a century as having produced Copernicus (1473-1543), had, during that century, made an extraordinary start in consequence of the intellectual stimulus of Protestantism, and produced not a few scholars, poets, mathematicians, and theologians, whose names might be better known if they were more easy to pronounce. Here, in particular, the Socinian Controversy had been agitated with not unimportant results. But the "golden age" of Poland,—if it had not ceased in 1572, when the native dynasty of the Jagellons became extinct, and the Poles began their system of electing kings from the highest bidders,—had come to a close in the reign of the third of these elected kings, the

Swedish Sigismund III. (1587-1632). Protestantism was then systematically oppressed, and Poland swarmed with Jesuits. There was also an inheritance for the present king, Ladislav VI. (1632-1640), of wars with Sweden and Russia.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.—The confusion of the Thirty Years' War, it was supposed, might have afforded an opportunity to the Turks to recommence their assaults on Christian Europe. The wars of the Sultan Amurath IV. (1623-1640), however, were almost exclusively in Asia; and, save for the appearance occasionally of Turkish corsairs in the Mediterranean in chase of Venetian or Genoese vessels, Europe heard little of those Mohammedans who had lately been her terror. The Greek lands were still included in the Turkish dominion.

RUSSIA.—Although Russia or Muscovy had had a chaotic history, chiefly of wars with the Poles, the Tartars, the Swedes, &c., stretching pretty far back, it had but just taken its place as a European entity of any distinct shape, under the reigning czar, Michael Romanoff (1613-1645), the founder of the Russian dynasty which still exists.

DENMARK AND NORWAY.—Christian IV., the well-meaning Dane who had preceded Gustavus Adolphus as the voluntary champion of Continental Protestantism in the Thirty Years' War, was still governing those Scandinavian and Protestant countries (1588-1648); and the Danes were doing something in commerce, were founding excellent schools, and were showing the beginnings of a literature.

SWEDEN.—Ennobled at once as a European state by the heroic career of Gustavus, Sweden was still acting a first-rate part in Europe, as the chief ally of France in the continental war. Oxenstiern, governing as Regent for Christina, still only in her twelfth year, was one of the wisest and most experienced of statesmen, and no unequal associate even for Richelieu. Administering the domestic affairs of Sweden with gravity and skill, sending the best generals he had to command the Swedish armies in the field, and frequently himself leaving Sweden to have diplomatic conferences with other powers, and to hold the balance even for Swedish interests, he was ready to use all available foreign talent in the Swedish service. One selection that he made of this kind is especially interesting. Poor Grotius, without a country, tossed back from Holland to Paris, had for many years been without employment, save in his books and in literary correspondence. In Paris he had plenty of admiration as a Dutch celebrity, and Madame Grotius had her share, as the brave wife who had schemed her husband's escape from prison; but money was beginning to fail them. Richelieu, to whom Grotius had been introduced, had not found in him the sort of man that would be likely to co-operate amicably with him and Père Joseph; and, though there had been offers of professorships and the like from various countries, none had come up to the mark. Just, however, when necessity might have made him accept some such appointment, he and his wife had been invited to meet Oxenstiern at Frankfort-on-the-Main (1635). Here Oxenstiern had behaved most handsomely. Grotius had been nominated Councillor to Queen Christina and her Ambassador at the Court of Louis XIII. Accepting the appointment, he had written letters to Holland renouncing his Dutch citizenship; and from March 1636, when he presented his credentials to Louis XIII., Grotius had been residing in state at Paris as Swedish ambassador, and his wife as Madame *l'Ambassadrice*.

The relations of Great Britain to this motley Continent were by no means of a kind considered respectable then, or that even now can be considered creditable. What was complained of was not merely that Charles was apathetic in the European struggle, but that, following the policy of his father, he was showing a sympathy with Spain likely to become active. The war with Spain in the beginning of his reign was a by-past accident, as was likewise Hamilton's expedition in aid of Gustavus Adolphus. The home policy of *Thorough* tended, by natural affinity, to a style of foreign policy which the Opposition could denounce as truckling to Continental Catholicism; but there were other influences in that direction. There was the Queen, with her Catholic cabinet at Denmark House, and her correspondence, through agents, with the Roman Court. There was the Queen-Mother, Mary de' Medici, in Brussels, plotting against Richelieu, corresponding with her daughter, and sometimes inditing letters, with her signature in characters an inch long, "*A Monsieur mon beaufilz le Roy d'Angleterre.*"¹ To Charles's vexation, she was at last to come over herself (Oct. 1633), bringing with her what was called "queen-mother weather."² Acted upon by these influences, and by a distinctly Spanish party in the Privy Council, Charles had been parting gradually with every notion of an obligation imposed upon Britain to square her foreign policy by her Protestant professions. To him, as to Laud, the difference between the ideal Beauty of Holiness and the actual Papacy was not so great that it needed to be thought of in season and out of season; and, at all events, a Republican and Calvinistic Holland growing powerful in Europe was a much more uncomfortable sight than a Roman Catholic Emperor coercing his subjects back to the Papacy. Probably the only real remaining bond between Charles and the Protestant cause abroad was his natural interest in the fortunes of his sister, the Ex-Queen of Bohemia,—a widow since 1632, and living in eleemosynary exile at the Hague, with six young

¹ Several such letters are in the State Paper Office.

² Laud's Diary.

sons and four young daughters remaining out of a family of fourteen. Might not the restoration of the Palatinate, however, be made a matter of negotiation with the Austrian and the Spaniard? Whatever semi-Protestant hesitation on this score still remained seemed likely to vanish when it became known, in 1637, that a scheme had been formed between Richelieu and the Dutch for the partition of the Spanish Netherlands. In vain Richelieu solicited the neutrality of England. The reply was that, if the French did attack the Flemish ports, an English fleet would be at the service of Spain. Such was the state of affairs in 1638. The balance of English policy vibrated distinctly towards the Austro-Spanish alliance, and Richelieu was out of temper in consequence, and was secretly vowing vengeance through the medium of the Scottish Troubles.

Much of the discomfort arising from the peculiar state of the relations between England and France fell necessarily upon the English ambassadors at Paris. There were two such ambassadors in 1638. One was John Scudamore, Baron Dromore and Viscount Sligo in the Irish peerage, and the other was Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester.

Lord Scudamore was of the ancient family of the Scudamores, Skidmores, or Esquidmores, of Holme-Lacy in Herefordshire,—the son of Sir James Scudamore, celebrated for his bravery in the reign of Elizabeth, and immortalised as the “Sir Scudamour” of Spenser’s *Faerie Queene*. Born in 1600, and educated at Oxford, he had succeeded to the property of Holme-Lacy on the death of his grandfather, Sir John, who had also been a man of some note, and had outlived his son. In 1621 he had been made a baronet by James, and in 1628 Charles had raised him to the peerage. He seems to have owed these honours to an intimacy with Laud, which had been begun in his early youth, and had been continued by visits of Laud to Holme-Lacy between 1621 and 1626, when he was Bishop of St. David’s. But Scudamore was a man of talent; he had travelled much; and he was so assiduous a collector and reader of books that Laud had to give him the advice “not to book it too hard.”

Living usually on his estates in Herefordshire, he had occupied himself much with husbandry, and had obtained a celebrity all over the cider country as the first to introduce, among other improvements in cider-making, the cultivation of the "red-streak apple" as the best for the purpose. Philips, in his poem of *Cider*, calls the red-streak apple "the Scudamorean plant." From cider-growing and husbandry, however, Scudamore had been called, apparently by Laud's influence, to assume the duties of British Ambassador at Paris. He delivered his credentials in 1635; and from that time till the date with which we are concerned he had resided in Paris, sending over twice or thrice every week official despatches, in plain hand or in cipher, to one or other of the English Secretaries of State. In matters ecclesiastical he kept up, by agreement, a separate correspondence with Laud. It had hitherto been the duty of all English ambassadors on the Continent to cultivate friendly relations with Continental Protestantism of whatever denomination, and the English ambassadors in France, in particular, had always paid French Protestantism the compliment of attending divine service in the church of Charenton, near Paris, the rendezvous of the Parisian Protestants. Laud, to whom the strongly Calvinistic and Presbyterian character of French Protestantism rendered it odious, and who was busy at home in uprooting the Dutch and Walloon congregations, had resolved that this practice should cease; and, accordingly, Lord Scudamore had not only discontinued attendance in the Protestant church at Charenton, and set up a chapel in his own house, with "candles upon the communion-table" and other Laudian ornaments, but was also "careful to publish upon all occasions, by himself and those "who had the nearest relation to him, that the Church of "England looked not on the Huguenots as a part of their "communion."¹

¹ These particulars concerning Lord Scudamore are partly from Burke's *Extinct Baronetage* (1844), and from Clarendon's *History* (p. 318); but chiefly from a curious old parochial history—"A View of the Ancient and Present

State of the Churches of Door, Home-Lacy, &c., endowed by the Right Hon. John Lord Viscount Scudamore, with some Memoirs of that ancient Family: by Matthew Gibson, M.A. Rector of Door, 1727,"—and from my own read-

It was useful, however, to have as colleague to Lord Scudamore a man whose sympathies leant sufficiently the other way to secure some remaining connexion with the French Calvinists. Such a man was Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, the second of the Sidneys in that revived Earldom. He was considerably older than Lord Scudamore, and, as his superior in rank, occupied the embassy-house in Paris, while Scudamore had a private mansion. He had been appointed to the embassy in 1636. He "was a man," according to Clarendon, "of great parts, very conversant in "books, and much addicted to the mathematics, and, though "he had been a soldier, . . . was in truth rather a speculative "than a practical man"; to which we may add, on the evidence of his letters, that he was somewhat blustering and headstrong. He and Lord Scudamore do not seem to have worked together with perfect harmony, and a division of their labours seems to have been arranged, so as to turn their different qualities to account. Like Lord Scudamore, the Earl had his family with him, consisting of his countess, Dorothy, daughter of the Earl of Northumberland, and some sons and daughters. His third son, Algernon Sidney, afterwards so famous, was now in his seventeenth year.¹

MILTON'S TRANSIT THROUGH PARIS.

Milton, as we are left to calculate, arrived in Paris late in April or early in May 1638.² Of his adventures, with his man-servant, on the road from Calais to Paris, or of his first impressions of France and its people as derived from that somewhat dull and rusty portion of the French territory, no account has come down to us. Neither has he left us any account of his first impressions of Paris itself. We have to

ings of Scudamore's correspondence in the State Paper Office.

¹ Dugdale's *Baronage*; Clarendon's *Hist.* (p. 370); and the Earl's correspondence in the State Paper Office.

² Our starting-point in the itinerary is Sir Henry Wotton's letter, dated at Eton, April 13, 1638, and bearing that Milton was then about to set out. A few other points, as we shall see, are

fixed; but the first positive date in Milton's journey is Sept. 10, 1638, by which time he had reached Florence. The five intermediate months have to be portioned out inferentially in stages, according to certain hints furnished by Milton in his succinct account of his travels in the *Defensio Secunda* (Works, VI. 287-289).

imagine his wanderings through the narrow old streets about Notre Dame, his ascents to high towers to get a view of the city all at once, his visits in detail to the Louvre, the Hotel de Ville, the new Palace of the Luxembourg, the Palais Royal, and all the rest. The only incidents of his transit through Paris which he has thought fit to record are of a special nature. After mentioning Sir Henry Wotton's "elegant epistle" of useful advices and maxims, sent to him as he was leaving England, he goes on to say:--"Introduced by others, I was most courteously received at Paris by the most noble Thomas [miswritten for John] Scudamore, Viscount Sligo, ambassador of King Charles, and was introduced by him, in his own name, and under the charge of one and another of his people sent to conduct me, to that most learned man Hugo Grotius, who was then Ambassador from the Queen of Sweden to the French King, and whom I was desirous to visit."¹ The reason why Milton refers to these incidents in so precise a manner is that, when he wrote the passage, he was offering proofs of his respectability.

No better introduction could Milton have had to Grotius than that of Lord Scudamore. Not only were they well acquainted as members of the foreign diplomatic body in Paris, but, at this very time, there were special relations of intimacy between them. Grotius was then much occupied with a speculation which had grown up in his mind as the result of his peculiar theological position. This was a scheme

¹ *Defensio Secunda*, Works, VI. 287. The passage corrects a mistake of some of Milton's biographers, who make the introduction to Lord Scudamore to have come from Sir Henry Wotton. Wotton's introduction was to Mr. Michael Branthwait, formerly British agent at Venice, and then in Paris, "attending the young Lord S. [whoever that was] as his governor"; and the higher introduction to Lord Scudamore came "from others." Phillips says "other persons of quality." I have an impression that the introduction came from the Bridgewater family or from the Bulstrodes. Both the Egertons and the Bulstrodes, at all events, had, I

find, connexions with the Sendamores. Thus a "Lady Sendamore" (probably Lord Scudamore's mother) is one of the persons mentioned as having acted a part with the Countess of Derby and others of her family in the dramatic entertainment to Queen Elizabeth at Harefield in 1602; and Henry Bulstrode, of Horton, had a grand-aunt, originally a Bulstrode, who had married a Skydmore (*i. e.* Sendamore), and was alive in Sept. 1612, with the designation of "old Mrs. Skydmore of Chilton" in Bucks (see Sir James Whitlocke's *Liber Fameliens*, edited by Mr. Bruce, p. 27).

for a union of all the Protestant Churches, except the Calvinistic and Presbyterian,—to wit, the Swedish, the Danish, the Norwegian, and the English. Oxenstiern, it seems, was giving some attention to the project of such a union, of which Grotius was by no means the only advocate or inventor. As ambassador for Sweden, however, and a man of European celebrity, Grotius was a fit person to begin overtures on the subject. It was thought good that he should address the overtures first to Laud. For greater security he made Lord Scudamore the medium of his communications; and there are yet extant Lord Scudamore's letters to Laud explaining the Grotian scheme and what became of it. His first letter to Laud on the subject is of date Oct. 2, 1637. He there mentions that Grotius has been with him, and he reports the substance of what had passed. The Grotian idea was that, if the English and Swedish Churches were to begin a union by agreeing to certain common articles, the Danish Church would follow, and that then, if there were once a Pope thoroughly Spanish, the French Catholics, in their disgust, would break with the Papacy and take to an Anglican model, "there being many very learned Bishops now living "that singularly approve the course of the English Church." Scudamore is content with reporting the words of Grotius, saying nothing himself for or against, but adding—"Certainly, my Lord, I am persuaded that he doth unfeignedly "and highly love and reverence your person and proceed- "ings: body and soul, he professeth himself to be for the "Church of England, and gives this judgment of it, that it "is the likeliest to last of any Church this day in being." Notwithstanding this, Laud's reception of the project was discouraging; for, in a subsequent letter of Scudamore's, dated Dec. 4, 1637, he speaks thus of the effect on Grotius of passages read to him from Laud's letter of reply:—"To "deal clearly with your Grace, methought he seemed to be "surprised and quailed much in his hopes by the reasons "your letter gives of your doubtfulness whether it will come "so far as he, out of his wishes, thought it might when "England and Sweden will have given the example to other.

“Reformed Churches.” To one of these reasons, Scudamore says, Grotius did attempt a rejoinder, but “to the difficulties arising in regard of government he had less to say; and the truth is, methought he seemed willing to have struggled them off, but broke forth in these words:—‘Well, yet it is a contentment to be and to live and die in the wishes of so great a good: if it may be that it pleaseth God to suffer us to see so great a blessing in our days, our joy will be the greater; but, if God will not permit it, yet it will be a comfort to be in these wishes.’” The matter recurs in subsequent letters of Scudamore’s, but the speculation as between Grotius and Laud was virtually at an end. From these letters, however, it appears that Grotius was anxious to secure a home in England, if he should quit the Swedish service.¹

According to Phillips, Grotius took Milton’s visit kindly, “and gave him entertainment suitable to his worth and the high commendations he had heard of him.” Whether this means an invitation to a party at the Swedish Embassy must be left to conjecture. At all events, Milton had seen and conversed with the greatest of living Dutchmen.

Milton’s stay in Paris was but short. “Departing after some days (*post dies aliquot*) towards Italy,” he says, after mentioning Lord Scudamore’s courtesy and kindness, “I had letters given me by him to English merchants along my proposed route, asking them to be of use to me by any good offices in their power.” Wood, without giving his authority, says that he “soon left Paris, the manners and genius of that place being not agreeable to his mind.” There is reason to believe, however, that he travelled through France at some leisure, so as not to have left the French territory till after the beginning of June. The following paragraphs of French and Parisian gossip, which I have culled in the State Paper Office from the despatches sent

¹ The letters quoted are given in full in Gibson’s *Parochial History of Door, Holme-Lacy, &c.*, from duplicate ori-

ginals taken by Lord Scudamore and preserved in his family.

home by Lords Scudamore and Leicester for the months of April, May, and June 1638, may therefore have the interest of synchronism with Milton's journey through France, as well as of novelty in themselves:—

First mention of Louis XIV. in History.—In a letter dated “Paris, April $\frac{23}{13}$,” Lord Scudamore conveys to the English Ministry the intelligence that there is now no doubt that the French Queen is about to present the nation with a royal infant, because “Madame Perome the midwife affirms that, upon Wednesday last,” she became sure of the fact professionally. As the marriage of the king and queen had been childless for two-and-twenty years, this was important news both for France and England. For several weeks there were visits of congratulation to the Queen by the ambassadors, &c. She was then at St. Germain alone,—the King and Cardinal Richelieu having left for the camp at Compiègne within a few days after the public announcement of the event. The English ambassadors, waiting instructions from home, were among the last to offer their congratulations; and it is not till May $\frac{1}{4}$ that Lord Leicester writes over that he and Lord Scudamore had been at St. Germain and performed that duty. “I exceeded my commission,” he says, “making a request unto the Queen that the child which she carries might be a princess, to bring as much happiness to our hopeful prince [Charles II., then eight years of age] as it hath pleased God by a daughter of France to bestow upon the King my master and his kingdoms; but she, knowing my proposition not serious, though she avowed my reason to be just, answered cheerfully that she desired the King of Great Britain to excuse her *pour ceste fois icy*, because she hoped to have a son, and that she would have a daughter the next time *pour le Prince de Galles*.” A son it proved on the following $\frac{1}{5}$ of September, when Louis XIV. was born. Great as was to be the scale of his future movements in the world, his existence for the present was but faintly perceptible.

The tabouret denied to Lady Scudamore.—A matter which figures much in the letters of both ambassadors during the months of May and June, and even into July 1638, is a studied slight put upon Lady Scudamore by refusing her the honour of the *tabouret*,—*i. e.* the right of being seated,—on the occasion of a visit of ceremony to the French Queen. The matter is first mentioned in a letter of Lord Scudamore's, of date May $\frac{23}{13}$, from which it appears that, on the preceding Monday, as Lady Scudamore was on her way to St. Germain to congratulate the Queen on her happy condition, she was met, a league from the town, by the Count de Bruslon, “Conductor of Ambassadors,” who “said he came purposely to meet her, and to wish her to go no farther, for they would refuse her the tabouret, in regard the tabouret is given in England to Madame de Chevreuse and refused to the Ambassadrice of France.” Lord Scudamore, who writes as quietly about the affair as could be expected, thinks it of the more importance because of late there has been a disposition at the French Court to “diminish the dignity” of ambassadors, and especially of those of England. “That the ambassadrice, who is *d'une qualité plus relevée* than the Duchesses themselves, should then stand,—she only of England, when Madame Grotius and other ambassadrices sit,—would be indeed *dé très mauvaise*

"*grace*." In letter after letter this subject recurs. The ambassadors receive instructions from England how to act; they report the results; the King and Richelieu are spoken to; nay, there are communications to the French Queen direct from Henrietta Maria. "The conflict, I believe, will be sharp," writes Leicester, June 1st, "for I can assure you they are much animated by the affront, as they understand it, of giving public honours to a subject of this king, and denying them to his ambassadrice: the issue is doubtful, the consequences uncertain, and may prove of much greater importance than the occasion that leads them." The French Court remaining obstinate, Lord Scudamore at length solves the difficulty in the only possible manner. "The business of the tabouret," he writes to Windebank, June 29—July 9 [*i.e.* "June 29," according to the English or old style, but "July 9," according to the French or new,—the *English* date being always the *earlier*], "will concern the present English ambassadrice not very long; for she resolves, about six weeks hence, to return to England, having never been right in her health since her coming over." A contemporary slight which the same M. de Bruslon offered to Scudamore himself in his character as ambassador, and of which there are also ample details in his letters, appears to have convinced him that there was a desire on the part of the French Court either to offend the English Government through him or to get rid of himself personally; and at length he hints that his own recall, to follow Lady Scudamore's departure for England at a convenient interval, would not be unwelcome.

Threatened Rupture between France and the Papacy.—After frequent allusions in previous letters to the differences between Richelieu and the Papal Court in matters relating to French bishoprics and benefices, a letter of Scudamore's of June 1st conveys the following important intelligence:—"Upon Tuesday last there was an Order of Council with the King's declaration brought to the Parlement, prohibiting all banquiers to send any money to Rome for benefices, under a pain of 3,000 livres; with commandment to bring their registers to be marked, to the end that those businesses that are already begun may be finished, and that no new ones may be set on foot,—the provisions of benefices to be superseded till farther order be given. To obtain which Order of Council, there was a petition in the names of all those late bishops (which are about twenty) who have not yet been able to obtain their bulls. This is the pretended motive. Others there are, as is said, viz.: because the Pope will not admit Cardinal Anthouy into the consistory as Protector of France, being induced to revoke his promise thereof at the instance of the Spanish Ambassador; the refusal of the cardinal's hat to Père Joseph; that they at Rome endeavour to supplant those whom the King confers benefices upon, and to substitute others in their places; that, there being now three millions ready to be transported to Rome, there may be at this time use of these moneys here,—it being this King's pleasure that, as the Cardinal [Richelieu] is to dispose of all Church-preferments in this kingdom, so the moneys likewise to be sent to Rome for benefices should be ordered by him. But the Parlement hath not yet verified this declaration. Upon the same grounds that this declaration was made, there was an assembly of the Sorbonne caused to meet upon Tuesday last, to deliberate whether a Patriarch may not be made in France. There were different opinions and very great contestation among them. And, besides, for above a year since, there have been elected Prieurs

"in convents and Bishops made on purpose to sustain this cause. Some "think that Marshal D'Estrée [the French ambassador at Rome] is "by this time come away from Rome. The Pope's nuncio would by "no means believe this [about the decree] when it was first told "him ; but, since, storms mightily, and labours all he can to hinder "that the Order of Council be verified." Enclosed in a letter, a few days after, is a copy of the famous decree in the original French, dated "St. Germain en Laye, le 14 June, 1638," and signed "Bouthillier." The document is very emphatic, and speaks of the recent treatment of France by the Papal Court as contrary to the Concordats fixing the relations of France to the Papacy. The following, from a letter of Scudamore's, of date $\frac{1}{2}$ June, shows how the crisis terminated :—"The *arrest* of Council touching the affairs of Rome is "suspended, the Nuncio having promised satisfaction from the Pope "within six weeks or two months. It is said that, the bishops meeting together a few days since, upon this occasion, at the Cardinal "Rochefoucault's house, almost all of them made great invectives "against the said *arrest* as tending to schism ; and they signed their "opinion against it. Amongst which there was one that in high "terms exhorted the rest of the company to remain firm in the unity "of the Church ; and that he, for his part, would be the first to shed "his blood for the defence of this truth which they had signed unto ; "and that resolutely they ought to oppose themselves against the "schism. The Cardinal Rochefoucault went afterwards to Cardinal "Richelieu, and told him their and his own opinion, and spake very "boldly unto him, as being a man of great probity, and of whom "Cardinal Richelieu believes very well. So that it is conceived that "the *arrest* hath not been so much suspended for the instances made "by the Nuncio as by the bruits and murmurings of the people "throughout Paris. Howsoever, peradventure this that hath been "done will, upon the election of another Pope, preserve France to be "in some degree considerable and regarded."

Sir Kenelm Digby making mischief.—A Catholic convert since 1635, Sir Kenelm Digby was residing in Paris, characteristically loud and braggart in all he did. He was on friendly terms with Lord Scudamore, through whom, indeed, Laud had made the first communications to him after hearing of his defection to the Romish communion ; and he and the Earl of Leicester were also in the habit of meeting, but with ill disguised mutual antipathy. Whether from personal dislike to Sir Kenelm, or from conscientious motives in the discharge of his duty as ambassador, the Earl had sent over to England, to be presented to his Majesty, certain charges against Sir Kenelm's behaviour in the French capital. The charges are :— "(1.) That Sir Kenelm Digby is very busy in seducing the King's "subjects in these parts from the Church of England, and that he "brings them to that end to Friars and Jesuits. (2.) That he takes "to himself the conversion of the Lady Purbeck. (3.) That he holds "great intelligence with the Jesuits ; and magnifies everywhere this "Roman persuasion to the prejudice of our Church. (4.) That he "hath caused the making and printing of a Catechism in English. "[This is probably his *Conference with a Lady on the Choice of a Religion*, printed at Paris, 1638.] (5.) That he is ever falling upon "discourses of Religion ; that he hath lately sent into England a "coffer of Popish Books ; and that he hath been very bold in repeating some speeches that he saith his Majesty uttered concerning "his opinion of the true and real presence of Christ in the Sacrament.

"(6.) That he spared this repetition in no company." — On these charges, of which Sir Kenelm was duly informed, and especially on that of his attributing to King Charles words implying his belief in the Popish doctrine of transubstantiation, there ensues a long correspondence, in which Laud takes part. Sir Kenelm denies the charges, or all that is important in them, and calls Leicester a Puritan; Scudamore seems to take Sir Kenelm's part; Leicester asserts again that the charges are literally true, advances confirmatory evidence, more than hints that Sir Kenelm's word is of little value, and treats the counter accusation of Puritanism as quite irrelevant. "Neither is it to this purpose material," he writes to Laud, "whether I be Jew or Gentile, Mahometan or Calvinist; though I think it would trouble Sir Kenelm Digby to find out, by anything he hath ever heard me say, why I am not all as well as any one of them. So, likewise, whether he be Papist, Deist (as they call him here), or Atheist, it is nothing to me more than in Christian charity."

Sir Kenelm Digby making more mischief. — Contemporaneous with the affair of the last paragraph was another, which I digest from the letters of the ambassadors as follows:—In the course of the spring there had come over to Paris, "with Mr. Charles Cavendish, to accompany him in his travels," "a Scotch gentleman" named Brisbane. A fellow-countryman of his, Mr. Buchanan, who resides in London, sends letters after him giving him the home news; and these letters are shown, or their contents communicated, by Brisbane to other Scots in Paris,—a "Mr. William Oliver, gent.," "a Mr. Annan, *Exempt des Gardes*," &c. Suddenly Sir Kenelm Digby goes to Lord Scudamore, with a story that letters are being shown about among the Scots in Paris to the effect that 30,000 men are up in arms in Scotland, and that 25,000 men in England are ready to join them. When traced out, the origin of the story is found to be that Sir Kenelm and a M. du Bosc, being together at Royaumont on the 29th of April last, had there heard Abbé Chambers (also a Scotchman, and chaplain to Richelieu) give an account, half jestingly, of his having been sent mysteriously to a tavern to receive some important intelligence from one of his countrymen. On going, somewhat reluctantly, to the tavern, he had been met "below stairs" by Mr. Annan, who told him the above story of the rising of the Scotch. Chambers, as he said, had laughed the matter off, and declined Annan's invitation to accompany him upstairs, where Mr. Oliver, who had seen a letter from Scotland giving the news, was ready to confirm it. To arrive at all this had cost Lord Scudamore and the Earl of Leicester a great deal of trouble, including examinations of Sir Kenelm, M. du Bosc, Mr. Oliver, and Mr. Brisbane himself. Brisbane's examination was before Lord Scudamore, whose summons in the King's name he had immediately obeyed; but the full account of what passed is from a letter of the Earl of Leicester, dated June 1st. According to this letter, Mr. Brisbane having been confronted with Sir Kenelm Digby as his accuser, and having made his denial to Sir Kenelm's face, Lord Scudamore had "commanded him to tell no creature living of what had passed." To this Brisbane will not absolutely consent. "'My Lord,' said Brisbane, 'you may be assured that I will not be forward to talk of this matter, but I purpose to acquaint such a one with it (naming me).'" My Lord Scudamore asked him why he should do him that wrong; Brisbane replied:—"My Lord, I conceive my duty obliges me unto it; and I hope you will not think it a wrong unto you, if I make him acquainted with it who hath the

“‘honour to be the King’s ambassador as well as you.’ ‘Well,’ said ‘my Lord Scudamore, since he is the King’s ambassador, you may “‘tell it him.’” Brisbane forthwith does go with the story to the Earl of Leicester; who, though desirous, as he says, to keep out of an affair in which Sir Kenelm Digby was concerned, could not refuse to take it up at this point. Accordingly, Sir Kenelm is summoned to meet Mr. Brisbane again in Leicester’s house. Sir Kenelm comes, but carries himself haughtily, and hints that, if Mr. Brisbane is aggrieved, he may follow him to England, whither he is going soon, and there have satisfaction. Beyond this he declines discussing the affair before the Earl of Leicester. The Earl asks if he does so in consequence of any order from the King to discuss it only with Lord Scudamore. Sir Kenelm signifies that such is the case; whereupon the Earl, bowing to that intimation as final, administers a knock-down blow, which he has kept in reserve. “‘Well, Sir Kenelm,’ I “said, ‘since you are so reserved concerning others, give me leave to “ask you a question which concerns yourself, and hath some resemblance with the other: Did *you* never say to anybody in this town “that the Scots were up in arms, that my Lord Hume and others “were proclaimed rebels, and that the King was raising 6,000 men “for the present, to go against them, as it was thought, in person?’” Sir Kenelm denies the allegation *in toto*; whereupon the Earl resumes, “‘You shall know my author: it is Father Talbot, a great and “familiar acquaintance of yours; who told me that you had said this “to him in your chamber, and had offered to show him the letters “which lay upon your table wherein you had lately received that “advertisement. When you see Father Talbot, who, they say, is in “England, you may tell him what I have said.’” Apparently, Leicester’s continued charges against Sir Kenelm were not very favourably received at home; for, in a subsequent letter, dated “June 22—July 2,” addressed to Laud, he signifies that, for the future, unless anything new occurs, Sir Kenelm shall have no more notice from him. In the same letter he solicits Laud’s patronage for a book against the Papacy by “Mr. Blondell,” a French Protestant minister, highly recommended by Grotius.

Coming in contact with the beginnings of such incidents and matters of gossip as he passed through Paris, Milton continued his leisurely journey through Southern France towards Italy. His route was most probably by Lyons and the Rhone, and through Provence. Arrived in Provence, he did not, as Sir Henry Wotton had advised, take ship from Marseilles to Genoa, but entered Italy by its land-frontier at Nice.

ITALY AND THE ITALIANS IN 1638.

His long-cherished wish was now gratified. Now at last he stood on the shore of the great Mediterranean, over one bay of which he could gaze as far as the eye could reach,

while to the right and to the left, and straight southwards far beyond the extreme horizon, he could imagine the rest of its blue expanse fringed irregularly round by that wide-extending margin of coasts, peninsulas, and promontories which, with the numberless islands intervening, had formed, once upon a time, the whole regarded world of mankind and the sole theatre of remembered human action. Not over the whole of this renowned margin could he hope then or ever to range. Not over its Asiatic portion, far to the east, over whose sacred lands still lingered the glow of primeval history and legend; nor over the opposite African shore, strewn with the wrecks of the Egyptian, the Carthaginian, and the Libyan, and now possessed by the Moor; nor over its westernmost peninsula of Spain, where Europe and Africa met at the Pillars of Hercules, and the Goth and the Moor together had superseded the Romanized Iberian. It was doubtful even whether his travels would include Greece. Already, however, his foot was within the precincts of the one land of his dreams, which had mainly solicited him hither,—this fair and classic Italy, round which the other Mediterranean regions seemed but to group themselves, and which had once, under the Roman, held them all within the grasp of its empire, and again, a second time, been the centre of an organization comprising their European half and more, till farther and less genial lands had learnt to assert their right, and the immemorial link was burst that had bound man to the Mediterranean. Over this fair peninsula, at least, he was now to wander at will. The “soft wind blowing from the blue heaven” already fanned his cheek; and, with the variation of the hotter sun and the more fervid air, as he advanced southwards from city to city along the peninsula’s length, he was to have the same sight of the blue Mediterranean on one side, and of the plains and terraces extending thence, rich with corn and wine, or faint with olive-groves, or picturesque with garden and villa, to the bounding clefts and peaks of the approaching or receding Apennines. Here was Italian nature, the same as it had ever been,—the physical Italy of the sensuous poets, with

fancies or recollections of which they interwove their most passionate dreams and their lays of love and its longings. But in Milton the sensuous poet was merged in the poet of larger cares; nor did the poet in him exclude the historian and the scholar. The Italy of his expectations was more than the land of blue skies and refreshing breezes, of the citron amid its foliage, of the pale grey olives on the hills, of the oxen steaming in the field, of the glittering fireflies and shrill cicadas, and the green lizards scudding among the rocks. Of equal or of greater interest to him were the monuments of past humanity which covered this beautiful land. There were the relics of Italy's earlier supremacy, when Rome was mistress of the world,—the sites of ancient cities marked by their mounds and ruins, the remains of villas and baths, the painted sepulchral vases, and the statues and fragments of statues dug out of the preserving earth and arranged for view in galleries and museums. Mingled with these were the fresher relics of Italy's second and so different empire,—the castles and convents on the coasts and among the Apennines, the mediæval palaces and churches, the statues and paintings of the grand race of Italy's recent artists, the libraries in which the learned had walked, the streets in which famous poets had lived, the tombs of many of those illustrious dead, the living legends of their acts and the floating fame of their memories. Nor was the actual Italy of the present without claims on the traveller, besides those of its rich inheritance. Moving over the peninsula, one could at least hear the true Italian speech, though broken into its different dialects; one could mark, whether amid the peasantry or in the crowds in city squares, the Italian eyes and faces and the flashing Italian characteristics; one could see the monks and the religious processions threading their way everywhere through the quick-witted and sarcastic population, and so study Catholicism at its centre. Perchance, too, both among the clergy and among the laity, there might be men individually remarkable, whom it would be a benefit for a stranger to know and an honour afterwards to remember.

In this last particular, as Milton well knew, the prospect was not so hopeful as it would have been a generation or two earlier. As Italy had preceded the other countries of modern Europe in the career of arts and letters, and had already exulted in her series of great classic writers and of great national artists in times when other countries could exhibit but the rudiments of any corresponding excellence, so, in the very age when those other countries had consciously started forward to make up their distance, Italy had visibly fallen behind and begun to confess her exhaustion. The name *Seicentisti*, by which the Italians themselves designate collectively all the writers of their nation belonging to the seventeenth century, is with them a term of low regard, of the significance of which it is difficult for Englishmen, recollecting the character of that century in their own history, to form an adequate conception. But, if the level was low in Italy through the whole of the seventeenth century, there was perhaps no point in the century when it was lower than in and about the year 1638. After Tasso, the last of the great ones (1544-1595), there had been a few poets who, though reckoned among the *Seicentisti* by the last portions of their lives, and because they contributed by their influence to the increase of the "*reo gusto*" which was to ruin the succeeding *Seicentisti*, were yet men of undoubted genius. Such were Chiabrera (1552-1637), Tassoni (1565-1635), and Marini (1569-1625). But these were now gone; and there remained over Italy, as representatives of poesy and the "*belle lettere*" generally, a host of men of smaller magnitude. Under a few seniors of some mark, such as the poets Bracciolini and Testi, the antiquarian Pellegrini, and the historians Strada and Bentivoglio, all educated young Italy, from the Alps to Sicily, was in that peculiar mental state, compounded of epidemic enthusiasm for the literature of the past and incessant small practice of literature on their own account, which is still best described by the Italian word *dilettantismo*. In prose the dilettantism had taken the form of memoirs of the old poets, commentaries on passages of their works, comparisons between them

and the ancients, essays on questions of style and grammar raised by them, and, in short, of that species of historical and critical stock-taking the excess of which at any time in the literature of a nation augurs ill for the continuance of the business. In verse the results of the same dilettantism were daily or weekly crops, in all the Italian cities, of sonnets, canzoni, panegyrics, epigrams, and small dramas, conceived after the most recent models, and florid with those conceits and Asiatic extravagances of metaphor the taste for which had been diffused by the poetry of Marini.¹

In the arts the decline was scarcely less manifest than in literature. In painting there were still some considerable successors of the great race of older masters. There were Guido Reni, Domenichino, and Guercino, of the Bolognese school of the Caracci; there was Turchi, of the Venetian school; there was Pietro da Cortona, of the Florentine; and there were Spagnoletto and Salvator Rosa, of the Neapolitan. With the exception of the last, these painters were well advanced in years. Most of them were living in Naples or in Rome; in which last city also lived, under the patronage of Pope Urban, the architect Boromini, and the sculptors Algardi of Bologna and Bernini of Naples. In music the report is much more favourable. More especially in Venice and in Naples there were composers of no small fame; and, in the decay of the drama proper, there were already, in those and in other towns, beginnings of the opera.

In nothing was the peculiar intellectual condition of Italy in and about the year 1638 more characteristically represented than in the unusual number and the unusual social influence at that time of her so-called "Academies." The Italian Academies (*Accademie*) were institutions distinct from the universities and public schools established from of old in all the chief cities, and also from the great museums and

¹ Tiraboschi, tom. VIII, *passim*; but, for different views of the Seicentisti, see also Hallam and Sismondi. My own knowledge does not enable me to do more than express the views of such authorities as fairly as I can; and the

reader must not accept the account in the text as more than a report of what good authorities say, nor credit me with much personal knowledge of the Seicentisti who are named.

libraries. They corresponded more to what are now called clubs, or to our literary and debating societies. They took their rise in the fifteenth century, when the "Platonic Academy" was founded in Florence, under the auspices of Cosimo de' Medici, for the purpose of reading and discussing the writings of Plato, and when also associations were formed, under the same name of Academies, in Rome, Naples, and Venice, that the learned in those cities might read the classic authors together, compare manuscripts, and exchange their ideas and their information. These original institutions had died out or been suppressed; but, the fashion having been set, they were succeeded, in the sixteenth century, by many institutions of the same kind, in the same and in other towns. In the seventeenth century so many fresh academies sprang up that a list has been drawn up of more than 500 Italian academies, known to have existed before the year 1729.¹ These academies distribute themselves among no fewer than 133 separate towns. Bologna, which stands at the head of the list, counts as many as 70; Rome, which comes next, is credited with 56; Venice with 43; Naples with 29; Florence with 20; and so on, down to small towns and mere villages, counting two or three each. This is for the whole period between 1500 and 1729; but the fashion, if not at its height in 1638, was then approaching its height. There was then no town of any consequence which had not its three, or four, or five academies, whether recently formed or of old standing. Some were mere fraternities of young men, dubbing themselves collectively by some fantastic or humorous designation, and meeting in each other's rooms, or in gardens, to recite Latin and Italian poems, read essays, debate questions, and while away the time. Others, with names either grave or fantastic, had, by length of time, and a succession of eminent members, become public, and, in a sense, national institutes, holding their reunions either in spacious buildings

¹ An "Index Academicarum Italiae omnium" is given in "M. Joannis Jarkii Specimen Historiæ Academicarum Eruditæ Italiae: Lipsiæ, 1729." The

list is corrected and enlarged by Fabricius, in his "Conspectus Thesauri Litterarii Italiae: Hamburgi, 1749."

of their own, or in the mansions of princes, cardinals, and other noble persons. The most illustrious at the time of which we write were these:—in Florence, the *Accademia Fiorentina*, or Florentine Academy, founded in 1540, and the *Accademia della Crusca* (Academy of the Bran), founded later in the same century by seceders from the Florentine; in Rome, the three Academics of the *Umoristi* or Humorists, the *Ordinati* or Moderates, and the *Lincei* or Lynxes, all founded since the beginning of the seventeenth century; and in Bologna the Academy of the *Gelati* or Frozens, which had existed since 1588. With the exception of the *Lincei*, who devoted themselves chiefly to mathematical and physical researches, all these academies were, in the main, centres of that dilettantism in poetry and the arts which had overspread Italy. One of them, the Della Crusca, had recently distinguished itself by the publication of a Dictionary of the Italian Language, the design of which was to fix the language authoritatively for all time to come, by determining what words were classic according to the best Tuscan usage. The first edition of this *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* had been published in 1612. A second appeared in 1623.¹

In calling themselves “The Lynxes,” the mathematicians and physical philosophers of Italy had selected a happy symbol. It was as if they proclaimed that it was in *their* constitution still to see when it might be dark to others, and that *their* occupation of penetrating the recesses of nature, seizing facts that eluded the common search, and holding them as if in permanent excruciation within the fangs of their definite relations of magnitude, weight, and number, might be carried on when poets were asleep, metaphysicians jaded, painters poor and meretricious, and orators without employment. The first age of the Seicentisti, at all events, was the age of an extraordinary outburst of the scientific genius in Italy. It was in this age, above all,

¹ This account of the Italian Academies is from Jarkius and Fabricius, as above; from Tiraboschi, tom. VIII. lib.

i. cap. 3; and from sketches in Salvini's “Fasti Consolari dell' Accademia Fiorentina: Firenze, 1717.”

that, eclipsing the series of his Italian predecessors in geometry and physics, there had arisen the great Galileo.

Born in Pisa in 1564, which was also the birth-year of Shakespeare, and from his earliest youth a poet, a scholar, and a musician, Galileo had chosen science as the occupation of his life. After holding for eighteen years (1592-1610) a professorship in the University of Padua, whither the fame of his lectures in mechanics drew students from all parts, he had been recalled to his native Tuscany, to live there through the rest of his life, with the honorary titles of Philosopher to the Grand Duke, Principal Mathematician for the University of Pisa, &c., but without any official duties except such as he might himself undertake. Living usually in Florence, or in some villa in its neighbourhood, he had here, with telescopes constructed by his own hands, made or confirmed most of his great discoveries in astronomy; and here also he had carried on those geometrical and mechanical speculations which fill out the rest of his fame. From the publication of his first telescopic revelations in 1610 it had been apparent that his views included the Copernican heresy; and, the heresy having spread by his means among the Lincei of Rome, who had elected him a member, he had incurred in 1616 his first ecclesiastical censure, and the condemnation of his writings by the Inquisition. From that date, strong in the favour of the Grand Duke Cosimo II. and his successor Ferdinand, and also in the respect of pupils and admirers all over Italy, he had continued his labours and speculations till, in 1632, his famous *Dialogues concerning the Ptolemaic and Copernican Systems* had occasioned his second summons to Rome, and his second condemnation and temporary imprisonment there by sentence of the Inquisition. Liberated from his Roman prison, he had returned to Tuscany in December 1633, in the seventieth year of his age, still under certain restrictions on his liberty imposed by the Holy Office; and the last years of his life were spent at Arcetri, a sunny vine-clad slope, a little way out of Florence on the south side, where they still

point out an old tower which was his observatory. Here, though

“Seven years a prisoner at the city-gate,
Let in but in his grave-clothes,”

he lived happily enough. Surrounded by a knot of pupils who believed in him with adoration, and tended him faithfully to the last, he received in his villa, called *Il Gioiello* or *The Gem*, the visits of courtesy which his ducal patrons continued to pay to him, and visits also from all the learned of Florence, and from foreigners of rank and distinction, anxious to behold his living face. Here, in a select circle, when graver subjects were not on hand, his strong old face would relax, and he would be as charming as a child. On such occasions he would recite poems of his own when they were asked for, or play his own music, or descant on the Latin and Italian poets, and especially on his favourite Ariosto, not failing to produce for his guests some of the choice kinds of wine of which he was continually receiving presents, and in which, as in all other matters of the kind, his taste was exquisitely fastidious. On fine evenings he would still be in his observatory, using his telescope. At last, in 1637, when he was in his seventy-fourth year, blindness came over him, and the eyes that had so long scanned the heavens could see their orbs no more. Just before Milton arrived in Italy, Galileo's blindness had become total.¹

Galileo was but the glorious centre of a group of Italians, most of them younger than himself, and most of them directly or indirectly his pupils, who were cultivating with success the mathematical and physical sciences in the different Italian cities. There was Cavalieri the Milanese; there were Baliani and Renieri of Genoa; there were Castelli the Brescian and Borelli the Neapolitan. Torricelli,—born in 1608, and therefore exactly Milton's coeval, as Galileo was

¹ Life of Galileo, by his pupil Viviani, written in 1654, but inserted in Salvini's *Memoir of Galileo*, in his *Fatti Consolari*, under the year 1622, when

Galileo held the consulship of the Florentine Academy.—Rogers's *Italy*, with the author's notes.

exactly Shakespeare's,—was already known, and was either now residing with Galileo at Arcetri or was shortly about to do so. Viviani, who was to boast himself Galileo's latest pupil, the Benjamin of his personal school, was in his seventeenth year; Cassini was in his fourteenth; Malpighi in his tenth.

MILTON IN ITALY.

Unusually well informed respecting the geography, the history, and the entire social condition of Italy beforehand, and with an unusually good knowledge of Italian to carry him through, Milton passed southwards, by a few rapid stages, to reach the central and more interesting parts.

From Nice, his first station, the coasting packet carried him to Genoa. This city, the superb appearance of which from the sea was then, as now, the admiration of tourists, occupied him apparently but a few days. He may have had time, however, to note some of its characteristics, including "the proud palaces in and about," of which, says Howell, "there are 200 within two miles of the town, and not one of them of the same form of building." From Genoa he took packet again for Leghorn, also a trading port, and with none of Genoa's pretensions to beauty, but interesting as being the rising maritime town of Tuscany, and the access to the Tuscan interior.

Having walked along the mole and the canals of Leghorn, and visited possibly some of the English merchants, and received remittances from home, Milton made his first journey inland. It was to Pisa, about fourteen miles distant from Leghorn, but only four miles from the coast. In this ancient and famous city, formerly the fierce rival of Florence, and great in the wars of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, but since 1509 subject to Florence, Milton might have spent many days without exhausting its sources of interest. There were the bridges over the Arno, and the many ancient streets; there was the great Duomo or Cathedral, begun in 1068 and finished in 1118, with its exterior of glowing marbles, and its interior cool and gorgeous with painted

windows, granite columns, marble pavement, and statues and carvings; there was the Baptistery, built between 1152 and 1160, with its pulpit by Nicolò Pisano and its other gems of Pisan art; there was the renowned Belfry or Leaning Tower, from the top of which the traveller, dizzied with an unusual sensation, might have a view of the wide country round, and far out over the Tuscan Sea; there was the Campo Santo or Cemetery, dating from the thirteenth century, with its tombs, its ancient marbles, and its frescoes, by Giotto, Orcagna, and Memmi; and besides these there were towers and churches, older and newer, each with its own beauties and peculiar associations. Not unvisited, we may be sure, whatever else was unvisited, was the ruined Torre della Fame or Tower of Hunger, famous for the deaths of Ugolino and his sons, told so terribly by Dante. As a University town, and as the birthplace of Galileo, Pisa had, of course, its two or three academies; but it is doubtful whether Milton remained long enough to form any acquaintance with them or their members. He had but taken Pisa on his way to Florence, forty-five miles farther inland, up the course of the Arno.

In Florence Milton "remained," as he tells us, "two months."¹ As we are left to calculate, they were the months of August and September 1638. He was certainly in Florence, as we shall find, till the 16th of September.

During those two months, the city, long imagined, becomes gradually familiar to him. Presenting itself to him at first generally, as a city of sober and massive construction, walled in from the bright country around, and divided into two unequal parts by the Arno,—shallow and sluggish, as he now sees it, but often, he is told, rushing swift and yellow with the loosened waters from the mountains,—it is not long before, by his walks through its streets, and his crossings and recrossings of the bridges, it has arranged itself to his conception more definitely. In the centre, on the northern side of the river, is the oldest part of all, a mass of narrow

¹ Def. Sec.; Works, VI.

and dense streets and alleys, within which the ancient Florentines had been penned up in days that were legendary even to Dante; and round this, in widening circle on both sides of the river, and gradually more and more open to the sky, till the circuit of the walls is reached, is the Florence of later growth, as formed in the strict era of the Republic, and extended and adorned by the series of the Medici. Then, in each part, what objects for daily visit! There is the Duomo, with the Campanile and the Battisterio; there are the churches of Santa Croce, San Michele, Santa Maria Novella, San Lorenzo, San Marco, and many more; there is the Palazzo Vecchio, or old Palace of the Republic; there are the Uffizii or public offices of the Medici; there are the Grand Ducal palace and gardens of the Pitti, on the southern side of the river; there are the Palazzo Strozzi, the Palazzo Riccardi, and other palaces of more private note. If even to the student at a distance these names represent, by the vague visions which they call up, the richness of Italian art, and much of all that was Italian from the thirteenth century to the seventeenth, what a world of sensation in them for one actually moving and lingering amid them! In the very edifices themselves there rise up, phantoms no longer, the series of the Tuscan architects, from Arnolfo di Lapo, who planned the Duomo, on to Brunelleschi, who all but refounded Florence, and so to Michel Angelo, as the last. In like manner, out of the bewildering wealth of statues, paintings, carvings, and bronzes, filling the edifices within, or set up near them without, there emerge, in something like living succession, the figures of Cimabue, Giotto, Orcagna, Donatello, Ghiberti, Masaccio, Fra Angelico, Fra Lippo Lippi, Ghirlandaio, Michel Angelo once more, Bandinelli, and Cellini. Nor is it only with the artists of Florence that those palaces, churches, and monuments preserve associations. Here, in the Laurentian Library, are the collections of manuscripts, begun by the princely Medici when they led in the Revival of Learning in Europe. There, in the Baptistery, one may see where Dante broke the carved font in his haste to save the drowning child; here, in San Marco,

is the cell of Savonarola. Santa Croce is full of tombs, and in the crypts of San Lorenzo lie all the Medici. The streets themselves have their antiquities and legends. In one they show the house of Dante; in another that of Guicciardini, with that of Machiavelli nearly opposite; in another that of Amerigo Vespucci; in another the Casa Buonarroti, still possessed by the family of the artist. Little wonder that, exploring such a city day after day, the stranger from the north learns to love it, and that, as the place grows familiar to him, and the charm of the climate steals over him, and his habits arrange themselves in daily order, so as to meet the morning sunrise, and avoid the mid-day glare, and leave the evenings for the pure moonlight by the Arno, the mistier north is forgotten and he longs to make Florence his home. Where this is impossible, there will at least be the customary excursion to some height beyond the walls, whence the city and its surroundings may be seen in admiring farewell. It may be to the Villa di Bellosguardo on one side, or it may be along the lovely winding road that ascends to the ancient Fiesole, and so to the famous summit whence Lorenzo the Magnificent looked down on dome, and tower, and vineyard, and valley, and knew it all his own.

But the living society of a place counts for more than the antiquities or the scenery; and in this respect also the Florence of 1638 seems to have been all that a visitor could desire. The Dutch scholar and poet, Nicolas Heinsius, writing to a Florentine friend in 1653, and acknowledging his pleasant recollections of two visits of his to Italy, the first in 1646, could express himself thus:—"It is to be confessed that by none of the Italian cities is the palm of learning and genius at present taken from yours, although it is now peopled by a far smaller crowd of inhabitants than formerly. So much is this the case, indeed, that you seem to be avenging with anxious effort the signal injury of the fates, and to be in a manner triumphing over your privation and solitude. The more the number of your citizens decreases and falls off, the more steadily you struggle through your losses by continued productiveness

“in new intellects; so that, out of your small total of a
 “population, there are many that stand forth as men to be
 “spoken of for their excellent gifts by more than one
 “generation of posterity. But, as the sciences were first
 “established through Tuscany under the immortal auspices
 “of the Medicean name, what wonder that, under the same,
 “they are now extending their limits and domain? In the
 “two journeys which I made in Italy, much taken as I was
 “with the agreeableness and the genius of the country,
 “there was no district of it to the investigation of which
 “I gave more time, or that affected me with more pleasure,
 “than yours. To relate what goodwill and courtesy I
 “experienced among you would be a discourse for another
 “place than this, and would grow to something huge in
 “dimensions; nor can the kind offices done to me by every
 “one individually be here commemorated and reckoned up
 “in order. Not as a stranger lodging among you, not as a
 “foreigner, did you regard me. Admitting me into the
 “sacred and innermost recesses of both your great Aca-
 “demies [the Florentine and the Della Crusca], and thus
 “bestowing on me, if I may so say, the freedom of both,
 “and enrolling me also in another most glorious list by en-
 “riching and adorning me with the title of one of the *Apatisti*
 “[a third Florentine brotherhood, to be spoken of pre-
 “sently], you not only gave me most handsome entertain-
 “ment there, but also, as often as I chose to address you,
 “received my trifling dissertations with attentive ears.”
 Heinsius then goes on to mention by name the Florentine
 friends who had been conspicuous in their politeness to
 him, and to acknowledge in particular the kindness of his
 correspondent.¹

Exactly as Heinsius was received in his first visit to
 Florence, and by the very same persons whom he goes on
 to mention, had Milton been received some years before.

¹ The passage in the text is translated from the *Epistola Dedicatoria* to Carlo Dati of Florence prefixed to the Third Book of Elegies forming part of

the tiny volume of “*Nicolai Heinsii Poemata*,” published at Leyden, 1653. Nicolas Heinsius, the son of Daniel, was born at Leyden in 1620.

Introduced to one or more of them, or sought out by them in his lodgings, he has been in the middle of the best society in Florence almost from the day of his arrival. "There immediately (*statim*)," he says, "I contracted the acquaintance of many truly noble and learned men, and also assiduously attended their private academies,—which are an institution there of most praiseworthy effect, both for the cultivation of polite letters and for the maintenance of friendships. The memory of you, JACOPO GADDI, of you, CARLO DATI, of you, FRESCOBALDI, COLTELLINI, BONMATTEI, CHIMENTELLI, FRANCINI, and of not a few others, delightful and pleasant as it still is to me, time shall never destroy."¹ To this list of Milton's Florentine friends may be added, on the authority of an allusion in one of Milton's letters, and on other authority besides, the name of ANTONIO MALATESTI. It may make the group more interesting if we collect a few particulars respecting each of the eight separately.

JACOPO GADDI, whom Milton names first, was a Florentine of patrician family and of good fortune, apparently still under forty years of age in 1638, but of established literary influence in his native city. This he owed partly to the reputation obtained by some publications of his own,—including a volume of Latin *Poemata*, published in 1628, and three distinct volumes of *Elogia*, *Allocutiones*, short historical essays, occasional poems, &c., in Latin and in Italian, all published in 1636 and 1637,—but chiefly, it would seem, to his extreme sociability, and his generous habits in his intercourse with men of letters. He had a wide circle of correspondents out of Florence, including several eminent cardinals and prelates; and in Florence itself he knew everybody and was known by everybody. Besides being a member of the Florentine Academy and of other similar associations, he was the centre and chief of a club or academy of his own founding, called the *Scogliati* or "Disgusted." This club, which seems to have been of a somewhat private character, held its meetings in Gaddi's house, in the Piazza Madonna, where there was a good

¹ Def. Sec.; Works, VI. 288.

library and a picture-gallery. It included all the best wits in Florence, and it was Gaddi's habit to secure for its reunions every stranger of any likelihood that was staying in the town. "His courtesy was such," according to one authority, "as to render his acquaintance one of the first "objects of desire to foreigners from far countries passing "through Florence." These habits he was to keep up for many years beyond our present date, during which time he was to increase his reputation by the publication of new collections of poems and of papers of literary biography which he had read in his own or in other academies, and also by a work of greater magnitude, entitled *De Scriptoribus non-ecclesiasticis, Græcis, Latinis, Italicis*, printed in two folio volumes in 1648 and 1649. Gaddi's club of the Svogliati seems to have been in its most flourishing condition in and about 1638.¹

CARLO DATI, or, more fully, CARLO RUBERTO DATI, who comes next in Milton's list, has left a more distinguished name among the Seicentisti than is now reserved for Gaddi. His "*Vite de' Pittori Antichi*," or "Lives of the Ancient Painters," published in 1667, is included to this day in collective editions of the Italian authors; and he is also remembered as the editor of selections from previous Tuscan prose writers, and the author of panegyrics addressed to Louis XIV. and other sovereigns, and of several mathematical, antiquarian, and philological tracts. In his case, too, however, the amount of surviving reputation seems by no means proportionate to the place he held while alive. For some thirty or forty years before his death in 1675 there was not a more popular name than his among the Tuscans, and there were not perhaps many Italian names better known among contemporary French and German scholars. He was a leading member of every academy in Florence. In that of the Della Crusca, where he was

¹ Tiraboschi has not much about Gaddi; and the particulars in the text are derived from a sketch in Negri's "*Istoria degli Scrittori Fiorentini*" (Ferrara, 1722), from an incidental notice in Mazzuchelli's "Scrittori

d' Italia" (Brescia, 1769), vol. II. pp. 2404-5, from Rolli's Italian Memoir of Milton, prefixed to a translation of *Paradise Lost*, in 1735, and from a glance at Gaddi's own works.

secretary from 1640 onwards, he was known by the adopted fancy-name of "*Smarrito*" or "The Bewildered"; in the Florentine he held for many years the honorary post of Greek and Humanity Professor, and was at length, in 1649, elected to the annual dignity of the presidency or consulship. Latterly he had a pension from Louis XIV., and it was believed that, had he chosen to quit Florence, he might have gone to Paris on his own terms. All this by way of anticipation. In 1638 he was only in his nineteenth year, having been born Oct. 2, 1619. He was, therefore, one of the youngest members of the Della Crusca, if he already belonged to it. Either there, however, or in other more private academies, such as the Svogliati, he was astonishing his seniors by his premature acquisitions in science, and drawing down bursts of applause by his eloquence. In this last gift, and especially in Tuscan eloquence, he had, says one authority, even in his youth, "no rival"; and to the same effect is the epithet applied to him by another of his friends, who calls him "our City's pure flower, and the marrow of Tuscan oratory." A certain enthusiasm of disposition made him as eager as Gaddi to cultivate the acquaintance of strangers who arrived in Florence; and scarcely was any such stranger settled in his inn or his lodging when Dati's bright face was sure to burst in upon him with welcome in its looks, invitations to mutual communicativeness, and offers of service. While catering for the Svogliati and his friend Gaddi, he had a house of his own, where he received visitors on his own account, and which became, in time, "the resort of the literati, and particularly of Ultramontane scholars." It was to Dati that Nicolas Heinsius addressed in 1653 the letter from which we have quoted, testifying his pleasant recollections of Florentine hospitality in 1646; and in that letter he distinctly thanks Dati for having been the means of his introduction to the *élite* of his native city. Of all the eight Florentines named by Milton none seems to have formed a stronger attachment to him than this ardent young Italian, then scarcely out of his boyhood. Milton, as we shall find,

carried away, like Heinsius afterwards, an unusually strong affection for Dati.¹

The fourth name in Milton's list is that of AGOSTINO COLTELLINI. He was now about twenty-five years of age, having been born in 1613, a Florentine of Bolognese descent; he had studied in Florence, and afterwards attended the classes of law with high reputation at Pisa; and he was now settled as an Advocate in Florence. Being of weak health, and of extremely small stature (*piccolissima statura*), he had given up the public and more laborious parts of his profession; and he seems to have been in circumstances to be independent of it. Several years before our present date, he had made a great hit in life, by founding a new Academy under the name of the *Apatisti*, or "The Indifferents." The academy had grown out of meetings held by him and his young companions in his lodgings in the Via dell'Oriuolo, during and immediately after the Plague of 1630-1, for the purpose of mutual assistance and encouragement in their studies. These conversazioni had succeeded so well, and had been found to supply certain peculiar wants so much better than the two old academies, and than others already existing, that they had taken development, in or about 1633, into a society of virtuosi, which again had divided itself into a so-called "University," for grave scientific studies, and a so-called "Academy," for the cultivation of Latin and Tuscan literature,—both under the name of the *Apatisti*, and with a connecting organization. By the year 1638 the Academy had been fully established, with its laws, its office-bearers, its patrons among the saints, its "protector" among the princes of the grand-ducal house, its device for a seal, and its motto from Dante. One of its rules (and there was a similar custom in most of the Italian academies) was that

¹ Salvini's "Fasti Consolari dell' Accademia Fiorentina" (Florence, 1717), *sub anno* 1649; Tiraboschi, tom. VIII. pp. 412-13; Negri, as above, pp. 116, 117; and *Bibliotheca Apostolica* (Hamburg, 1734), pp. 185-188, where, how-

ever, the information consists chiefly of extracts from Heinsius. There are many scattered references to Dati in contemporary letters, verses, &c., besides memoirs of him.

every member should, in his academic connexions, sink his own name in some anagram or pseudonym. Coltellini's Apatistic name was the somewhat clumsy one of "Ostilio Contalgeni." Under this name, as an alternative for his own, he was to live fifty-five years beyond our present date. He died in 1693, at the age of eighty. In the course of this long life he was to attain many distinctions. He was to be a member of the Della Crusca; he was to fill no fewer than four times, between 1659 and his death, the presidency or consulship of the Florentine; and he was to publish a series of petty compositions in prose and in verse, the titles of which make a considerable list. But the chief distinction of his life, and that into which most of the others in reality resolved themselves, was his having founded the *Apatisti*. Such were the attractions of this academy, and so energetic was Coltellini in its behalf, that within ten or twenty years after its foundation it had a fame among the Italian academies equal, in some respects, to that of the first and oldest, and counted among its members not only all the eminent Florentines, but most of the distinguished *literati* of Italy, besides cardinals, Italian princes and dukes, many foreign nobles and scholars, and at least one pope. We have seen in what terms Heinsius wrote in 1653 of his recollections of it in 1646. At *our* date it had not yet attained such wide dimensions; but it already included among its members not only Coltellini's original companions, but also many of the seniors of the Florentine and the Della Crusca, and probably also of the *Svogliati*. In 1638 (which seems to have been the first year of its complete organization) the President, or *Apatista Reggente*, was not Coltellini, but a much older personage,—Benedetto Fioretti, *alias* "Udeno Nisielli" (1579—1642), of some repute yet as a grammarian, critic of poetry, and theological writer. The meetings, however, were still held in Coltellini's house, and Coltellini was to take the next turn in the presidency. Young Dati was of course a member; his anagram was "Currado Bartoletti." Nay more, he was the secretary of the society

under Fioretti's presidency, and so, in that year, the very man to bring strangers to the society's meetings.¹

One of the senior members of the new society of Apatisti, and also an eminent member of the Florentine, the Della Crusca, and the Svogliati, and an associate of other academies in other Italian cities, was BENEDETTO BONMATTEI, or BUOMMATTEI, born in Florence in 1581, and now accordingly in his fifty-eighth year. He was a priest by profession, and in that capacity "most religious"; but, after having filled parochial or other clerical charges in Rome, Venice, and Padua, he had returned to Tuscany, where, since 1626, he had held a succession of scholastic and professorial posts. Among his titles since 1632 were those of *Lettore di Lingua Toscana* and *Lettore del Collegio Ferdinando* in Pisa, both conferred on him by the Grand Duke; but about the year 1638 Florence seems to have been his habitual place of residence. He had first appeared as an author as early as 1609, when he published an oration on the death of the Grand Duke Ferdinando I.; and this had been followed by a few other works,—one or two of them on sacerdotal topics, one of them a commentary on parts of Dante, and two of them on Tuscan grammar. Of these the last were the most valued; and, with the reputation of being perhaps the first authority in all matters relating to the Tuscan language, Buommattעי was now engaged on a systematic treatise on Tuscan grammar, which was to supersede and include his former works on the subject. The treatise, still accounted one of standard merit, was not published till 1643, when it appeared in Florence under the title *Della Lingua Toscana*; but already his friends were expecting it, and were urging its progress. Partly on the faith of it, partly from his general

¹ Tiraboschi, tom. VIII. p. 48 and p. 407; Negri, pp. 3-5; Bibliotheca Aprosiana, pp. 6-17 and p. 114; Rilli's "Notizie dell' Accademia Fiorentina" (Florence, 1700), pp. 364-5; and Salvini's "Fasti Consolari," under four separate years—1660, 1664, 1672, and another. The four notices in Salvini amount in all to a detailed biography. In the British Museum Library there is a volume containing a series of sonnets

and some other early trifles, in prose and verse, from Coltellini's pen, published in two separate parts at Florence in 1641 and 1652, both under the title of "*Endecasillabi*," and under the author's pseudonym as "Ostilio Contalgeni, Accademico Apatista." The allusions to other Apatisti in some of the pieces in this volume have furnished me with a few particulars.

erudition and his weight in discourse, he was at this time a chief pillar in all the Florentine academies. In that of the Svogliati he held the office of "censor"; in that of the Apatisti, where his anagram was "Boemonte Battidente," he was to be president in 1640, immediately after Fioretti and Coltellini; in the same year, 1640, he was to be elected secretary of the Della Crusca, his pseudonym as a member of which was "Benduccio Riboboli"; and in 1641 he was to be "censor" of the Florentine. He was to survive till 1647, and to add other publications to his *Lingua Toscana*, none of which, however, are so well remembered.¹

Respecting VALERIO CHIMENTELLI, PIETRO FRESCOBALDI, and ANTONIO FRANCINI, our information is more scanty than about the preceding four. CHIMENTELLI was a priest, like Buommattei. He is heard of afterwards chiefly in connexion with Pisa, where he was Professor, first of Greek, and then of Eloquence and Politics. Heinsius, who visited him there along with Dati, speaks of him as a man "*omni litteratura perpolitus*." He was of very infirm health, and, when he died in or about 1670, left nothing of consequence in print, except an archæological work, entitled "*Marmor Pisanum*." At the time of Milton's visit he seems to have been a young man, moving in the Coltellini and Gaddi and Dati set, and a member of the junior academies to which they belonged.² The same may be said of FRESCOBALDI, of whom less is known. He was of an old family; was one of Coltellini's original companions before the Academy of the Apatisti was founded, and is addressed by Coltellini, in a letter of date 1631, as "*Patritio solertissimo et studiosissimo adolescenti*"; was a member of the Apatistic Academy, with the anagram "Bali Scoprifode"; and is honourably men-

¹ Tiraboschi, tom. VIII. p. 409; Negri, pp. 91, 92; Rilli, pp. 319-330; and a more detailed and exact memoir in Mazzuchelli, "Serittori d'Italia," vol. II. pp. 2404-5. But notices of Buommattei are numerous.

² Negri, pp. 516-517; Tiraboschi, tom. VIII. p. 350; Nicolas Heinsius, *Epistola Dedicatoria* to 3d Book of Elegies; and Coltellini's (Contalgeni's)

Endecasillabi, where he inscribes (1652) a whimsical piece, entitled "Gynerotieomania seu Mulieromorodeliramento, &c.," to "Sig. Valerio Chimentellio, polymathissimo Professor della Greca Lingua nel Pisano Lyceo." In his *Marmor Pisanum* (1666) Chimentelli describes himself in the title-page as "In Pisano Lyceo Eloq. et Politie. Professor."

tioned by Heinsius among his Florentine friends of 1646.¹ FRANCINI also was of ancient Florentine descent, and seemingly not older than Coltellini and Frescobaldi. In the academies his reputation was chiefly in Italian poetry. He is said to have left many poems in manuscript; and a sonnet and madrigal of his were printed in 1638, at the end of an oration of Coltellini's, delivered before the Apatisti on the death of a hopeful young member of their body, named Raffaello Gherardi.²

That Milton should have omitted to mention ANTONIO MALATESTI in his list is the more curious because at the time when the list was penned Malatesti was in considerable repute as a poet. In virtue of his *Sfinge*, a collection of poetical enigmas, published first in 1641, and enlarged and reprinted before the author's death in 1672, and in virtue also of his *I Brindisi de' Ciclopi*, and other poems, chiefly Anacreontic, Malatesti has even now a place among the minor Seicentisti. These had not been published when Milton was in Italy; but the young author was then one of the most sprightly wits of Florence (*prontissimo ingegno e vivacissimo spirito*, says Negri),—circulating his poems in manuscript, delighting the Apatisti and other academies with his talent in improvisation, well accomplished in mathematics, and more than an amateur in painting. A sonnet of his accompanied Francini's verses in the obituary volume on the youth Gherardi. Dati, Coltellini, and Chimentelli were his intimate friends; and, when he published his "*Sfinge*," each of them contributed something by way of recommendation of the volume,—Dati a letter in prose, and Coltellini and Chimentelli complimentary verses. Galileo, also, though there was probably none of the group that was not well known to him, and in the habit of visiting him, seems to have had a special kindness for Malatesti. It is surmised that Malatesti may have been Galileo's pupil in astronomy; and, at all events, the philosopher did him the honour not only to glance over the first part of his "Enigmas"

¹ Heinsius and Coltellini, *ut supra*.

² Negri, p. 60.

in MS., but also to write a sonnet to be prefixed to the volume. This sonnet, as it must have been written before 1638, Milton may have seen in Galileo's handwriting.¹

Carrying off Milton and his man almost from the first day of their arrival in Florence, these seven or eight Florentines of different ages vie with each other in showing them hospitality. While the man is handed over to his brothers in degree, the master is led the round of Florence, petted everywhere, and lionized. Finding out gradually what he is, the kindly Florentines talk freely in his presence, and allow him to talk freely in turn. On the one hand, he makes no secret of his own religion, when that matter is broached; and they, "with singular politeness," as he afterwards acknowledges, concede him full liberty of speech on that delicate subject.² On the other, they do not conceal from him sentiments which, as Italians, they all shared, but which there might have been danger in expressing to an unknown person. "I could recount," he says, when deprecating a Censorship of the Press in England six years afterwards, "what I have seen and heard in other countries, "where this kind of inquisition tyrannizes, when I have "sat among their learned men (for that honour I had) and "been counted happy to be born in such a place of philosophic freedom as they supposed England was, while themselves did nothing but bemoan the servile condition into "which learning amongst them was brought,—that this was "it which had damped the glory of Italian wits, that nothing "had been there written now these many years but flattery "and fustian."³ The context shows that it was chiefly in Florence that he heard those complaints.

While not neglecting the Florentine and the Della Crusca,

¹ Tiraboschi, tom. VIII. p. 370; Negri, pp. 63, 64; "La Sfinge: Enimmi del Sig. Antonio Malatesti: 3d edit.: Florence, 1683;" Gamba's "Serie dei testi di lingua e di altre opere importanti nella Italiana Letteratura" (4th edit., Venice, 1837); but chiefly three interesting communications to *Notes*

and *Queries* (II. 146-7, VIII. 237-8, and VIII. 295-6), by Mr. S. W. Singer and Mr. Bolton Corney. To these communications I owe the reference to Gamba's work. Mr. Singer quotes Galileo's sonnet.

² Epist. Fam. 10.

³ Areopagitica: Works, IV. 428.

Milton seems to have spent his pleasantest hours among Gaddi's Svogliati and Coltellini's Apatisti. They would not allow him to be merely a listener; they compelled him to take part. "In the private academics of Italy," he says, "whither "I was favoured to resort, . . . some trifles which I had in "memory, composed at under twenty or thereabout,—for "the manner is that every one must give some proof of his "wit and reading there,—met with acceptance above what "was looked for, and other things, which I had shifted, in "scarcity of books and conveniences, to patch up amongst "them, were received with written encomiums, which the "Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side the "Alps."¹ This is said with reference to his Italian tour as a whole; but that he began in Florence, and chiefly among the *Svogliati* and *Apatisti* there, may be taken for granted. No records of the Apatisti are known to be extant of so early a date as the time of Milton's visit to Florence; but in a manuscript in the Magliabecchian Library at Florence one may still read the minutes of the weekly meetings of the Svogliati through the months of August and September 1638. Milton is not mentioned as taking part till the meeting of the 16th of September, when the entry in the minutes is "*I Signori Accademici ragunati in numero competente: furono lette alcune composizioni; e particolarmente il Giovanni Miltone, Inglese, lesse una poesia latina di versi esametri molto erudita,*" i. e. "The gentlemen of the Academy met in sufficient number: there were read some compositions; and, in particular, Mr. John Milton, Englishman, read a very learned piece of Latin poetry in hexameter verse."² If this was not a piece "patched up" for the occasion, but one of the old pieces he had in memory, I should guess it to have been his poem *Naturam non pati senium*, written for the Cambridge Commencement of 1628.

Whatever other specimens of his powers in any of the academies were presented by Milton to the Florentine

¹ Reason of Church Government (1641): Works, III. 144.

² I take this interesting extract from the Appendix to the Second Book of

Professor Stern's *Milton und Seine Zeit* (p. 449), where Dr. B. Mangold of Florence is named as having communicated the information.

scholars,¹ the result was that they thought him a prodigy. With all allowance for politeness to a stranger, and for the Italian tendency to exaggerated compliment, no other conclusion can be formed from two of the "written encomiums" of which Milton speaks, both furnished^a him while he was in Florence. The one is an Italian ode by Francini; the other is a Latin prose-letter by young Carlo Dati. Though both very extravagant, both are worth translating,—Francini's ode in such forced lyric doggerel as may more closely represent the original, matter and tune together:—

ODE

TO SIGNOR GIOVANNI MILTON,

AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN.

Up with me, Clio, through the air,
Till of the stars a coronet I twine!
No more the Greek god fair
On Pindus or Helicon has leaves enough divine:
To greater merit be greater honours given,
To heavenly worth rewards from heaven.

To Time's voracious maw
High virtue ever cannot remain a prey,
Nor can Oblivion's jaw
Tear from the memory its honoured day.
To my lyre's bow an arrow strong and sound
Let Virtue fit, and Death shall bite the ground.

All in the ocean deep
Doth England, with great surges girdled round,
Fit isolation keep,
For that her worth exceeds all human bound.
This land bears men of such heroic breed
That among us they pass for gods indeed.

To Virtue in exile
Give they a faithful refuge in their breast;
All else to them is vile;
Only in this they find their joy and zest.
Repeat it thou, Giovanni, and make plain
By thy true virtue how true is my strain.

¹ It is hardly possible, I think, that, if there had been any MSS. of Milton, or references to such, among the archives of the *Florentine Academy*, they could have escaped the minute researches of Rilli (aided by Magliabecchi) for his *Notizie* (1700), or the still minuter researches of Salvini for

his *Fasti Consolari* (1717). Whether as much may be said in respect to the remaining chances I do not know; but, as Milton seems to have destroyed little of what he wrote, I should not wonder if we have now among his works every scrap of what he "patched up" in Italy.

Far from his native land
 The artist's burning passion Zeuxis drew,
 When he heard the rumour grand
 Of Helen, which Fame's golden trumpet blew;
 And, to depict her beauty at its fairest,
 From fairest forms he culled the very rarest.

So the ingenious bee
 Extracts with pains the honey for her cells
 From lily or from pea,
 And from the rose and all the meadow-bells;
 So diverse chords sweetly combine in one,
 And various voices make a unison.

All truest glory loving,
 Milton, from thine own clime, through various parts,
 A pilgrim thou camest roving,
 In each to seek out sciences and arts.
 Kingly-great Gaul it hath been thine to see,
 And now the worthiest wights of Italy.

A workman nigh divine,
 Virtue alone regarding, hath thy thought
 Beheld in each confine
 Whoso still treads the noble path he ought,
 Then of the best selecting yet the best,
 To form the image of one perfectest.

Our native Florentines,
 Or who in Florence have learnt the Tuscan tongue,
 Whose memory still shines
 Throughout the world, eternalized in song,—
 These thou wouldst master for thy private treasure,
 Making their converse in their works thy pleasure.

In Babel's proud-built tower
 For thee in vain did Jove all speech confound,
 That jargon-shattering hour
 When the huge ruin mounded the flat ground;
 For, besides English, thou canst purely speak
 Spanish, French, Tuscan, Roman, and old Greek.

The secrets most profound
 Which Nature holds concealed in earth and heaven,
 Whose darksome depths to sound
 To earthly genins it is hardly given,
 Thou knowest clearly; and, to crown the whole,
 Of moral virtue thou hast reached the goal.

Beat not for thee Time's wings!
 Let him stand moveless; crushed in one the years
 Whose rolling sequence brings
 Damage too much to what man most reveres;
 In that all deeds worthy of verse or story
 Thy memory clasps in simultaneous glory.

Give me thy own sweet lyre,
 Wouldst thou I spoke of thy sweet gift of song,
 By which thou dost aspire
 To take thy place in the celestial throng.

Thames will attest this, seeing that she can
Rival Permessus, having thee her swan.

I, who, by Arno's stream,
Try to express thy merit in fit ways,
Know that I mar my theme,
And humbly learn to reverence, not to praise :
My tongue I then refrain, and let my heart
In silent wonder do her better part.

From Signor ANTONIO FRANCINI,
Gentleman of Florence.¹

"TO JOHN MILTON OF LONDON,

A youth illustrious by his country and by his own virtues :
A man who by his travel has beheld many, and by his study all,
places of the world, so that, like a new Ulysses, he might everywhere
learn all things from all people : A Polyglott, in whose mouth tongues
now lost so live afresh that all idioms are poor in his praises, and who
fittingly knows them to such perfection, that he may understand the
admiration and applauses of nations which his own wisdom excites :
One whose gifts of mind and graces of body move to admiration, and
by that admiration bereave every one of the power of motion, and
whose works stimulate to applauses, but by their beauty deprive of
voice those bent on praising them : One in whose memory is the whole
world ; in whose intellect wisdom ; in whose will the ardent quest of
glory ; in whose mouth eloquence ; who, with Astronomy as his
guide, hears the harmonious sounds of the celestial spheres ;² who,
with Philosophy as master, reads those marks of nature's marvels by
which the greatness of God is expressed ; who, with assiduous read-
ing and companionship of authors, 'explores, restores, traverses' the
secrets of antiquity, the ruins of age, the labyrinths of learning (*At cur-
nitor in arduum?*) : One for the proclamation of whose virtues the
mouths of Fame would not suffice, nor is the amazement of men in
praising them enough,—

In token of reverence and love, this tribute of admiration due to
his merits is offered by

CARLO DATI, Patrician of Florence,
Willingly servant to such, and of so great virtue a lover."³

Besides these "written encomiums," preserved by Milton
himself and afterwards printed by him,⁴ there is authentic

¹ In this poem of Francini's the "*reo gusto*," as the Italians call it, of the "*stil Marinesco*," is quite discernible, as in the conceit of the lyre turned into a bow and shooting a dart, and generally in the distorted syntax and high-flown diction. But there is a fine truth of feeling in it, which even the lyric doggerel of the attempted translation ought to have preserved in some degree.

² Is this an allusion to the "*De Sphærarum Concentu*"?

³ Surely the enthusiastic Dati sent
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this extravagance as a companion to some gift,—inscribed, say, on the blank page of a valuable folio! Such an epistle *alone*, from so young a man, even if on vellum and in gold letters, would hardly have justified itself. Moreover, Milton seems to allude to certain gifts from his Florentine friends as still in his possession after his return to England (*Epitaph Damon*. line 135).

⁴ Prefixed to his Latin poems in the edition of his minor pieces in 1645 ; and reprinted in the edition of 1673.

record of another testimonial, of a peculiar kind, presented to him by one of his Florentine admirers. In the previous autumn, it seems, Malatesti, in his Villa di Taiano, had amused himself with writing a series of fifty sonnets to a rustic mistress, real or imaginary, whom he calls by the pet name of Tina, the notion being that each of the sonnets should contain, under its apparent meaning, some improper *équivoque*. The sonnets had perhaps been shown about among his laughing Florentine friends before Milton's arrival; and Malatesti, either less capable than Francini and Dati of perceiving the character of the young Englishman, or risking a joke in the manner of a compliment meant to be real, took it into his head to dedicate the series to him. Accordingly Milton received a manuscript copy of the sonnets, with this title:—“*La Tina: Equivoci Rusticali di Antonio Malatesti, cōposti nella sua Villa di Taiano il Settembre dell anno 1637: Sonetti Cinquanta: Dedicati all' Ill^{mo} Signore et Padrone Oss^{mo} Signor Giovanni Milton, nobile Inghlese.*” This manuscript Milton actually took back with him to England. It must have lain among his papers all his life,—turned up now and then with a smile of recognition when he was looking for something else; and it was not till eighty years after his death that accident brought it to light, and the sonnets on which Malatesti had bestowed so much pains were recovered for the curious.¹

¹ The story of Malatesti's MS. is not so clear and coherent as might be wished; but the following are the facts as far as known:—About the middle of last century, Mr. Brand picked up the original MS., with the title and dedication as in the text, at an old book-stall in London. He presented the MS. to his friend, Mr. Thomas Hollis, who valued all such curiosities extremely. Mr. Hollis, when sending to the Della Crusca Academy of Florence, in September 1758, a gift of a copy of Milton's Works, and of Toland's Life of Milton, added a copy of the MS. of Malatesti, judging that a work of the Florentine poet the existence of which was till then unknown would be interesting to the *litterati* of that city. In later versions of the story, it is assumed that Mr. Hollis sent the original MS., and

Warton regrets this, as the MS. would have been a greater curiosity in England; but in vol. I. (p. 167) of the Memoirs of Mr. Hollis, published in 1780, it is distinctly stated that he sent only “a copy.” Nothing more is heard in England of the MS. or the copy till the publication of the third edition of Todd's Life, in 1826, when, to the slight notice of the matter given in the former edition of 1809, he adds (pp. 33, 34) that he had learnt that the MS. “had found its way back to this country, and had become the property of a gentleman whose books were not long since sold by Mr. Evans, of Pall Mall.” (The MS. was, I suppose, the original, which had never left England, and not the Florentine MS. mysteriously brought back, as Todd implies.) This, I believe, is all, till the publication of a

Although, from the special mention which Milton makes afterwards of Gaddi, Dati, Frescobaldi, Coltellini, Buommattei, Chimentelli, Francini, and Malatesti, it is to be inferred that those eight persons were his chief acquaintances in Florence, he must have been introduced through them to many others. Among the most notable of the residents in Florence at the time were these:—Alessandro Adimari (1579-1649), minor poet and translator of Pindar; Lorenzo Lippi, poet, painter, and friend of Malatesti (1606-1664); Michel Angelo Buonarroti the younger, nephew of the great artist, one of the wealthiest citizens, a munificent patron of art and letters, and himself a dramatic author; Fioretti, already mentioned as first president of the Apatisti; and Vincenzo Capponi, Filippo Pandolfini, and Lorenzo Libri, consuls of the Florentine successively in 1638, 1639, and 1640.¹ Coming and going among these wits and scholars were the princes of the ruling house, doing their best, by courtesy and by substantial encouragement, to maintain the reputation acquired by Florence under the former Medici.

very interesting communication from Mr. S. W. Singer in *Notes and Queries* in July 1850 (vol. II. 146, 147). Mr. Singer had seen the MS. when on sale, and had copied some of the sonnets, and he there gives an account of them, accompanied by one or two specimens. His description of them is that they are "such as we could not imagine would have given pleasure to the chaste mind of Milton, each of them containing, as the title indicates, an equivocal which would bear an obscene sense, yet very ingeniously wrapped up." Three years after Mr. Singer's communication, there appeared in the same periodical (vol. VIII. 237, 238: date Sept. 10, 1853) another on the same subject, from Mr. Bolton Corney, containing the information that Malatesti's sonnets had actually been printed, and citing as his authority the Italian bibliographer, Gamba, in the fourth edition (Venice, 1837) of whose "*Serie dei Testi di Lingua e di altre opere importanti nella Italiana Letteratura*" the Sonnets are added to Malatesti's previously known writings, with this title:—"Malatesti

Antonio: La Tina: Equivoci Rusticali (in 50 Sonetti): Londra: Tommaso Edlin, 1757, in 8°." This title, however, Gamba informs the reader, is misleading, as the book bearing it had really been published, not in London in 1757, but in Venice, as a bibliographical curiosity, nearly eighty years later (*i.e.* about 1837, when Gamba's own fourth edition of his work appeared). There had been printed fifty copies in *carta velina*, two copies on large English drawing paper, and one unique copy on vellum; the copy which served for the printer having been one in MS. which "Signor Brand" had presented in 1757 to Giovanni Marsili, of the University of Padua, then on a visit to London. The title on Marsili's MS. had been retained by the Venetian editor,—*i.e.*, as Mr. Bolton Corney shows, by Gamba himself, who seems to have had a fondness for Malatesti. There is a third communication on the subject in *Notes and Queries* (Sept. 24, 1853) by Mr. Singer, containing additional particulars about Malatesti.

¹ Tiraboschi, tom. VIII., and Salvini, *Fasti Consolari*.

While many of the meetings of Milton with Florentine celebrities must be left conjectural, he has himself recorded one, the most interesting of all. "There it was," he says, "that I found and visited the famous Galileo, grown old, a "prisoner to the Inquisition for thinking in Astronomy "otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licensers "thought."¹ The words imply a walk, in the company of Malatesti, or Gaddi, or Buommattei, or some one else of the Florentine group, to Galileo's delightful villa at Arcetri, just beyond the walls of Florence, an introduction to the blind sage and a cordial reception by him according to his wont in such cases, a stroll perhaps, under the guidance of one of the disciples in attendance, to the adjacent observatory, a conversation afterwards with the assembled little party over some of the fine wines produced in welcome, and all the while, surely, a reverent attention by the visitor to the features and the mien of Italy's most famous son, who could judge reciprocally of *him* only through courteous old mind and ear, unable to return his visual glance.

" Little then
Did Galileo think whom he received,
That in his hand he held the hand of one
Who could requite him,—"

So wrote the poet Rogers, naturally enough, of this famous meeting; but one may remember it rather on Milton's own account. Already in Milton's writings there may have been observed a certain fascination of the fancy, as if by unconscious presentiment, on the subject of blindness. How in men like Homer and Tiresias a higher and more prophetic vision had come when terrestrial vision was denied, and the eyes had to roll in a less bounded world within, was an idea, I think, vivid with Milton from the first, and cherished imaginatively by verbal repetition. And now, in the Italian Galileo, frail and old, he had *seen* one of those blind illustrious of whom he had so often dreamt, and of whom he was to be himself another. The sight was one which he could never forget. Long afterwards, when his minor recol-

¹ Areopagitica (1644): Works, IV. 428.

lections of Florence and Tuscany had grown dim in the distance, it was with this recollection of Galileo that he associated whatever remained. Thus, in the description of Satan's shield in the first Book of *Paradise Lost* :—

The broad circumference
Hung on his shoulders like the moon, whose orb
Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views
At evening, from the top of Fesolè,
Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands,
Rivers, or mountains, in her spotty globe.¹

Florence and its neighbourhood come in here but as accessories to the great Galileo ; but in what follows there is a wider range of the memory over the scenery so recalled :—

On the beach
Of that inflamed sea he stood, and called
His legions, angel forms, who lay entranced,
Thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks
In Vallombrosa, where the Etrurian shades
High over-arched embower.

The visit to Vallombrosa, the Shady Vale, about eighteen miles from Florence, certified, or seeming to be certified, in this often quoted passage, is sufficiently interesting in itself. Among all Milton's excursions round Florence none seems to have been remembered by him more fondly ; his mention of it has added much to the prior poetical celebrity of the spot ; and in the Convent of Vallombrosa they still cherish, it is said, the legend of his visit, and profess even to show relics in authentication.²

Among the actual documents relating to Milton's stay in Florence the following letter of his to Buommattei, on the subject of the treatise on Tuscan grammar then in preparation by that Florentine scholar, will come appropriately last. The original is in Latin :—

TO BENEDETTO BONMATTEI OF FLORENCE.

“By this work of yours, Benedetto Bonmattei, the compilation of new institutes of your native tongue, now so far advanced that you are about to give it the finishing touch, you are entering on a path to renown shared with you by some intellects of the highest order, and

¹ *Paradise Lost*, I. 287-291. There is another mention of Galileo in the poem, V. 262.

² See Wordsworth's *At Vallombrosa* (1837), with his note to the poem.

have also, as I see, raised a hope and an opinion of yourself among your fellow-citizens, as of one that is to confer, by his own easy effort, either lucidity or richness, or, at least, polish and order, on what has been handed down by others. Under what extraordinary obligation you have laid your countrymen by this, they must be ungrateful if they do not perceive. For whoever in a state knows how to form wisely the manners of men and to rule them at home and in war with excellent institutes, him in the first place, above others, I should esteem worthy of all honour; but next to him the man who strives to establish in maxims and rules the method and habit of speaking and writing received from a good age of the nation, and, as it were, to fortify the same round with a kind of wall, any attempt to overleap which ought to be prevented by a law only short of that of Romulus. Should we compare the two in respect of utility, it is the former alone that can make the social existence of the citizens just and holy, but it is the latter alone that can make it splendid and beautiful,—which is the next thing to be wished. The one, as I believe, supplies a noble courage and intrepid counsels against an enemy invading the territory; the other takes to himself the task of extirpating and defeating, by means of a learned detective police of ears and a light cavalry of good authors, that barbarism which makes large inroads upon the minds of men, and is a destructive intestine enemy to genius. Nor is it to be considered of small consequence what language, pure or corrupt, a people has, or what is their customary degree of propriety in speaking it,—a matter which oftener than once involved the salvation of Athens: nay, while it is Plato's opinion that by a change in the manner and habit of dressing serious commotions and mutations are portended in a commonwealth, I, for my part, would rather believe that the fall of that city and its low and obscure condition were consequent on the general vitiation of its usage in the matter of speech. For, let the words of a country be in part unhandsome and offensive in themselves, in part debased by wear and wrongly uttered, and what do they declare but, by no light indication, that the inhabitants of that country are an indolent, idly-yawning race, with minds already long prepared for any amount of servility? On the other hand, we have never heard that any empire, any state, did not flourish moderately at least as long as liking and care for its own language lasted. Therefore, Benedetto, if only you proceed to perform vigorously this labour of yours for your native state, behold clearly, even from this, what a fair and solid affection you will necessarily win from your countrymen. All this I say, not because I suppose you to be ignorant of any of it, but because I persuade myself that you are much more intent on the consideration of what you yourself can do for your country than of what your country will, by the best right, owe to you. I will now speak of foreigners. For obliging *them*, if that is at your heart, most certainly at present an ample opportunity is offered,—since what one is there among them

that, happening to be more blooming than the rest in genius or in pleasing and elegant manners, and so counting the Tuscan tongue among his chief delights, does not also consider that it ought to have a place for him in the solid part of his literature, especially if he has imbibed Greek and Latin either not at all or but in slight tincture? I, certainly, who have not wet merely the tips of my lips with both those tongues, but have, as much as any, to the full allowance of my years, drained their deeper draughts, can yet sometimes willingly and eagerly go for a feast to that Dante of yours, and to Petrarch, and a good few more; nor has Attic Athens herself, with her pellucid Ilissus, nor that old Rome with her bank of the Tiber, been able so to hold me but that I love often to visit your Arno and these hills of Fiesole. See now, I entreat, whether it has not been with enough of providential cause that *I* have been given to you for these few days, as your latest guest from the ocean, who am so great a lover of your nation that, as I think, there is no other more so. Wherefore you may, with more reason, remember what I am wont so earnestly to request of you,—to wit, that to your work already begun, and in greater part finished, you would, to the utmost extent that the ease will permit, add yet, in behalf of us foreigners, some little appendix concerning the right pronunciation of the language. For with other authorities in your tongue hitherto the intention seems to have been to satisfy only their own countrymen, without care for us. Although, in my opinion, they would have consulted both their own fame and the glory of the Italian tongue much more certainly had they so delivered their precepts as if it concerned all mankind to acquire the knowledge of that language, yet, in so far as has depended on them, you might seem, you Italians, to regard nothing beyond the bounds of the Alps. This praise, therefore, untasted by any one before, will be wholly your own, and keeps itself till now untouched and entire for you; nor less another which I will venture to mention. Would you consider it too much trouble if you were to give information separately on such points as these:—who, in such a crowd of writers, can justly claim for himself the second place, next after the universally celebrated authors of the Florentine tongue; who is illustrious in Tragedy; who happy and sprightly in Comedy; who smart or weighty in Epistles or Dialogues; who noble in History? By this means the choice of the best in each kind would not be difficult for the willing student, while, whenever it might please him to range more widely, he would have ground on which to step intrepidly. In this matter you will have, among the ancients, Cicero and Fabius for examples; but whether any of your own men I know not.—Though I believe I have already (unless my memory deceive me) made these demands of you every time we have fallen on the matter in talk,—such is your politeness and kindly disposition,—I am unwilling to regard that as any reason for not entreating the same in set phrase, so to speak, and in an express manner. For while your

own worth and candour would assign the lowest value and the lowest estimation to your own labours, my wish is that both their inherent dignity and my individual respect should set the just and exact value upon them; and certainly it is but fair everywhere that, the more easily one admits a request, the less defect should there be of due honour to his compliance.—For the rest, should you perchance wonder why, on such a subject, I use the Latin tongue rather than yours, please to understand that it is precisely because I wish to have this Italian tongue of yours cleared up for me in precepts by yourself that I employ Latin openly in my confession of poverty and want of skill. By this very method I have hoped to prevail more with you,—not without a belief at the same time that, by the very act of bringing with me that hoary and venerable mother from Latium as my helper in her daughter's cause, I should make sure that you would deny nothing to her venerable authority, her majesty august through so many ages. Farewell.

Florence, Septemb. 10, 1638.

Not many days after this letter was written, Milton, having read his poem among the Svogliati on the 16th, left Florence and set out on his journey farther south. Taking what was then the usual way, by Siena,—where he may have stayed a few days, and thought of Sir Henry Wotton's friend, Alberto Scipioni,—he reached Rome, probably about the end of September or the beginning of October, when the unhealthy season of the Campagna was fairly over.

At Rome he remained, he says, “nearly two months” (*ad bimestre ferè spatium*), captivated by “the antiquity and ancient renown of the city.” In other words, his chief occupation, through October and part of November 1638, was in visiting and studying “the antiquities” of the great capital. It was the usual round of the Pantheon and the Coliseum, the Capitol and the Tarpeian Rock, the baths, the temples, the ancient gates, the arches, the columns, the aqueducts, and the tombs. By such a scholar we need not doubt that the labour was gone through steadily and systematically. Before he quitted the city the Seven Hills must have been traced out by him as distinctly as change and ruin would permit, and old Rome must have been reimagined on them with tolerable clearness in its later imperial extent,

when the space of the monuments was wholly covered, and so backward, by gradual diminution, through the less monumental era of the Republic and the Consuls, to the mythic reigns of the Latino-Etruscan kings. Two months by the Tiber, varied by excursions around, would enable Milton to carry away such a picture of ancient Latium as would serve to illustrate his readings in Virgil, Horace, and Livy, to the end of his life.

Though the Rome of the past might solicit the attention more immediately, the shrunken Rome of the present was not without its features of interest. St. Peter's was then but recently completed and dedicated, after the labours of 176 years; and, when the eye had been satiated with its vastness, and with the grandeurs of the adjacent Vatican, there were the hundreds of other churches and palaces throughout the city, each with its statues and carvings and paintings, till the succession wearied by its detail, and one ended where one began, contrasting Raphael and Michel Angelo in St. Peter's and the Vatican. Of strictly mediæval monuments there were not many, but enough to remind one of the earlier and nobler popes, and of the days of Rienzi and the Schism. Through the streets, too, there bustled a living population of 110,000 souls, presenting many characteristics that could be distinguished as peculiarly Roman, not the least being that, wherever one went, the sacerdotal organization of the city was indicated to the eye by the amazing number of priests. To form a secular aristocracy, indeed, there were about a hundred families, retaining the names and some of the rights of the ancient noble houses of Rome, such as the Orsini, the Colonnas, the Savelli, the Conti, the Gaetani, side by side with whom, and intermarried with them, were more recent families, also of wealth and distinction, imported into Rome from Florence, Genoa, Parma, Bologna, and other Italian cities, and even from France and from Portugal, in the train of previous popes. But the connexions and the traditions of those families were really ecclesiastical, and Roman society was topped by the Cardinals and the Pope.

As truly the capital of the whole peninsula, Rome still drew to herself much that was most characteristic of the whole. For more than a century, despite the political subdivision of Italy and the competition of other cities, this had been the case. Hence, in the arrangements of the city, an unusual number of posts and places, ecclesiastical, educational, and diplomatic, not only affording provision for native talent, but attracting and detaining talent immigrant from other parts of Italy, and from all the countries of Europe. From the necessities of their position at the head of such a community, the Popes and the Cardinals had come to regard the patronage of learning and the arts as part of their official duties. To build new edifices, to surround them with gardens and fountains, to adorn them with sculptures and paintings, to preside at meetings of the academies and hold large conversazioni in their own palaces, to collect books and manuscripts and employ librarians to catalogue and keep them, were occupations for the resident cardinals, in addition to their ordinary business as governors of the provinces of the papal territory, and to their efforts, in consistory or otherwise, to make the Papacy still felt in the politics of the world. What the cardinals did was done also by the secular nobles; and there were few palaces without their libraries and picture-galleries, large or small.

Through the unusually long pontificate of Urban VIII. (1623-1644) the aggregation of talent in Rome was probably as great as in any other pontificate of the seventeenth century. This pope, indeed, was not personally so active a Mæcenas as some of his predecessors had been. He did rank among the dilettanti, having, as Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, written many Latin, Greek, and Italian poems, which, when published collectively in a superb folio volume at Paris in 1642, were to be accounted highly creditable to the head of Christendom. But, as Pope, he busied himself chiefly with capricious interferences in the Thirty Years' War, which satisfied neither the French nor the Spaniard, and with fortifications of his own capital and the creation of new Cardinals. No fewer than seventy-four cardinals were

made by him; and, in his zeal for the honour of the office, he was the first to confer on the cardinals the title of "Eminency." Among his cardinals were three of his own relatives, of the Florentine house of Barberini,—his younger brother, Antonio Barberini, and his two nephews, Francesco Barberini and Antonio Barberini the younger, both sons of his elder brother, Carlo. The three had been cardinals since the first year of his pontificate; since which time also Carlo Barberini and another of his sons, Don Taddeo, had held the highest secular offices in the gift of the papacy. Such was the accumulation of rich posts and principalities among these members of the Pope's family that, even after the precedents of former pontificates, Urban's nepotism seemed outrageous. Rome all but belonged to the Barberini, whose family symbol of the bees met the eye on all the public buildings, and on their carriages in the public drives. Urban's care of his relatives, however, did not prevent him from being generous and friendly to others. Moreover, the Barberini were unexceptionably respectable in their conduct, and most competent deputies for the Pope in the patronage of art and letters. Urban himself had decorated the Lateran and increased the Vatican Library, and the other Barberini vied with the most munificent of the cardinals, such as Cesarini and the learned Bentivoglio, in the intellectual cast of their hospitalities.¹

In Rome, as in Florence, the organization of educated society, apart from the University and the Schools, was in the Academies. Of some fifteen or twenty Roman academies existing in 1638 the most celebrated were the *Umoristi*, the *Ordinati*, the *Lincei*, the *Fantastici*, the *Negletti*, the *Malinconici*, the *Partenii*, the *Delfici*, and the *Intricati*.² With the exception of the *Lincei*, of which the absent Galileo was the most illustrious member, all were devoted to eloquence and literature, and chiefly to verse-making and literary archæology, though some tended to theatricals, and some to

¹ Ranke, II. 307-310, and the Lives of Urban and the three Barberini Cardinals in the *Pontificium Doctum* of George Joseph Eggs and the *Purpura*

Docta of the same author.

² Fabricii Conspectus, &c. (1749), already referred to.

music. To one or another everybody of account in Rome belonged, and many belonged to several. The amount of resident scholarship and authorship so accommodated and distributed among the Academies is hardly conceivable. In a curious bibliographical volume of the time, prepared, in compliment to the Barberini, under the title of "*Apes Romanæ*" or "*Bees of Rome*," there is an exact list, with brief appended accounts, of all the persons, native or foreign, resident in Rome through 1631 and 1632, who either gave anything to the press within those two years or had previously published anything.¹ I have counted the index of names, and found that there must have been upwards of 450 known authors then resident in Rome in a total population of 110,000 souls,—upwards of 450 bees of the Barberini, of different sizes and breeds, then humming as well as honey-making in the papal city. Some of the more conspicuous had died or departed elsewhither in the interval between 1632 and 1638; but that the swarm was kept up, by additions, to its full number, seems evident from the fact that in a volume of poetry issued in 1637 by the single academy of the *Fantastici* there are contributions, in the one article of vernacular verse, chiefly sonnets and canzoni, from fifty-one different poets, members of that academy.²

A very large proportion of the resident *litterati* of Rome were priests, and among these the Jesuits had indubitably the pre-eminence. Some were historians, some jurisconsults, some geographers, some antiquarians; many were theologians; and there was one worthy man whose achievement was a Malay Dictionary.—In the whole body of the prose-writers, taken miscellaneously, one may mention, as perhaps of greatest consideration, the Jesuit historian and critic Strada, a Roman native, his rival in history, Cardinal Bentivoglio, a Ferrarese, the Roman Sforza Pallavicini, afterwards a cardinal, the numismatist Angeloni, secretary to one of the cardinals, the mathematician Castelli, already

¹ "Leonis Allatii *Apes Romanæ*: sive De Viris Illustribus qui ab anno 1630 per totum 1632 Romæ adfuerunt ac typis aliquid evulgarunt." Edition by Fabricius, Hamburg, 1711.

² "Poesie de' signori Accademici Fantastici, Roma, 1637," dedicated to Cardinal Cesarini, Protector of the Academy.

mentioned in connexion with Galileo, and, finally, Torricelli, if he had not of late migrated to Florence. To this list would have to be added the name of Giovanni Battista Doni, a Florentine (1594-1647), eminent for his erudition, and especially for his publications on the history and theory of music, but that, at the date with which we are now concerned, he seems to have been absent from Rome on a tour. Rome had been his usual residence since the accession of Urban to the pontificate; but he was sometimes in his native city, where he was much respected, and where Milton must have seen him or heard of him.—Passing to the verse-writers, or rather to those who relied on their verse (for every soul in the crowd occasionally turned out an Italian sonnet or a Latin elegy or epigram), we find, resident in Rome in 1638, at least two of the four men,—Bracciolini, Testi, Achillini, and Ciampoli,—who were confessedly at the head of contemporary Italian poetry. Bracciolini, who was a Pistoian, had been in the service of the Barberini a great part of his life, and was now secretary to Cardinal Antonio the elder, a venerable member of most of the Roman academies, still productive as a poet, but notorious for his avarice; and Ciampoli, a Tuscan by birth, was also in favour with Urban, who had made him a canon of the Vatican. Testi and Achillini were also occasionally visitors to Rome, and both were members of the *Fantastici* and of other Roman academies. With these may be associated such eminent artists, either permanently resident in Rome or frequently there, as Borromini, the papal architect, and Bernini, the papal sculptor, and also, in another direction, Niccolo Riccardi, a Dominican preacher of Genoese birth, whose pulpit orations, daring to the verge of heresy, were drawing weekly crowds to his church.—The names hitherto mentioned have been those only of Romans or other Italians; but among the Bees of the Barberini were a large number of foreigners. The worthy compiler of the *Malay Dictionary* was a Dutchman or Fleming, named David Haex; the industrious bibliographer, Leo Allatius, to whom we owe so exact an account of the composition of the literary swarm

in which he moved as one, was a Greek from Chios; there were Fitzherberts from England, and various Patricks from Ireland; Scotland was represented by David Chambers and George Con, or, during their absences on diplomatic errands in Paris and England, by other writers "*de Scotorum fortitudine*" and the wrongs of Mary Stuart; and there were Spanish and French Jesuits by the dozen. Among resident Germans the most distinguished for his learning and the most widely known by his position was Lucas Holstenius,—in the vernacular, Lukas Holste or Holsten, not "Holstein," as usually written,—Secretary to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, and one of the Librarians of the Vatican. He was a native of Hamburg and had been educated as a Protestant; had travelled in Italy in 1618; had been in Oxford and London from 1622 to 1625; had lived afterwards in Paris, and there become acquainted with Cardinal Barberini during the Cardinal's residence in that capital as papal legate; had abjured Protestantism on entering the Cardinal's service, and had accompanied him to Rome in 1627. Since settling in Rome, he had edited portions of Porphyry and other Greek authors; while in the Vatican he was worth fifty ordinary librarians, whether as keeper of the manuscripts already there, or as a collector of rare books, and especially of Greek codices.¹

There was none of the Barberini family round whom the learned clustered so familiarly as round Cardinal Francesco, the patron of Holstenius. He was the prime minister of Rome, and the chief councillor of his uncle Urban, who, though the most self-willed man in the world, could do nothing without him. "Urban had nothing in his mouth but the Cardinal Padrone: *Where is the Cardinal Padrone? Call the Cardinal Padrone; Speak to the Cardinal Padrone*";² till the other cardinals murmured at such favouritism. Francesco was, indeed, somewhat young for the purple, having been born in Florence in 1597. "He was a man,"

¹ Particulars in this account, not from the *Apes Romane* of Allatius, are chiefly, but not exclusively, from Tiraboschi, tom. VIII.

² MS. of a Dr. Bargrave of the 17th century, quoted by Todd in his *Life of Milton*.

says an Italian contemporary, "of excellent, virtuous, and exemplary habits, and of a gentle disposition"; and his annual income of 100,000 scudi could not have been in more generous hands. Besides Holstenius, he had many scholars, artists, and poets among his clients; Doni was his companion and bosom friend rather than his retainer; he had founded a library, called the Barberini Library, which attained celebrity even by the side of that of the Vatican; and of sonnets and panegyrics in his honour there was no end. Among his other titles of distinction was one which related him in a particular manner to British subjects and travellers in Rome. It was the custom for each of the Catholic nations to have some one of the resident Roman Cardinals as the special protector of its interests at the Papal Court. Thus the Cardinal Protector of France, regularly nominated by Louis XIII., was Bentivoglio. By no such regular nomination, but rather by self-appointment, Cardinal Francesco was patron of England and Scotland. His patronage included Aragon, Lusitania, and Switzerland; but to no nation was he so systematically courteous as to the English. In 1626, when he was legate at Paris, he had sent the golden rose to Queen Henrietta Maria; and of his attentions to the English in Rome there are proofs to this day in documents in the English Record Office. "I have "been to visit the Cardinal Barberino," writes Thomas Windebank from Rome, Sep. 10, 1636, to his father, Secretary Windebank, "who, having notice of my arrival here, "sent to visit me first. He is so obliging and courteous to "all our nation that I have the less wonder at the honour "he doth me." Young Windebank and his brother were then on a tour in Italy; and, after they had been in Rome a second time, their father was gratified by a letter from Panzani, dated May 31, 1637, in which, regretting that he had not seen them himself, he says that they have gained golden opinions in Rome by "their singular modesty and other most laudable virtues," and that "the Lord Cardinal Barberino in particular cannot satiate himself in praising them." Another son of Windebank's, who was in Rome in

June 1638, or four months before Milton, had also written home to his father acknowledging the kindly attentions he had received from the Cardinal.¹

There is no evidence that Milton became so extremely intimate with the society of Rome as he had become with that of Florence; but there is evidence that he did form very friendly relations in Rome also, and that he got very near indeed to the centre.

In the Travellers' Book of the English College at Rome there has been found this entry in Latin under the date Oct. 30, 1638:—"The 30th of October there dined in our College, "and were hospitably received, the following English gentlemen,—the most distinguished Mr. N. Cary, brother of Lord "Falkland, Dr. Holding of Lancaster, Mr. N. Fortescue, and "Mr. Milton, with his servant." The hosts on the occasion were, of course, the Roman Catholic authorities and members of the College; but, as was natural, no distinction was made, in the invitation of guests from among Englishmen of rank or education passing through Rome, between Roman Catholics and Protestants. Besides the four above-named fellow-guests of Milton at the table of this special rendezvous of the English in Rome, one hears of a Thomas Gawen as then in Rome, and sometimes encountering Milton privately or in public places. He was the son of a minister of the same name in Bristol, was about two years younger than Milton, had been educated at New College, Oxford, had taken both degrees in Arts and also holy orders, and, being now on his travels, "was at Rome, and accidentally sometimes fell into the company of John Milton." He was a Protestant enough youth at present, looking forward to a career in the English Church, but was to be a Roman Catholic before his death in 1683.²

Milton had been probably three or four weeks in Rome

¹ G. J. Eggs, *Purpura Docta* (1719), Article Francesco Barberini; Tiraboschi, VIII. 56-57; Ranke, Appendices, Nos. 115-120; and Documents in the State Paper Office.

² The extract from the Travellers' Book of the English College at Rome was sent, not long ago, to the late Sir

Thomas Duffus Hardy, of the Record Office, by Mr. Stevenson, who had found it while in Rome examining the Vatican MSS. for the British Government; and it was published by Mr. Horwood in the Introduction to his edition of *Milton's Common Place Book* in 1877. For Gawen see Wood's *Ath.* IV. 130.

before his registered appearance as above at the dinner-table of the English College, and had already by that time, through introductions brought with him from home, or supplied by his Florentine friends, become acquainted independently with some of the Roman notabilities. One of these, of whom we hear only in the most shadowy manner, was an ALEXANDER CHERUBINI:—There is a notice of this person in the *Pinacotheca* of Janus Nicius Erythræus, *i. e.* a curious collection of contemporary biographic sketches written in Latin by Gianvittorio Rossi, a Roman author, and member of the Umoristi and other academies (b. 1577—d. 1647). From this notice it appears that, though the name of Alexander Cherubini has no place now in the History of Italian Literature, he was known in his lifetime as a prodigy of erudition. He was the son of Laertius Cherubini, an eminent lawyer in Rome; and, though he died at the early age of twenty-eight, and during the last three years of his life was more like a dead man than a living, tortured as he was by an incurable internal disease, he seemed to Erythræus to surpass all that had been told of Pico Mirandola and others for universality of acquisition. “There was nothing “in any one of the liberal arts that he did not know, no “book extant down to his own time that he had not attentively read, and all the contents of which he did not “remember.” He was especially great in Plato, and had rendered many Greek books into Latin. When death released him from his physical sufferings, it released him also from an overwhelming load of debt, the accumulation of which by one of his simple habits was a mystery to all his friends.¹

With these particulars Erythræus unfortunately gives no dates; but Cherubini was probably in his mortal illness, and a walking invalid, when Milton made his acquaintance.

¹ *Jani Nicii Erythræi Pinacotheca*, Edit. 1729, pp. 722—725.—There is no mention of Alexander Cherubini in the *Apes Romanæ* of Leo Allatius, probably because he was too young to have published anything before 1632; but two brothers of his are there mentioned,

—“Angelus Maria Cherubinus,” a monk, and “Flavius Cherubinus.” They edited, in or about 1632, a collection of Papal Constitutions which had been prepared by their father, the Roman lawyer.

The acquaintance cannot have been a slight one; for, though Milton mentions Cherubini but once and incidentally, it is in a rather important connexion. Hardly, it seems, had he become acquainted, by whatever means, with the invalid young Roman scholar, when he became acquainted also with the more sturdy naturalized Roman of German birth, LUCAS HOLSTENIUS, the Librarian of the Vatican. As the manner and the results of his introduction to Holstenius are related by himself with much precision in a Latin letter of thanks which he sent to Holstenius about five months afterwards (March 30, 1639), it will be best to quote part of the letter here, reserving the rest for its proper place in the order of time:—

TO LUCAS HOLSTENIUS IN THE VATICAN AT ROME.

Although I both can and often do remember many courteous and most friendly acts done me by many in this my passage through Italy, yet, for so brief an acquaintance, I do not know whether I can justly say that from any one I have had greater proofs of goodwill than those which have come to me from you. For, when I went up to the Vatican for the purpose of meeting you, though a total stranger to you,—unless perchance anything had been previously said about me to you by Alexander Cherubini,—you received me with the utmost courtesy. Admitted at once with politeness into the Museum, I was allowed to behold the superb collection of books, and also very many manuscript Greek authors set forth with your explanations,—some of whom, not yet seen in our age, seemed now, in their array, like Virgil's

‘penitus convalle virenti

Inclusæ animæ superûmque ad limen ituræ,’

to demand the active hands of the printer, and a delivery into the world, while others, already edited by your care, are eagerly received everywhere by scholars:—dismissed, too, richer than I came, with two copies of one of these last presented to me by yourself. Then, I could not but believe that it was in consequence of the mention you made of me to the most excellent Cardinal Francesco Barberini that, when he, a few days after, gave that public musical entertainment with truly Roman magnificence (*ἀκρόαμα illud musicum magnificentiâ vere Romanâ publice exhiberet*), he himself, waiting at the doors, and seeking me out in so great a crowd, almost seizing me by the hand indeed, admitted me within in a truly most honourable manner. Further, when, on this account, I went to pay my respects to him next day, you again were the person that both made access for me and obtained me an opportunity of leisurely conversation with him—

an opportunity such as, with so great a man,—than whom, on the topmost summit of dignity, nothing more kind, nothing more courteous,—was truly, place and time considered, too ample rather than too sparing. I am quite ignorant, most learned Holstenius, whether I am exceptional in having found you so friendly and hospitable, or whether, in respect of your having spent three years in study at Oxford, it is your express habit to confer such obligations on all Englishmen. If the latter, truly you are paying back finely to our England the expenses of your schooling there, and you eminently deserve equal thanks on private grounds from each of us and on public grounds for our country. If the former is the case, then that I should have been held distinguishable by you above the rest, and should have seemed worthy so far of a wish on your part to form a bond of friendship with me, while I congratulate myself on this opinion of yours, I would at the same time attribute it to *your* frankness rather than to *my* merit. * * *

It was most probably at the magnificent concert in Cardinal Barberini's palace mentioned in this letter that Milton heard for the first time the famous singer, Leonora Baroni. This lady was the daughter of the beautiful Adriana Baroni of Mantua; and mother and daughter were reputed the finest voices then in the world. There was another daughter, Catherine; and the three made such a musical triad as moved Italy to ecstasy wherever they went. They resided in Rome, or were much there, between 1637 and 1641; at which time, though all three could play as well as sing, Leonora was the chief singer, her mother usually accompanying her on the theorbo, and her sister on the harp. Besides being unparalleled in music, they were highly accomplished and excellent ladies in all respects, Leonora not so handsome as her mother, but graceful, frank, and full of intelligence. Accordingly, not only did cardinals, nobles, priests, and poets surround them perpetually in deferential circle, but His Holiness himself would sometimes listen in sprightly state. Their fame had reached France and more distant lands.¹

To hear Leonora sing was the greatest musical pleasure that Rome could offer, and there can have been no Englishman then in Rome that could appreciate it more exquisitely

¹ Bayle's Dictionary, art. Baroni; and Warton's notes quoted in Todd's Milton, with Todd's additions.

than Milton. Whatever his anticipations, they seem to have been more than answered; for, while he has left much relating to his visit to Rome untold, he has commemorated in three Latin epigrams his admiration of the matchless Mantuan. Panegyrics in Italian and in Latin had been showered on her in such abundance by her countrymen that the three epigrams addressed to her by the unknown Englishman may have had less interest for her at the time than they now have for us.¹ They may be rendered as follows:—

TO LEONORA, SINGING AT ROME.

To every one, so let the nations believe, there is allotted, from among the ethereal ranks, his own winged angel. What wonder, Leonora, if to thee there should be a greater glory, since thy very voice sounds God as present in thee? Either God, or at least some high intelligence of the deserted heaven, warbles active in secret through thy throat,—warbles active and teaches with ease that mortal hearts may by degrees grow accustomed to immortal sound. If, however, God is all things and through all diffused, in thee alone He speaks; all else He inhabits mute.

TO THE SAME.

Another Leonora captivated the poet Tasso; smitten by the mad love of whom, he walked raging in the world. Ah, unfortunate! how much more happily might he have been wrecked in thy age, Leonora, and on thy account! He would have heard thee singing with thy Pierian voice, and the golden strings of thy mother's lyre moving in harmony. Then, although he had rolled his eyes fiercer than Dircean Pentheus, or had moped in sheer idiotcy, thou by thy voice couldst have composed his senses wandering in blind whirl, and, by breathing calm under his distempered heart, couldst have restored him to himself by thy soul-swaying song.

TO THE SAME.

Why boastest thou, Naples, in thy credulity, of the liquid Siren, and the renowned shrine of Parthenope Acheloidas, and that the Naiad of the shore, dying on thy bank, consecrated a Chalcidic funeral-pile by

¹ On the authority of Erythræus mention is made of a volume of Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish verses, contributed by many pens, and printed at Rome, under the title of "*Applausi Poetici alle glorie della Signora Leonora Baroni*." Nobody seems

in later days to have seen this volume,—which is a pity, as a sight of it would determine whether Milton's epigrams were written for it, or separately on his own account. Testi and other Italian poets have sonnets to Leonora in their works.

her body ?¹ She surely lives even now, and has exchanged the murmurs of hoarse Posilipo² for the pleasant bank of the Tiber. There, graced by the studious applauses of the sons of Romulus, she entrances by her song both men and gods.

Besides Cherubini, Holstenius, and Cardinal Barberini, Milton was introduced in Rome, he tells us, to "other men of learning and genius (*aliis viris cum doctis tum ingeniosis*)," all of whom received him "most politely."³ Only two of these, at most, can be identified by name,—to wit, a Roman poet called Joannes Salsillus, and a certain Selvaggi. Meeting Milton in the academies or elsewhere, these two persons became so much more intimate with him than the rest, or were so much more demonstrative in their admiration, that they presented him with "written encomiums," to be added to those already in his possession. They were brief enough, one consisting of four lines of Latin elegiacs, the other of an elegiac Latin couplet. The flattery in both is so gross that honest prose is ashamed of them :—

1.

"TO JOHN MILTON, ENGLISHMAN, DESERVING TO BE CROWNED WITH THE TRIPLE LAUREL OF POESY, THE GREEK DOUBTLESS, THE LATIN, AND THE TUSCAN, AN EPIGRAM OF JOANNES SALSILLUS, ROMAN.

Conquered is Homer's Meles ; Virgil's Mincio wears willows ;
Tasso's Sebeto now ceases to babble so free ;
Thames, as the victor, carries highest of any her billows,
In that Milton's muse equals the one to the three."

11.

"TO JOHN MILTON.

Greece may exult in her Homer, Rome may exult in her Virgil ;
England exults in one equalling either of these.
SELVAGGI."

Who SELVAGGI was I have not been able to ascertain ; nor, though I have supposed him to be a Roman, am I quite

¹ The Siren Parthenope, according to the legend, having drowned herself because she could not by the sweetness of her voice shipwreck Ulysses, was buried near Naples, which had been

founded by the Chalcidici.

² Posilipo, a hill near Naples, famous for a grotto or tunnelled road passing through it.

³ *Def. Sec. Works*, VI. 288.

sure that he was.¹ JOANNES SALSILLUS I have identified with GIOVANNI SALZILLI, a poet not mentioned in any of the histories of Italian literature, but who was a contributor to the volume of Italian poetry already mentioned as having been published by the Fantastici in 1637. Among the fifty-one contributors to that volume are Achillini and Testi; and as, even in such company, Salzilli's contributions, consisting of eleven sonnets, two canzoni, one canzonetta, and one descriptive poem, occupy no fewer than twenty-two pages out of a total of 272, it is reasonable to suppose that he was an important personage among the Fantastics. As he does not appear among the *Apes Romanæ* of 1631-2, it is also likely that he was a young man; and, if we may judge of the state of his health from the following poem addressed to him by Milton, it is possible that the reason why we hear so little of him afterwards is that he died early. The poem is one of condolence, and is written in Latin scazons, or "limping measure,"—so called from a metrical peculiarity at the end of each line, giving the effect as of a limp, or of coming suddenly to the last step of a stair with the wrong emphasis. This peculiarity must disappear in our prose version:—

TO SALSILLUS, A ROMAN POET, IN HIS ILLNESS.

A POEM IN SCAZONS.

O thou muse that by choice draggest along a limping pace, and delightest, slow as thou art, in the gait of Vulcan, nor thinkest that less delightful in its place than when yellow-haired Deiope lifts alternate her graceful feet before the golden couch of Juno, be present now, and carry these few words, please, to Salsillus, who has our poetry so much at heart, and prefers it undeservedly to what is great and divine. They are from that Milton, a Londoner born and bred, who, leaving in these days his own nest, and that polar tract of earth where the worst of the winds, with wild and unruly lungs, blows

¹ Among the multitudinous names of Italian poets in Quadrio there is a Massimiliano Selvaggi, who contributes to a volume of poems published at Genoa in 1595; also a Pantaleone Selvaggi or Silvaggio, a small Genoese poet (date not given); also a Benedetto Salvago, a native of Messina, but of

Genoese extraction, living about 1637, and possibly in Rome. There is no Selvaggi among the "*Apes Romanæ*." There was a "Carolus Selvaghius, Theologus," originally Professor of Laws at Naples, afterwards Interpreter of the Pandects at Rome, in the Pontificate of Alexander VII.

incessant his gasping blasts under the inclement sky, has come to the fertile fields of the Italian soil, to behold its cities known by proud renown, and its existing men, and the genius of its learned youth. The same Milton wishes you, Salsillus, all that is good, and complete health for your languid body, where bile, deep-seated, now infests the spleen, and, fixed in the chest, hurts the breathing,—impious, indeed, not to have spared this to you, who with Roman mouth modulate, in so accomplished a manner, the Lesbian song. O sweet gift of the gods, O Health, sister of Hebe, and thou, Phœbus, the foe of diseases, slayer of Python, or Pæan, if thou preferrest that name, this man is thy priest. Ye oak-groves of Faunus, and ye hills kindly with the vinous dew, seats of the mild Evander, if there grows aught salubrious in your valleys, bring ye hither, with contending speed, relief to the sick poet. Thus he, restored again to the loving Muses, will charm with his sweet song the neighbouring meads. Numa himself shall wonder at the strain among the gloomy groves where he leads his blessed life of eternal quiet, gazing always, as he reclines, at his own Egeria. The swollen Tiber himself also, soothed by the influence, shall favour the annual hope of the husbandmen; nor shall advance to besiege kings in their tombs, rushing loosely on with too left a rein; but shall better rule the course of his waters on to where they lose themselves in the salt kingdoms of the curved Portumnus.¹

Nearly two months having been spent in Rome, Milton set out, probably late in November 1638, for Naples. It appears that he went by the ordinary land-road and by *vettura*. It was a journey of more than a hundred miles, and must have been divided into several stages by intermediate towns and villages. To while away the tedium, however, there was, in addition to the scenery, and to the talk of his man-servant and the ordinary adventures at inns, the conversation of an Italian fellow-traveller, who was likewise bound for Naples. This was “a certain Eremite Friar,” whose name, unfortunately, is not given. Talking with the young Englishman, and learning his destination, his general purpose in travelling, and perhaps also the names of some of his friends in Florence and Rome, the Friar seems at

¹ It is interesting to note, in these lines, not only the general references to the Italian climate in contrast with the British, but also the topographical allusions to Rome and its neighbourhood,—the vine-clad hills of Evander, the legendary Arcadian who ruled a colony in Italy, and received Æneas; the swollen Tiber; and the so-called

fountain of Egeria near the city, the supposed site of Numa's daisy grove. From the phraseology, it might seem that Milton, while visiting the spots of classic interest about Rome, referred to his Livy and his Horace to help out the prosaic details of the guide-book. In his reference to the Tiber he all but quotes Horace, Ode I. 2.

length to have volunteered the remark, "When we get to Naples, you must see MANSO." There can be little doubt that Milton already knew all about the person thus mentioned; but, while the *vettura* is jogging on, and the two fellow-travellers are still conversing, we may throw in the necessary information.

Born in 1561, and therefore now three years older than Shakespeare would have been had he been living, GIOVANNI BATTISTA MANSO, Marquis of Villa and Lord of Bisaccio and Panca in the territories of Naples, was not only the most venerable by age and character, but also the highest by wealth and influence, of all the native Italian noblemen of those territories, and the very next man in Naples, all in all, to the resident Spanish Viceroy. Although he had seen military service in his youth, his long life in the main had been of that private sort, seeking satisfaction in self-culture, artistic and literary dilettantism, and the prosecution of all hopeful forms of permitted speculation and amusement, to which every high-minded Italian was driven in those days of Italian dismemberment, paralysis, and subjection to the foreigner. He could look back on a life of this sort richer and more varied than had been experienced by almost any of his contemporaries, and containing some peculiarly brilliant memories. Chief among these was his intimacy with the poet Tasso, dating from as far back as 1588, when Tasso was in his forty-fourth year, and Manso only in his twenty-eighth.

Great, unhappy Tasso! how all Italy had then admired and pitied him! After having been tossed about from Neapolitan Sorrento, where he had been born, to Rome in his first boyhood, thence to Venice, thence to Padua, Bologna, and numberless places more, fate had brought him, when he was still a youth, but when his *Rinaldo* was already out in the world, to his place of doom in Ferrara. After fourteen years of honoured and pensioned life here, varied by unaccountable flights and abrupt returns, his madness, or his passion for the Duke's sister, the princess Leonora, had broken all bounds. He was tortured by fears that he was unsound in

the faith; he uttered wild sayings against the Duke; he rushed at a servant of the Court with a knife. Provoked by these outbreaks, or discovering his love for Leonora, the Duke, after putting him under gentle restraint, had done the deed which blasted the ancient literary honours of the house of Este. For a year Tasso had been confined as a pauper lunatic, addressing doleful sonnets and letters to the Duke and the Princesses; nor, though more liberty was afterwards allowed him, could the reclamations of all Italy,—familiar with his *Aminta* since 1573, and now ringing with the fame of his *Gerusalemme Liberata*,—obtain his effective release. At length, in 1586, intercessions of cardinals and princes having prevailed, Tasso was free to wander where he chose. Leonora had been dead five years; and seven years of imprisonment had done their work. With a mind still clear and sane at the highest, slowly labouring into sweetness a second poem of the Crusades, and rolling thoughts of sublimer subjects beyond that, Tasso was the prey of incurable melancholy. He saw apparitions, sometimes glorious, as when the Virgin appeared to him sphered in crimson vapour, sometimes horrible and impish; he heard laughings, hissings, and the ringing of bells in the air; he suspected all around him; he could rest nowhere. Eluding his friends, he would change his place of abode suddenly. He would pass unknown through villages, observed as a man of the largest frame, large even among large men, of solemn and silent demeanour, and always dressed in black, with linen of the purest white. Sometimes he would pass through woods and disturb brigands at their carouse. In one of those rambles he came, by appointment, from his head-quarters at Rome, to his almost native Naples, which he had left in childhood, and had visited but once since. Then it was that Manso and he became acquainted. It seemed as if Providence had brought the maniac to young Manso's door.

At Manso's villa near Naples, and then at his villa at Bisaccio, Tasso had been tended with the utmost care, and surrounded by all that could soothe and amuse him. His

affection for Manso became stronger than any friendship he had yet acknowledged, with perhaps one exception, while Manso's admiration of him grew with every day's knowledge and observation. Once Manso was present when his phrensy was at its height and he wrestled with his aerial demon. Then Tasso called on Manso to look and listen, and Manso heard Tasso talk in so rapt and lofty a strain that he thought, if their intercourse continued long and there were more of the like, the end might be his own belief in the delusion rather than the cure of Tasso.

This first visit lasted for some time; but twice again Tasso, in his wanderings, had come to Naples to be Manso's guest. It was during the last of those visits, in 1594, that he completed his *Gerusalemme Conquistata*, in which he introduces Manso's name among those of the Campanian Princes; and it was then also that he began or projected his *Sette Giornate*, and also his Dialogue on Friendship, in which he makes Manso one of the speakers, and which, when finished, he dedicated to Manso, and entitled *Il Manso* after him. On Tasso's death-bed at Rome, in the following year, Manso's name was on his lips, and he bequeathed a picture of himself, which had been painted for Manso, back to Manso's keeping. It was reserved for Manso, when he visited Rome some years afterwards, to cause the words TORQUATI TASSI OSSA to be inscribed on the plain stone in the Church of St. Onuphrio under which Tasso had been buried. The privilege of erecting a tomb to the poet was denied him.

This friendship with Tasso, now a matter of forty years ago and more, and lying indeed in another century, had been succeeded by a similar friendship, hardly less remarkable, in Manso's later life. The same offices of generous kindness which he had performed in his youth and early manhood for the great Tasso, his senior, had been performed by him, with variations, and over a longer period, for Italy's next most celebrated poet, his junior in years, the soft and sensuous Marini. The life of this poet, from his birth at Naples in 1569, had likewise been one of wandering and vicissitude; and the Italian world, now at the height, or in

the depth, of their admiration of his peculiar genius, and not yet accustomed to think of him as "*il piu contagioso corrompitor del buon gusto in Italia*," accounted it little less to the glory of Manso that he had protected Marini than that he had tended Tasso. For Marini too had lived under Manso's hospitable roof, had been led by his advice and served by him in many ways; and, at the death of Marini in 1625, in his native Naples and at the court of the Spanish Viceroy, two years after his *Adone* was published, and when his fame was at its acme, it was to Manso that he left the honour and expense of burying him and of erecting his monument.

To have been the friend of Tasso and Marini would have been distinction enough in the life of an Italian noble. These were but the more brilliant reminiscences, however, of a life identified at many points with the course of Italian Literature through the preceding half-century, and more especially with the intellectual interests of Southern Italy in its condition as a Spanish province. Manso was himself an author. His first known work was his *Paradossi, ovvero dell' Amore Dialoghi*, a set of philosophical prose dialogues on Love, published, apparently without his consent, at Milan in 1608; another set of Dialogues, entitled *L'Erocallia*, or "Love and Beauty," had been published at Venice in 1618, and again at Milan in 1628; his most interesting work, his *Life of Tasso*, including a singularly affectionate collection of details respecting the poet's looks, habits, and opinions, had been published at Naples in 1619, reprinted twice at Venice, and again at Rome in 1634,—not acknowledged by the author, but not disowned by him; he was understood to be preparing a similar biography of Marini; and he had given the world an opportunity of judging finally of his talents in poetry by the publication at Venice, in 1635, of a collection of his juvenile poems, chiefly sonnets and canzoni, under the title of *Poesie Nomiche, divise in Rime Amoroze, Sacre, e Morali*. To this collection were affixed, among complimentary sonnets from many friends, six from the pen of Tasso, and three from that of Marini.

Nor was this all. Two of the most famous institutions of Naples owed their origin to Manso, and honoured him as their president and patron,—the Academy of the *Oziosi* or “Idlers,” and the College *Dei Nobili*. The Academy was much on the model of the other Italian Academies, and held its meetings at Manso’s Neapolitan villa; the College, founded expressly for the education of the young Neapolitan nobles, was an institution of Manso’s own devising, and in whose interest he was more frugal of his fortunes than appeared necessary, that he might endow it the more suitably at his death. Here, while intellectual and artistic culture of all kinds was attended to, there was also a systematic discipline of the youth in riding, fencing, and other chivalrous and soldierly exercises, in order that “by such sportive handling of arms they might learn how to use arms when they should have to assume them in earnest.” There were similar exercises at the meetings of the *Oziosi*. Perhaps the Spaniards might have looked with suspicion on such practices, had they been under the auspices of any one else than Manso.

All in all, in the year 1638, there was not a name in Italy more universally known than that of Manso, Marquis of Villa. He was then in his seventy-eighth year, and, Molino of Venice and Strozzi of Rome having recently died, was regarded as the sole survivor of the three private noblemen of his age who had rivalled ruling princes in their munificence to letters. The Church held him in honour as one in whom piety and orthodox scrupulosity had been life-long characteristics, while to his lay friends the strictness of his moral notions seemed the result of a life that had been regulated all along on some such principle of chivalrous asceticism as that which he had praised in Tasso. In a portrait of him in youth, clad in armour, I see some resemblance to the English Sir Philip Sidney, save that the eyes seem languid and dreamy. In his old age he preserved his dignity of bearing, even while joining in the revels of his younger friends, and submitting to every law or custom of their frolicsome society. One of his great rules of chivalry

and good fellowship was that of obedience to orders, whatever they might be; and, on certain days of mirth, when the young men would test this rule on himself, by ordering him to do the most absurd acts, he would obey in the readiest manner. "As the custom was, in the meetings of "the club of the Blessed Virgin, to which he belonged, he "would cheerfully bear being rallied on his defects: if "ordered to touch the ground with his mouth, or to kiss "the feet of his associates, he would not clude the command "and refuse; nor would he be less obedient if he were "ordered to take off from his head the periwig which concealed his baldness, for straightway off it would go, and "he would exhibit his bald head manfully amid the great "laughter of the beholders." Dignity that could bear up under this must have had a touch of Socratic composure.¹

Meanwhile our travellers have arrived in Naples. There, as soon as they had settled themselves conveniently in some inn, the friendly Eremite Friar was as good as his word, and did bring Milton and Manso together. "By a certain "Eremite, with whom I had made the journey from Rome, "I was introduced to JOANNES BAPTISTA MANSUS, Marquis "of Villa, a most noble and important man, to whom Torquatus Tasso, the famous Italian poet, addressed his Discourse on Friendship; and, as long as I stayed there, I "experienced the most friendly attention from him, he "himself acting as my guide through the different parts "of the city, and to the Palace of the Viceroy, and coming "himself, not once only, to my inn to visit me."

Milton could not have had a better guide in Naples than Manso. He loved his native city; he was familiar with every aspect of it, and with every spot near it sacred either by beauty or by tradition; and I have not seen a description of Naples more succinctly charming than that which he introduces in his Life of Tasso, where he tells of that poet's

¹ A notice of Manso in *Jani Nicii Erythræi Pinacotheca* has furnished particulars for the foregoing sketch, in addition to those gathered from Tira-

boschi and other common sources, and from Manso's *Vita di Tasso* and his *Poesie Nomiche*.

rapture with the place during the visit in which their friendship was first formed. After dwelling on the fineness of the climate, the wonderful natural art of the site, and the largeness of the city seen at the first glance, he passes to the perpetual sea-view on the south, the gentle slopes of the hills behind, the amplitude of the plains on the east, and the verdure of Posilipo on the west. Then, widening the circuit, he stations the visitor on the delightful shore of the bay, bidding him observe how the sea sweeps into it in a cup-like curve. "On the right side of this are the shores
"and rocks glorious by the sepulture of Virgil and Sannazaro,
"by the grotto of Lucullus, the villa of Cicero, the still and
"the bubbling waters of Cumæ, and the fires of Pozzuoli,
"all protected by the mountains of Baiæ, the promontory
"of Miletus, and the island of Ischia, dear no less for the
"fable of Typhœus than for its own fertility; on the left
"are the shores no less famous by the tomb of Parthenope,
"by Arethusa's subterranean streams, by the gardens of
"Pompeii, by the fresh-running waters of Sebeto, and by
"the smoke of burning Vesuvius, all equally shut in by the
"mountain of Gaurus, the promontory of Minerva, and the
"isle of Capri, where Tiberius hid at once his luxury and
"his vices." Then, returning to the city itself, he descants on the strength of the castle and fortifications, the length and straightness of the streets, the spaciousness of the squares, the variety of the plentiful fountains, the magnificence of the public and private buildings, the concourse of foreign residents, the crowd and bustle of the native populace, the pomp of the cavaliers, the number of the princes and the nobility, the assemblage of merchants and of country people in the markets, and the superabundance of all the requisites of pleasant life, from the wines to the fruits and the flowers. All this, he says, Tasso had admired and praised; and, had there been a spot in all the world where that poet could have been at rest, Manso thinks it would surely have been Naples.¹

With none the less pleasure would Milton behold all this

¹ Vita di Tasso, edit. 1634, pp. 190-193.

because Tasso had beheld it before him, or because the same Manso who now pointed out the separate beauties had pointed them out to Tasso fifty years before, and could not refrain now from mixing recollections of Tasso with them,—how here Tasso had uttered such a saying, here he had seemed suddenly moody, here he had raised his large blue eyes to heaven with that peculiar soaring look which he had seen in no man else. And then to enter Manso's villa, close by the hill of Posilipo and the grotto of Pozzuoli, with the sea at its feet and with the view of the bay from its windows;¹ to know that Tasso and Marini had been in those rooms; to hear farther accounts of those poets personally; and to experience the courtesies which they had experienced! There may, possibly, have been meetings with some of Manso's friends of the *Oziosi* and the *Dei Nobili*, and so with some celebrities of Naples whose names are still remembered,—if not even an actual glimpse of Domenichino and Salvator Rosa. This is mere conjecture; but, in any case, there was talk, and free talk, with Manso himself of England and of Italy, of poetry in general, and of Milton's opinions, plans, and prospects. To the interest of the good old Italian in the young Englishman there was but one drawback. "He excused himself to me," says Milton, "that, though he wished excessively to have shown me "much greater attention, he had not been able to do so in "that city, because I would not be more close in the matter "of religion." Perhaps Milton was too unguarded also in other matters. Questions of politics, as well as of religion, may have risen in his mind. That beautiful region on which Nature lavished her smiles, why was it muffled in crape? why did it not cast off the Spaniard? Manso's own honourable life, had that been all that it might have been and ought to have been? Hush! Such thoughts are not for the villa of the Marquis; but look at that skiff, brown-sailed, tacking in the bay. A young lad from Amalfi is there, known among the lazzaroni. Now his song rises light in the breeze; but,

¹ Appendix No. 5 to Walker's "Historical Memoir of Italian Tragedy" (1799), where the site of Manso's villa

is approximately determined by documentary evidence.

a few years hence, will not all Naples be round him, and shall not the world hear of the fisherman Masaniello?

Milton had not intended that Naples should be the termination of his continental tour. Sicily and Greece had been in his programme, lands older in history and in song than he had visited yet, and which would have opened to him more of the primeval Mediterranean. Why he did not proceed is explained by himself. "While I was desirous," he says, "to cross into Sicily and Greece, the sad news of "Civil War in England called me back; for I considered it "base that, while my fellow-countrymen were fighting at "home for liberty, I should be travelling abroad at ease for "intellectual culture." The news which had thus reached Milton at Naples, probably in the latter part of December 1638, was, we shall find, an exaggeration in form, but not in fact. Scotland was then in open rebellion against Charles and Laud under the banner of her Covenant, and English Puritanism was astir sympathetically. Rumours of this condition of things may have come to Naples magnified by distance and distorted by having passed through Paris. Enough was true, however, to justify Milton's resolution to return home.

Having made up his mind to return, he thought it but fit to thank Manso for his kindness in a more deliberate manner than usual. He accordingly wrote in his inn, and addressed to Manso in his villa, the following epistle in Latin hexameters. The heading is a subsequent addition, prefixed when the poem was sent to the press in England, about seven years afterwards, Manso being then still alive, in extreme old age.¹

MANSO.

Joannes Baptista Mansus, Marquis of Villa, is a man illustrious in the first rank among Italians by the reputation of his genius, both in the study of letters and also in warlike valour. There is extant a Dialogue of Torquato Tasso *On Friendship*, addressed to him; for he was Tasso's most intimate friend; by whom he is also celebrated

¹ Manso died in 1645, *ætat.* 84; and the first edition of Milton's poems, in-

cluding the Epistle to Manso, was published in the same year

among the princes of Campania in the poem entitled *Gerusalemme Conquistata*, book XX.—

“Fra cavalier magnanimi e cortesi
Risplende il Manso.”

This nobleman honoured the author, during his stay in Naples, with every kindness in his power, and conferred on him many acts of courtesy. To him, therefore, his guest, before leaving that city, to show himself not ungrateful, sent the following poem.

One more song in thy praise the Muses are pondering, Manso,
One more, Manso, to thee, whom all the choir of Apollo
Mark as the man in chief that god has delighted to honour
Since the death of Gallus and days of Etruscan Mæcenas.
Thou too, if but the breath of our poetry so far availleth,
Safe shalt sit amidst the victorious ivies and laurels.¹

Nobly in days gone by great Tasso's fortunate friendship
Coupled thy name with his and wrote them on pages eternal.
Later, no ignorant muse made over sweet-speaking Marini
Into thy charge: he is fain himself to pass for thy pupil
All through his flowing tales of Assyrian gods and their amours,
Sung in the tender strains that astound the Italian fair ones.
Ay, and expressly to thee alone that bard on his death-bed
Left his bones in trust and the care of his latest commissions:
Nor did thy loving regard deceive thy friend in his coffin;
Smiling in well-wrought brass we have seen the face of the poet.
Neither has this seemed enough for the one or the other; thy kindness
Ceases not even at the grave; the men themselves thou wouldst rescue
Back from the dead entire, and cheat the Fates of their capture,
Sketching the births of both, and the chequered course of their
fortunes

Here in life, and their habits, and special kinds of endowment,
Rivalling thus that ancient who, born near Mycale's mountain,
Told in his eloquent prose the life of Æolian Homer.
Therefore do I, in name of Clio and mighty Apollo,
Call thee my father Manso, and bid thee a long salutation,
Pilgrim youth though I am from the lands of the northern pole-star.
Nor wilt thou, in thy goodness, despise this muse from a distance,
Which, in these late days, and scarcely matured in the cold north,
Indiscreetly has dared to flutter through Italy's cities.

We also think that *we* have heard the swans in our river
Making music at night through all the shadowy darkness,
Where our silver Thames, at breadth of her pure-gushing current,
Bathes with tidal whirl the yellow locks of the Ocean;
Nay, and our Chaucer² once came here as a stranger before me.

¹ Milton helps himself here to a line from his Latin poem to his Father: see ante, p. 336.

Titurus; but, as Warton pointed out, that is the standing name for Chaucer in Spenser's pastorals.

² The name in the Latin original is

Deem not of us as a race uncultured and useless to Phœbus,
 Bred in a region of earth underlying the seven-starred Plough, and
 Patient the long nights through beneath the wintry Böotes.
We too have Phœbus in honour ; *we* too erewhile to Phœbus
 (Else old legends lie) have sent our tributes of worship,—
 Yellowing stalks of corn, and ruddy-ripe apples in baskets,
 Crocuses breathing sweet, and chosen bands of our maidens,
 Sprung of that old race of Druids who, practised in lore of the priest-
 hood,

Sang the praises of heroes and deeds of worthy example.¹
 Hence the Grecian girls, in their customed holiday dances
 Round the shrines of the god in his grassy island of Delos,
 Name even now in their chaunts our Cornish adventuress Loxo,
 Upis, our prophet-maid, and flaxen-haired Hecæerge,
 Each with her bosom stained with the blue Caledonian heath-juice²

Wherefore, happy old man, wherever over the wide world
 Tasso's glorious verse and magnificent name shall be cherished,
 Or there shall grow and spread the brilliant fame of Marini,
 Thou too shalt frequently come into all men's mouths for applauses,
 And with proportioned flight shalt wing thy journey immortal.
 Rumour then shall run with what goodwill in thy household,
 Cynthius dwelt and his hand-maid muses came to thy portals.
 Far less willingly once the same god, outcast from heaven,
 Went to the house and farm of King Admetus of Pheræ,
 Though that king had received great Hercules into his guest-room.
 Only, when he would shun the noisy mirth of the herdsmen,
 Did he make his way to the cave of the mild-mannered Centaur,
 Mid the winding thickets and bowers of leafy profusion
 Close by Peneus' stream³: there often under an oak-tree,
 Won by the kindly request of his friend, he would lighten and solace
 Exile's labours hard by a song to the lute which he carried.
 Then neither bank of earth nor the huge deep-socketed boulders
 Kept in their places for glee ; the Rock Trachinian trembles,
 Missing the wonted weight of its acres of woody incumbrance ;
 Down from their hills uprooted the elms career in their hurry ;
 Ay and the spotty lynxes are charmed by the musical magic.

Old man loved of the gods ! great Jupiter must have been friendly
 Just at thy birth, and Phœbus and Mercury also together

¹ Another line borrowed substantially from the poem *Ad Patrem*: see ante, p. 335.

² The reference is to the three Hyperborean nymphs, Loxo, Upis, and Hecæerge, who, in the hymn of Callimachus, send fruits to Apollo in Delos. Milton makes them British nymphs, and Loxo more particularly the daughter of Corineus, the companion of Brutus, and the first legendary king of Cornwall. See a note of Warton on the passage.

³ "Apollo, being driven from heaven, kept the cattle of King Admetus, in Thessaly, who had entertained Hercules. This was in the neighbourhood of the river Peneus and of mount Pelion, inhabited by Chiron."—To this note by Warton it may be added that Chiron was one of the Centaurs, highly educated, of singularly mild manners, and most hospitable to sages who visited his cave.

Mildly have shone on the moment; for no one not from his birth-hour
 Dear to the gods above can be a great poet's protector.
 Hence does thy old age bloom as with lingering garlands of roses,
 Keeping the clustering honours unshed from thy forehead and
 temples,¹

Genius yet in strength, and the edge of the intellect perfect.
 O were it *my* good luck to have such a friend in the future,
 One that should know as well what is due to the children of Phœbus,
 If I should ever recall into song the kings of my country,
 Arthur still from his under-ground stirring the warlike commotion,
 Or should tell of those that were leagued as the knights of his Table,
 Great-souled heroes unmatched, and (O might the spirit but aid me!)
 Shiver the Saxon phalanxes under the shock of the Britons!
 Then, when at last, having measured the span of my mortal existence,
 Full of years, I should leave to the dust its rightful possession,
 He would be standing, I know, with tears in his eyes by my bed-side;
 No more needed then than "*Make me thy charge*" as he stood there;
 He would see that my limbs, slack-stretched in inanimate pallor,
 Gently were laid and with care in their small receiving encasement;
 Haply our features even he would fetch from memorial marble,
 Twining the Paphian myrtle or leaf of Parnassian laurel
 Round the sculptured locks, while I shall be resting in quiet.
 Then, too, if faith means aught, if the good are surely rewarded,
 I myself, removed to the heaven where the gods have their dwelling,
 Whither labour, and conscience pure, and ardour promote us,
 Still shall behold all this from that high world of the secret,
 Far as the fates allow, and with perfect mental composure
 Smiling shall feel my face suffused with a luminous purple,
 Such a blush as may come in the blaze of the bliss of Olympus.

Thus finely addressed, Manso showed his corresponding appreciation of the worth of his young English admirer by the parting gift of two cups of rich workmanship, with engraved or painted mythological designs on them,² and by the accompanying compliment of a Latin epigram. The compliment is an adaptation to Milton of the well-known story of the beautiful Anglie youths seen at Rome by Pope Gregory, and the sight of whom moved that Pope to the enterprise of converting the then Pagan English to Christianity; and it is as pointed as it is brief:—

¹ One can hardly reconcile this with the story of the periwig in Erythræus: see ante, p. 813.

² The cups we shall find minutely

described by Milton in his *Epitaphium Damonis*, written after his return to England.

"JOANNES BAPTISTA MANSUS, MARQUIS OF VILLA, NEAPOLITAN,
TO JOHN MILTON, ENGLISHMAN.

"Mind, form, grace, face, and morals are perfect; if but thy creed
were,
Then, not *Anglic* alone, truly *Angelic* thou 'dst be."

The sentiment expressed so delicately, and yet so distinctly, by Manso, seems to have been very general among Milton's Italian acquaintances. From his first entry into Italy he had thrown aside Scipioni's maxim, "*Thoughts close and visage open*," recommended to him at his departure by Sir Henry Wotton. Everywhere he had been frank, not to say polemical, on the subject of his religious principles, so that, having met and discoursed with many persons, he had left behind him a track of criticisms and comments on the uncompromising character of his Protestantism.

Especially at Rome, and most especially of all among the English Jesuits and "perverts" there, offence had been given by the sight of an Englishman, of good means and of reputation for scholarship, going about so stiffly Anti-Papist at a time when the diplomacy of England with the Court of Rome rendered such conduct in travelling Englishmen not at all fashionable and not at all desirable. Hence, after he had left Rome for Naples, a cabal had been formed against him at Rome which rendered his return by that city rather dangerous. "The merchants [at Naples?] "warned me," he says, "that they had learnt by letters "that snares were being laid for me by the English Jesuits, "if I should return to Rome, on the ground that I had "spoken too freely concerning religion. For I had made "this resolution with myself,—not, indeed, of my own "accord to introduce in those places conversation about "religion, but, if interrogated respecting the faith, then, "whatsoever I should suffer, to dissemble nothing. To "Rome, therefore, I did return, notwithstanding what I had "been told; what I was, if any one asked, I concealed "from no one; if any one, in the very City of the Pope, "attacked the orthodox religion, I, as before, for a second

“space of nearly two months, defended it most freely.”¹ This is all that Milton records of his second stay in Rome, including January and part of February 1639; and we are left to imagine for ourselves his renewed intercourse with Cherubini, Holstenius, Salzilli, and others, his renewed appearances in the Roman academies, and his presence, with other Englishmen, at some of the impressive ceremonies with which the beginning of the year is celebrated in the Roman chapels and churches.²

The English Jesuits having, after all, made no attempt to molest Milton, he took his final farewell of Rome, probably before the end of February, and arrived for the second time in Florence. Here he was received, he says, with no less eagerness than if the return had been to his native country and his friends at home; and two months,—bringing him, say, to the middle of April 1639,—were again spent by him most agreeably in the society of Gaddi, Dati, Frescobaldi, Coltellini, Buommattei, Chimentelli, Francini, and the rest. There may possibly have been a second visit to Galileo, if indeed the one famous visit does not belong properly to this second stay of Milton in Florence.—He seems, at all events, to have now frequented the academies even more regularly than in his former stay. The preserved minutes of the Svogliati record his presence at three successive meetings of that club in March 1639. At the meeting of the 17th of March the tenth person minuted as present is “Miltonio,” and it is recorded that, while the main business was a reading and explication of the 7th chapter of the Ethics

¹ *Def. Sec.*: Works, VI. pp. 288, 289: Milton did not exaggerate the danger. “If a man in his going thither [to Italy] converse with Italians and discuss or dispute his religion, he is sure, unless he fly, to be complained on and brought before the Inquisition.” So Lord Chandos had written, in a passage in his *Hora Subsecivæ*, published 1620, as quoted by Mr. Mitford in his *Memoir of Milton* (p. xxxvi.). Wood speaks as if he had heard from several quarters of Milton’s “resoluteness” in his religion at Rome, and of the anger of the English Jesuits in consequence, and the fear of others in

Rome “to express their civilities, which otherwise they would have done.”

² It is quite possible that one or two of the incidents which I have referred to Milton’s first visit to Rome belong properly to the second. The most important incident,—his introduction to Holstenius, and consequently to Cardinal Barberini,—is distinctly referred by himself to the first (*Def. Sec.*); but the encomiums of Salzilli and Selvaggi, and the Epigrams to Leonora, may belong to the second. Certainty in the matter being impossible, however, I have, for the sake of coherence in the narrative, kept the incidents together.

Aristotle's ?) by G. Bartolommei, followed by remarks from several of the auditors, there were "brought and read some noble Latin verses (*alcuni nobili versi latini*)" by Milton, Antinori, and Girolami. At the meeting of the 24th, which included Alessandro Pitti, president of the club, Buommattei, consul, Cavalcanti, censor, Bartolommei, secretary, Valori, the Venetian (?) Resident, Milton, Doni, Rena, Girolami, and Gaddi, there was another ethical reading by Bartolommei, with a discussion thereon, after which were "an *éloge* and a sonnet by Signor Cavalcanti, various Italian poems by Signors Bartolommei, Buommattei, and Doni (which last read a scene from his Tragedy), and various Latin poems by Signor Milton and an epigram by Signor Girolami." On the 31st Milton was again present, but seems to have taken no distinct part; and this is the last meeting at which he is mentioned as having been present.¹—The day before this last attendance of his among the Svogliati, he had written that letter of thanks to Holstenius at Rome, the first portion of which has already been quoted. The remainder, referring to a kind of commission which Holstenius had given him on his departure for Florence, has its proper place here:—

* * * The commission which you seemed to give me, relating to the inspection of a Medicean codex, I have already carefully reported to my friends; who, however, hold forth for the present very small hope of effecting that matter. In that library, I am told, nothing can be copied, unless by leave first obtained; it is not permitted even to bring a pen to the tables. But they tell me that Giovanni Battista Doni is now in Rome; having been called to Florence to undertake the public lectureship in Greek, he is daily expected; and through

¹ Stern's *Milton und Seine Zeit*, Book II., Appendix (see ante p. 782 footnote).—The remark as to the possibility of a division of the recorded incidents into those of the first and those of the second visit applies to Florence as well as to Rome. The *tense* of some parts of Francini's complimentary Italian ode (ante pp. 783-785) might suggest that it was not written till Milton's second visit to Florence, and when he was about to leave that city for his homeward journey; and the same may be true of the similar Latin compliment by

Dati.—I find, from letters in the State Paper Office, that Secretary Windebank's son Christopher was residing in Florence at the time of Milton's second visit, and receiving many attentions from the Grand Duke, who was very anxious to learn "how things were going on in Scotland," and wondering how that "barbarous nation" could give their king so much trouble. The Scotch commotions seem then to have been the talk of all the European courts.

him, they say, it will be easy for you to compass what you want.¹ Still it would have been truly a most gratifying accident for me if a matter of a kind so eminently desirable had advanced somewhat farther by my little endeavour, the disgrace being that, engaged as you are in work so honourable and illustrious, all men, methods, and circumstances, are not everywhere at your bidding.—For the rest, you will have bound me by a new obligation if you salute his Eminence the Cardinal with all possible respect in my name; whose great virtues, and regard for what is right, singularly evident in his readiness to forward all the liberal arts, are always present before my eyes, as well as that meek, and, if I may so say, submissive loftiness of mind, which alone has taught him to raise himself by self-depression; concerning which it may truly be said, as is said of Ceres in Callimachus, though with a turn of the sense: ‘*Feet to the earth still cling, while the head is touching Olympus.*’ This may be a proof to most other princes how far asunder and alien from true magnanimity is the sour superciliousness and courtly haughtiness too common. Nor do I think that, while he is alive, men will miss any more the Este, the Farnesi, or the Medici, formerly the favourers of learned men.—Farewell, most learned Holstenius; and, if there is any more than average lover of you and your studies, I should wish you to reckon me along with him, should you think that of such consequence, wheresoever in the world my future may be.

Florence, March 30, 1639.

Milton's second two months at Florence were interrupted by an excursion of “a few days” to Lucca, about forty miles distant. There were antiquities and interesting works of art in Lucca; but, as there was nothing of contemporary importance in the place, I can only suppose that the motive of the visit was a desire to see the town and district whence his friend Charles Diodati and the whole Diodati family derived their lineage. In any case, Milton had to return to Florence for the rest of his projected route homewards through the north of Italy.

¹ Holstenius knew Doni very well and the defects of the Laurentian Library at Florence too; for among his printed letters (*Lucae Holstenii Epistolæ ad diversos*: Paris, 1817) is one of date Dec. 15, 1629, addressed to Doni on the subject of a visit which Holstenius had paid to this very library. He has not had time, he says, thoroughly to examine it, which would take at least four days; but he has noted that “this library also has, with others, that common defect of being under the

“charge of those who know not even “the names of authors sufficiently, and “are mere keepers of books.” Since then Doni and Holstenius must have been much together; but, as already stated (ante p. 797), Doni seems to have been absent from Rome when Milton was there. Milton had been with him in Florence at the meeting of the Svogliati on the 24th of March, only six days before this mention of him,—unless, indeed, there was another Doni.

“Having crossed the Apennines, I passed through Bologna and Ferrara on my way to Venice.” The two cities of the Papal States thus dismissed by Milton incidentally in his sketch of his tour might have been worthy of longer time than he seems to have given to them. Bologna was the most flourishing and liberal city in the Pope’s dominions, the seat of the most ancient University in Italy, and of more academies than any other single Italian town could boast; and Ferrara had been the capital of the princely house of Este, and was consecrated by the home and the tomb of Ariosto, and by Tasso’s terrible prison. It was probably for these associations that Milton did visit them; but he must have done so hurriedly, and he omits details. Yet it seems to be with this hurried passage through Bologna and Ferrara on his way to Venice that one is bound to connect what is, in one respect at least, the most fascinating incident of Milton’s Italian tour from first to last.—Among his minor poems, as published by himself in 1645, are five sonnets and one canzone written in Italian, the only pieces he is known to have attempted in that tongue. For biographical purposes the following English version of them may suffice, if the reader will first accept a topographical explanation rendered necessary by the first of them. It is that a river called the Reno flows close by Bologna, which, after passing Bologna, takes a northern course through the rich level country between Bologna and Ferrara, before bending eastward to the Adriatic, and that, in going from Bologna to Ferrara, this Reno has to be crossed at a ford or ferry at a town called Malalbergo, twenty miles from Bologna and ten from Ferrara.

I.

Thou graceful lady, whose fair name knows well
The grassy vale through which the Reno strays,
Nearing the noble ford, that man is base
On whom thy gentle spirit exerts no spell,
That frankly makes its sweetness visible,
At no time sparing of its winning ways,
And of those gifts, Love’s bow and piercing rays,
Whereby thy lofty virtue doth excel.

When thou dost softly speak or gaily sing,
 So as might move the hard wood from the hills,
 Let each one guard his hearing and his seeing
 Whom secret sense of his own vileness fills ;
 Let Heaven's own grace its high deliverance bring
 Ere passion's pain grow veteran in his being.

II.

As on a hill, at brown of evening-time,
 A shepherd-maiden from some neighbouring bower
 Waters with care a lovely foreign flower,
 Which spreads but ill in the unwonted clime,
 Far from the genial summer of its prime,
 So love in me, quick to express his power,'
 Bursts into new speech-blossom for an hour,
 While of thy haughty grace I try to rhyme
 In words that my good kinsfolk do not know,
 And change fair Thames for Arno's as fair tide.
 So hath Love willed it ; and, by others' woe,
 Right well I wot Love will not be denied.
 Ah ! were my heart, so hard, so slow to yield,
 To Him who plants from Heaven as good a field !

CANZONE.

Laughing, the ladies and the amorous youth
 Accost me round :—" Why dost thou write," ask they,
 " Why dost thou write in foreign phrase and strain,
 " Versing of love with daring so uncouth ?
 " Tell us ; so may thy hope not be in vain,
 " And thy best fancies have auspicious way !"
 Thus they go jeering. " Other streams," they say,
 " Other far waves expect thee, on whose banks
 " Laurels in verdant ranks
 " Are growing, even now are growing, for thy hair
 " The immortal guerdon of eternal leaves:
 " Why on thy shoulders wilt thou this load bear ?"
 My song from me this fit reply receives :—
 " My lady said (and what she says I treasure),
 " This is the language in which Love hath pleasure."

III.

Diodati, 'tis marvellous but true,
 This stubborn I, who held Love's law in scorn
 And made his snares my jest, at last forlorn
 Have fallen myself, as honest men may do.

What dazzles me is not the casual view
 Of vermeil cheeks and tresses like the morn,
 But a new type of beauty foreign-born,—
 A carriage proud and stately, and thereto
 Eyes calmly splendid of a lovely black,
 Words that command more tongues than one in tune,
 And such a song as from the fleecy rack
 Of Night's mid vault might lure the labouring moon,
 While from her eyes such fiery flashings thrill me
 That, though I stopped my ears, the gleams would kill me.

IV.

For certain, lady mine, your lovely eyes
 Must be my sun : they beat on me as strong
 As do his rays on one who toils among
 The sands of Libya, while amain doth rise,
 All in that quarter where my sorrow lies,
 A warm sick vapour, as I move along,
 Which may perchance, or haply I am wrong,
 Be that which lovers in their speech call sighs.
 Part, shut in turbidly, my breast conceals ;
 Some fluttering few, that will not so be pent,
 The air around condenses or congeals ;
 But what can reach my eyes and there find vent
 Makes one long rainy night of my repose,
 Until my dawn returns with many a rose.

V.

Young, gentle-natured, and a simple wooer,
 Since from myself I am in doubt to fly,
 Lady, to thee my heart's poor gift would I
 Offer devoutly : and by trial sure
 I know it faithful, fearless, constant, pure,
 In its conceptions graceful, good, and high.
 When the world roars, and flames the startled sky,
 In its own adamant it stands secure,
 As free from chance and malice ever found,
 And fears and hopes that vulgar minds confuse,
 As it is loyal to each manly thing,
 And to the sounding lyre and to the muse.
 Only in that part is it not so sound
 Where Love hath set in it his cureless sting.¹

¹ On a matter respecting which there has been some difference of opinion, and on which I am not myself a competent judge,—the Italian style of these poems.—I have the pleasure of

presenting the following opinion, furnished me in 1858 by my friend Signor Saffi:—"Concerning the few Italian poems written by Milton in his youth, "about which you ask my opinion, I

Either these six pieces were written at different times as experiments in Italian verse and do not necessarily relate to one person, or they were written together and do relate to one person. The latter supposition is by far the likelier, if not absolutely inevitable. In that case, the first sonnet certifies that the subject of the little group of pieces was a Bolognese lady whose beauty and accomplishments had made a deep impression on Milton, and the third sonnet shows that Milton imagined himself to be writing to his friend Diodati as fittest to be his confidant in the affair. It may still be a question, however, where and when the pieces were written. It is not an untenable hypothesis, but one which the phrasing here and there might be so construed as to support, that the pieces were not written in Italy at all, but in England, by way of attempts in Italian, some time before the Italian tour had been thought of. Milton might have met an Italian lady in London, and nowhere more probably than in the house of Dr. Theodore Diodati, and may have been moved to confess to her, through his friend Charles, the new effects produced on him by her foreign and southern style of beauty, her black eyes, her stately carriage, her unusual gifts of mind and speech, and her splendid singing. On this hypothesis it is necessary to suppose that the references in the first sonnet to the Valley of the Reno and its noble ford were thrown in because Milton had ascertained that the lady was a Bolognese, and had, with a lover's curiosity, informed himself as to the characteristics of the scenery round and near her birth-place. But, on the whole, the hypothesis that the pieces were written in England, and were carried by Milton with him into Italy in his memory, seems strained and unnatural

"think I may venture to offer the following remarks:—As regards the form of the language, there are here and there irregularities of idiom and grammar, and metaphors which remind one of the false literary taste prevalent in Italy when Milton visited that country; although such a defect appears, in the English imitator, modified by the freshness of his native

"genius. The measure of the verse is generally correct, nay, more than this, musical; and one feels, in perusing these poems, that the mind of the young aspiring poet had, from Petrarch to Tasso, listened attentively to the gentlest notes of the Italian Muse, though unable to reproduce them fully in a form of his own."

in comparison with the general and traditional belief that they were written in Italy during his tour. The little series is so full of Italian colour and circumstance that it is difficult, in reading them, to fancy them penned anywhere else than amid Italian surroundings, and for Italian critics in the first instance. The canzone, in particular, can hardly be interpreted on any other understanding. Should it be assumed as a settled matter, however, that the pieces were written in Italy, one may still remain in doubt in what part of Italy they were written and at what point of Milton's tour. May they not have been among those trifles which he managed to "patch up" when in Florence or in Rome, and which, with the Latin and English pieces he had in his memory, obtained for him the "written encomiums" of the wits of the Florentine and Roman academies? Francini's ode to him in Florence, and still more distinctly the heading of Salzilli's epigram to him in Rome, seem to imply that there had been attempts in Italian verse among those proofs of Milton's literary talent which had won him the encomiums; and we know of nothing else of the kind that he did write than precisely our present five love-sonnets, with the attached canzone. As Florence was the place where Milton seems to have been most at home, one might credit that city with the little bouquet of exotics and with the adventure that occasioned it, and suppose Dati, Francini, Gaddi, Coltellini, and Malatesti to have been the first admiring critics of such a feat by their English visitor. There might be arguments, however, in favour of Rome, though Warton's notion, that the lady was the famous singer Leonora, is wholly gratuitous and must at once be set aside. Whether at Florence or at Rome, the lady of the Sonnets and Canzone was a Bolognese; and, as Milton did not see the Reno and its noble ford till after he had left Rome and Florence, the topographic touches in the first sonnet in honour of her Bolognese birth must have been almost as much from information or hearsay as if the sonnet had been written in England. If it should seem essential, however, that the Reno and its ford had been actually seen

before that sonnet was written, there is nothing absolutely to hinder the supposition which must then necessarily follow, if the six pieces are to be taken as relating to the same person,—to wit, that they were written when Milton had left Rome and Florence behind him and was in that portion of his return-journey to England which took him through the Vale of the Reno between Bologna and Ferrara. Though he hurries that part of his route in his own sketch of it afterwards, it is quite possible that he may have rested long enough somewhere thereabouts, as a guest in some household, to become acquainted with some fair Bolognese amid her native scenery and be smitten by her charms. A week may do a great deal in such matters.

One fact does rather militate against the conclusion that the Sonnets and Canzone were written at so late a date in Milton's journey, when indeed he was all but bidding farewell to Italy, and does rather remit them to some point of those previous months which he had spent in Florence and Rome. This is that they make his friend Charles Diodati his confidant in absence and look forward to renewed meetings with Diodati in England when the affair should be talked over between them. Now, at the time when the pieces were written, if they were written in Italy at all, that friend, addressed in them as if living, was already in his grave. He had died late in August 1638 in the house of a Mr. Dollam in Blackfriars, London, and had been buried in the parish of St. Anne there on the 27th of that month,—his sister, Philadelphia Diodati, having died in the same house little more than a fortnight before and been buried in the same church or churchyard on the 10th. Milton was then in Florence, amid the delights of the first of his two visits to that city, little dreaming that the friend from whom he had parted hopefully little more than four months before, and of whom and his Italian connexions he doubtless talked much among his new Florentine acquaintances, was never to be seen by him again. It is certain that he had not heard the news of Diodati's death when he left Florence for Rome some time in September 1638, nor during the next

two months, when he was in Rome on his first visit, nor even as late as December 1638, when he was in Naples. He returned from Naples for his second two months in Rome in the full belief that Diodati was alive and well. The only question, therefore, is at what subsequent point of his return-journey the shock of the fatal intelligence awaited him. Even in those days of difficult communication it would have been somewhat extraordinary if no rumour of the sad event came to him during his second stay in Rome in January and February 1638-9, or during his second stay in Florence in the two following months. Hence the probability, as above hinted, that the Italian Sonnets and Canzone have to be referred to the time of the first visit to Florence or that of the first visit to Rome. They name Diodati as alive, and could not have been written in their present form, if at all, after Milton had heard of Diodati's death. If the sad rumour did come to him first during his second visit to Florence, it must have thrown a blight over that visit and been the subject of condolences with him by Dati, Gaddi, Francini, and the rest of the Florentine group, and we can then also imagine a melancholy motive for that excursion to Lucca, the original home of the Diodatis, by which the second visit to Florence was interrupted. But, though the probability is that the news had then reached Milton, the only certainty is that it reached him some time during his return-journey towards England, and it is perfectly possible that it had not reached him even as late as April 1639, when he was passing northwards from Florence by Bologna and Ferrara.¹

If so, the news might have reached him first at Venice,

¹ The exact time and place of the death of Charles Diodati were not known when the first edition of the present volume was published, nor till the year 1874, when Colonel Chester discovered the burial entries of Diodati and his sister in the register of St. Anne, Blackfriars, and kindly communicated the information at once to me (see Preface to the Cambridge Edition of Milton's Poetical Works). The proof that Milton cannot have heard of the death till after his

return from Naples is furnished by certain lines of the *Epitaphium Damonis*, where he speaks of having looked forward to the pleasure of showing Diodati, among other memorials of his Italian tour, the two cnps he had received from Manso.—A future letter of Milton's to the Florentine Carlo Dati, to be quoted in due time, gives just a shade of additional probability to the conjecture that he had heard of Diodati's death before the end of his second visit to Florence.

which was his next station on his way homeward, and where, he tells us, he "spent one month [part of April and May 1639] in examining the city." Among the attractions of Venice, besides those of which all the world has heard from that day to this, there were then several famous academies, of which that of the *Incogniti* was chief; nor would the city and its inhabitants be the less interesting to Milton from the fact that here alone in Italy was there some independence as against both Pope and Spaniard, and that there had even been expectations that Venice, in her struggle with the Papacy, would show the example of an Italian Protestantism. It is possible that, through Sir Henry Wotton's letter to Michael Branthwait at Paris, Milton may have had special introductions to Venetian families. The only incident of his month's stay in Venice mentioned by himself, however, is that here he shipped for England a number of books which he "had collected in different parts of Italy." Phillips, who must have seen many of the books afterwards on Milton's shelves, tells us that some of them were "curious and rare," and, in particular, that there was "a chest or two of choice music-books "of the best masters flourishing about that time in Italy, "—namely, Luca Marenzo, Monte Verde, Horatio Vecchi, "Cifra, the Prince of Venosa, and several others." Rid of these by their shipment, Milton, moving homeward more rapidly, "through Verona and Milan and the Pennine Alps," as he tells us, "and then by the Lake Leman," arrived at Geneva. In this rapid transit from Venice across the northern Lombard plains, other cities and towns of note must have been passed through; and, in crossing the Alps by St. Bernard, there would be the last look at Italy beneath.

THE RETURN HOME THROUGH GENEVA.

As if delighting in a breath of fresh Protestant theology after so long a time in the Catholic atmosphere of Italy, Milton spent a week or two, if not more, in Geneva. The Swiss city still maintained its reputation as the great con-

tinental seat of Calvinistic Protestantism. Since Calvin and Farel, there had been a series of ministers in the churches of Geneva, and of professors in her University, keeping up the faith and the discipline established at the Reformation. At the time of Milton's visit there were several such men, celebrated over the Calvinistic world beyond Geneva, and especially among the French Protestants and the Puritans of England. The eldest Turretin was dead; but he had been succeeded in the chair of theology by the learned German, Frederick Spanheim (1600-1649), who had studied in Geneva in his youth, and had held there, since 1627, the Professorship of Philosophy. Another theology professor and city preacher was Theodore Tronchin (1582-1657), who had married Beza's grand-daughter, and had been previously professor of Hebrew, and one of the Genevese deputies to the Synod of Dort. A certain Alexander More, or Morus, a young Frenchman of Scottish descent, of whose unexpected relations to Milton long afterwards we shall hear enough, and more than enough, in due course, had just been appointed professor of Greek in the University, and was qualifying himself for a pastoral charge in the city. But the man in Geneva of greatest note, and most interesting to Milton, on private as well as on public grounds, was Dr. Jean or Giovanni Diodati, the uncle of his dead friend Charles.¹ Besides his celebrity as professor of theology, city preacher, translator of the Bible into Italian, and author of various theological works, Dr. Diodati had a special celebrity as an instructor of young men of rank sent from various parts of Europe to board in his house. About the year 1639 not a few young foreigners of distinction were pursuing their studies in Geneva, among whom one finds Charles Gustavus, afterwards King of Sweden, and several princes of German Protestant houses; and some of these appear to have been among Diodati's private pupils at the time of Milton's visit to Geneva. If Milton himself was not quartered in Diodati's house during his visit,—the house on the south bank of the lake, two miles out of the city, which

¹ See ante, pp. 99—102.

has retained its name of the Villa Diodati to this day, and was tenanted in 1816 by Lord Byron,—he must, at all events, have been there often. “At Geneva,” he says, “I was daily in the society of John Diodati, the most learned “Professor of Theology.” It is likely enough that it was from the Genevese Professor that Milton received the first definite intelligence of the time and the circumstances of the death of poor Charles Diodati in London.¹

Among Milton's introductions at Geneva, through Diodati or otherwise, was one to the family of Camillo Cerdogni or Cardouin, a Neapolitan nobleman, who had been resident in Geneva since 1608 as a Protestant refugee and a teacher of Italian. The family kept an album, in which they liked to collect autographs of strangers passing through the city, and especially of English strangers. Many Englishmen, and some Scotchmen, predecessors of Milton in the usual continental tour, had already left their signatures in this album, and among them no less a man than Wentworth, whose autograph appears in it under date 1612, when he was in his twentieth year and on his travels. Milton, having been asked to add a specimen of his handwriting to the numerous autographs already in the book, complied as follows:—

—if Vertue feeble were

Heaven itselfe would stoope to her.

Coelum, non animum, muto dum trans mare curro.

Junii 10, 1639. JOANNES MILTONIUS, Anglus.

There could have been no more characteristic autograph. The fragment in English is the conclusion of his own *Comus*, and the appended Latin hexameter must be taken as a declaration that, travel where he might, across the sea or wherever else, the sentiment of those lines remained his belief and the words themselves his motto.²

¹ Histoire de Genève, par M. Spon, Geneva, 1730, vol. I. pp. 506 *et seq.*; Leti's "Historia Genevrina" (1686), vol. IV. pp. 134, 135; and articles on Diodati, Spanheim, &c., in Chalmers's Biog. Dict.

² The Album "was brought to England a few years ago, and sold by public auction," says Mr. Hunter, in 1850, in his *Milton Gleanings*. It went afterwards to America, where it was the property of the late Hon. Charles



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